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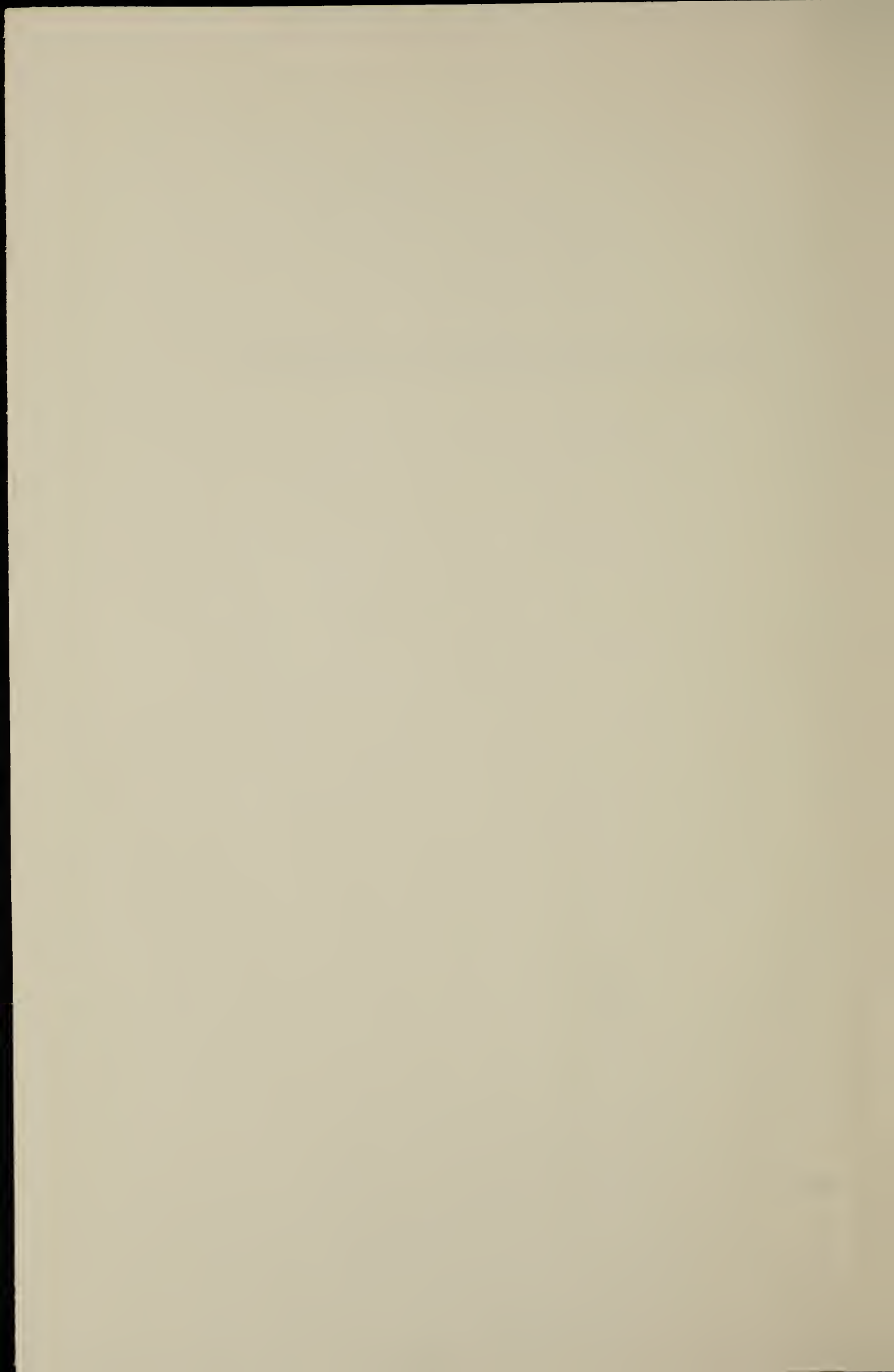


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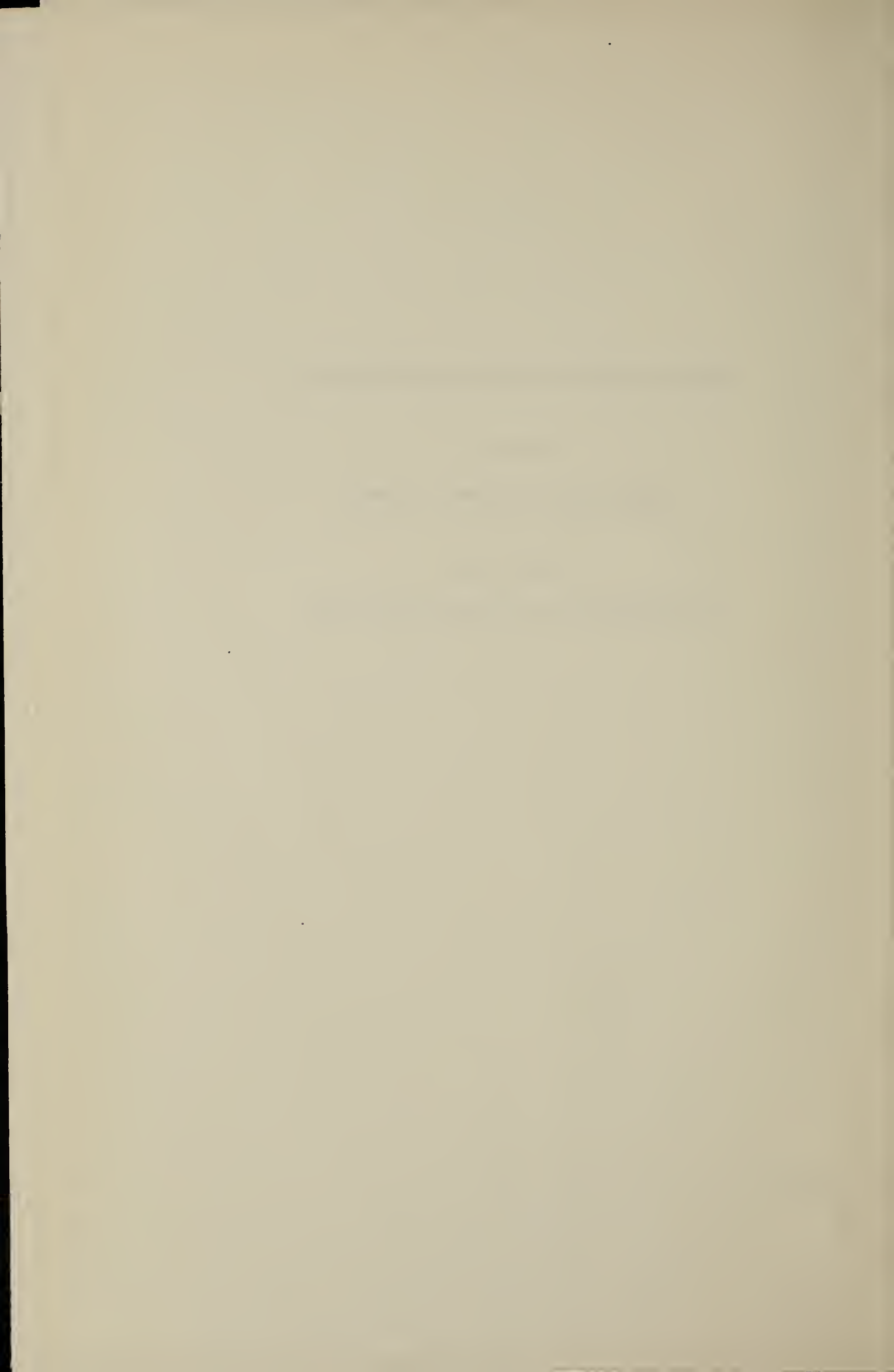
VOLUME I

THE COLONIAL AND FEDERAL PERIODS

VOLUME II

THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES











Courtesy of the Walker Art Building, Bowdoin College

SAMUEL WALDO

1695 - 1759

Brigadier General in His Majesty's Forces  
and  
Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay



# History of Old Broad Bay<sup>c</sup> and Waldoboro,<sup>Me.</sup>

*by*  
JASPER JACOB STAHL

VOLUME ONE  
The Colonial and Federal Periods



The Bond Wheelwright Company  
Portland, Maine

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TO MY MOTHER

Lucy Heyer Keene

1855 - 1935

*In whose stern yet gentle character  
was fused the finest and the strongest  
in the two great historical traditions  
which make up our local culture —*

*These volumes are dedicated  
in gratitude and lasting love*





## AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

*Before the era of printed books the work of scholars and men of letters was supported and made possible largely through the munificence of patrons. In cases of scholarly treatises this practice is still an honored vogue. Thus this history finds itself the perpetuator of an ancient and fruitful tradition. Its publication has been made possible in part through the enlightened and generous support of those thoughtful men and women who have been glad to see the annals of a little world assume their rightful role as an integral of the record of mankind. When their faces shall have been forgotten and their good works effaced from the memory of the living, their names and the temper of their spirit will here find an enduring witness.*

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*Nostri memorem sepulchro scalpe querelam*

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The main corpus of this work treats of a virgin field. It is built on source material scattered over two continents. To the many in distant places who have generously supplied what I could not seek in person, my debt is a heavy one. To the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California; to Adeliade Fries, one time historian of the State of North Carolina; to the Curators of the Archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; to the Director of the Rare Book Collection of the Harvard University Library; to the Custodians of the Massachusetts State Archives and of the Library of the Maine Historical Society an especial obligation is here recognized. Nor do I wish to overlook the kindness of a great host of cooperators, who have loaned their own material or have done small but valuable chores of research in my behalf in out-of-the-way places. Noteworthy among such have been Dr. Benjamin Kinsell of Dallas, Texas, Judge Dudley Kinsell of Carmel, California, and Priscilla Creamer of Waldoboro, Maine, who have generously placed many of the papers from the invaluable Reed Collection at my disposal.

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*Acta est fabula . . . vobis omnibus gratias.*

Waldoboro, Maine  
February, 1953

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## INTRODUCTION

*Everybody has a place in the history of the world.  
Simply to be born into it one must, one way or the  
other and roughly speaking, contribute by one's  
little span one's mite to the whole of the world-span.*

THOMAS MANN (*Joseph the Provider*)

This history is economic, political, social and cultural in its surveys, analyses and evaluations. It aims to record clearly the continuity of change in man's attitudes, outlooks, modes of feeling, thinking, acting, and living which are integrated into that nexus of endless causation which we call the historical continuum or process. Nor does it in its sequential character lose sight of those tiny happenings and episodes, those absorbing little things which make up so large a part of the simple yet significant life of the great, the lowly and the poor, not only the poor in purse but the poor in spirit. In fact, it has been my aim to omit no detail, however seemingly small, so long as it is human, relevant and illuminating. It is possible that Waldoboro may never have another history. Should this prove a fallible prediction, then it is probable that a century or more might elapse before such a work were undertaken. In the interim bodies of data available now might well have disappeared forever. This is a fact by which I have, throughout my researches been repeatedly and frustratingly faced. It has made me loath indeed to ignore vital material in the faith that some later historian would salvage it.

In writing this history it is my belief that I have not been engaged in any mere humble chore. I am conscious that fashions in the writing of history change and have steadily shifted toward more expanded and comprehensive concepts of what in reality human history embraces, until today this concept is inclusive of the life of man at every level. The time when local history was mere antiquarianism, written by some local scribe purely for prideful, local consumption, is past. In the fields of history the local scene has arrived at the state of legitimacy, and scholars have taken over. Of this thesis I sense in many quarters an ever growing acceptance. Recently a Professor of American History at Yale University, Samuel Flagg Bemis, has defined the status of local history as Everyman's history, and he adds: "By competent studies of little American communities . . . scholars are replotting the base and marking out the contours of our Republic. The general historian of the future must stand on this revived base and follow these smaller contours, if he is to feel and portray the real American heritage." Such a view is wholly in keeping with my conviction reached independently as the slow outgrowth of my own philosophy of history.

As I view this work in retrospect I become more clearly conscious of four major points of view which have been organizing factors in its conception and execution, and have imparted to it such uniqueness, if any at all, as it may be fortunate enough to possess. The first of these viewpoints is that in deepest reality there is no essential difference in local, state, or national history. These are simply arbitrary categories devised by man for his convenience in writing history. There is only history — the complete and integrated record of man's activity at all social levels. To speak contrariwise, as has been said elsewhere in this work, would be to affirm that a part is not a portion of a whole. By the same token local history is an integral of world history. The scale is reduced but it is none the less revealing. Just as there are painters who employ bolder strokes on broader canvasses, so are there those who work in miniature and depict a reality equally convincing and revealing. Such is local history, a reflection of world movements in simpler lives and on a smaller scale.

The second organizing viewpoint has been an outgrowth of my study of the work of two great scholars, Professors Karl Lamprecht of the University of Leipzig and James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University. To be sure, in my youth I loved the old school history texts of the nineties, which epitomized in kaleidoscopic successiveness the voyages of the early explorers, the settling of the colonies, the chronological march of the Presidential administrations, the sequence of battles and wars, interrupted by insignificant interludes of peace. This was the Old History. But the newer conceptions of the two master scholars I found later far more intriguing, and I came to regard historical writing as a continuous recreation of the life of the past in all of its relevant detail, not only in the modes of thinking and feeling implicit in the leadership of the great, but also the customs, beliefs, and practices of commoner man, and his manner of living and adjusting to the ever changing configurations of human civilization.

It is here recognized that a past cannot become a living past, unless the human beings who once animated its life, who imparted to it its dynamic quality, its energizing force and its unique color and flavor, again become living realities in its history. By this is not meant that generations of obscure and unnumbered thousands must return again, crowding the historical picture in flesh and spirit. Rather does it mean that where masterful men have dominated a scene and given direction to an unfolding community life, where beauty of living and largeness of soul have left their healing marks on the drab or festering spots of a tiny society, or evil incarnate has bruised or blackened its sensitive fabric, and wherever the creative impulse has harbored itself in quaint, gifted, and ec-



centric individualities who at one time or another were focal points of local awe, wonderment, laughter, or scorn, such people should live again wherever the record of their words and doings is sufficient to piece together their strong, lovable, or puzzling personalities.

I am quite aware that this latter task is one calling for a degree of literary craftsmanship which I do not possess. Nevertheless in my conviction it does follow that the local historian needs something of the power of apt, accurate, and quick characterization, able in a few incidental strokes to impart life and humanness with the brevity and ease of George Eliot, when, in reference to an elderly lady in *Middlemarch*, she observed: "She had too much religion for family comfort." Here in a phrase we encounter a character. Such a gift represents a greater need of the historian at the local than at any other level, for it is at this level that life itself is the essence of things historical, and that the truth of fiction and the truth of history are oftentimes one.

My fourth and last slant is that in that history where little lives play themselves out amid local scenes, as they fade and recede into the past, they invariably dissolve into folklore and poetry. Indeed Thomas Gray, as he wandered and lingered in the churchyard at Stoke Poges where was gathered all that was mortal of that hamlet's long history, yielded to the poetic mood, and in lovely and enduring verse indited an historical obituary of nameless generations, embodying in it that which was most significant in their simple annals. Here it happens that under the magic alchemy of the artist history is transmuted into poetry. In taking such a slant on history I harbor no strange illusion, for there are others who believe as I do. George Macaulay Trevelyan, felt by many to be the ablest of living English historians, has made his work a point of protest against the conventional dogma that history is a science and only a science. He affirms that even the most prosaic details in the fullness of time will enshroud themselves in the mists of poetry, and he finds the poetry of history "in the quasi-miraculous fact that once on this earth, once on this familiar spot of ground walked other men and women, as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now all gone, one generation vanishing after another, gone as utterly as we ourselves shall shortly be gone like ghosts at cock-crow." He adds: "This is the most familiar and certain fact about life, but it is also the most poetical."

To such a view I can do naught but subscribe. In fact, I hold the poetic element in the historical to be inevitable, for poetry is a quality inherent in life, and history is a record of that life. Accordingly in this history wherever poetry comes close to the surface

in little episodes, little experiences, and little lives, the aim is to record them in a manner that their poetic quality may be sensed by the reader; for history touched by the warm glow of poetry, wherever poetry is inherent in it, loses none of its historicity and gains much in humanness.

There are other minor but difficult goals which have hovered before my mind in the guise of faint hopes as this work has moved across the face of more than two centuries. Ever before me has been the realization that each age had its own characteristic beliefs, outlooks, and ways of feeling; that it is these qualities which impart to each era an essence which is distinctively its own. Could the art of the historian recapture the peculiar flavor of successive periods for the modern reader? Such an attempt has here been made. Whenever possible, through the actual written or spoken words of men and women, through their most characteristic acts, through the folklore, the religious mood, and through the loves, the prejudices, and the hatreds of those living long ago, I have sought to recapture for each period its own archaic flavor, that the reader might savor the real tang of life in the successive generations of his ancestors. The historian can face no task more difficult than such a bridging of the almost insuperable chasms separating men of the present from the life of men of the past.

As I have sought over the years a true and meaningful synthesis of history out of great masses of heterogeneous data, one question has always been uppermost in my thought. For what level of reader interest, or for whom was I writing such a history? Upon an answer to this question there always hinged the decision of what material to use and what to discard, what use to make of the material selected and where to lay the emphasis. Face to face with this problem I have sought a middle ground, if such there might be, where all and sundry readers, with the exercise of some tolerance toward the author's judgments, might meet at a common level of experience and interest.

Several years ago while I was reading Macaulay's essay on "The Romance of History," I came across a sentence which seemed to epitomize much of what I have here attempted. "The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of an age is exhibited in miniature." While I am only too painfully aware that "the perfect historian" does not yet exist, I was instantly conscious that here was defined a conception of history that fitted the aims of my story of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro. Here, too, was a most adequate and satisfying definition of good local history, to exhibit the character and spirit of the successive epochs of a locale in miniature.

HISTORY OF OLD BROAD BAY AND WALDOBORO

*Volume I: The Colonial and Federal Periods*





# I

## THE WALDOBOROUGH AREA IN PREDISCOVERY DAYS

*This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,  
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,  
Stand like Druids of eld . . .*

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

IT IS QUITE GENERALLY TRUE that the history of a town or local community may be thoroughly understood only when it is considered as an integral part of its natural geographic area or district. This is the case of many of the present-day coastal towns of Maine, and perhaps of none is it truer than of historic Broad Bay or Waldoborough. In the early period of the development of the coastal region of this general area, the coveted goal of the early settlers was the river valley with its rich arable lands and its head of tide, where the falls would furnish the power needed to provide the essentials of a stable and self-sufficient economic life. It is rather difficult in this modern era, when land is so common, cheap, and seemingly superfluous, to understand the soil hunger of the early Europeans in America. In the Old World land was practically the sole form of wealth possessed by the peasant classes; and at their almost animal standard of living, it produced in one way or another nearly everything that they were privileged to consume. In short, it was to them life.

In America they were not long in discovering that the fringe of soil immediately adjacent to the ocean was ill-suited, indeed, even to their poor standard of living. They well knew where the richer lands were located, and in this area the arrow of their destiny remained pointing in this direction for nearly a century. In the absence of roads, the river was their one channel of access to the headwaters of their dreams. On the other hand, it connected with the sea, and the river and the sea were the sole ways of securing access to a larger world and to markets where an exportable surplus could be sold or exchanged for goods which could not be fabricated in the primitive industries of a new community. From the time of the very first settlement of Monhegan or Pemaquid, it was

written unchangeably in the economics of laissez-faire that Waldoborough was to be the dominating unit in this region; and from the beginning all growth was in its direction, until in the 40's of the nineteenth century "this place had become the grand center this side of the Kennebec; so much so that the whole district had taken the name of the Waldoborough District."<sup>1</sup> Here again, as in the history of many other coastal centers, the richer bottom lands, water power, and water transportation were the three decisive economic factors upon which the dominance of the town in this area was built. By sheer geographic location its overlordship was assured until the iron rail and the gasoline truck should supersede the sea and river as avenues of transportation, and until steam and electricity should provide the power that water alone once furnished.

These three economic objectives, however, were not immediately achieved by the early settlers of the Maine coast. There were supervening factors in consequence of which colonization along the bays and rivers seems to have followed the same general course. First there was the occupation of the islands by the European fishermen and traders, since the more inland waters were uncharted, unsafe, and little known. Monhegan and Damariscove Islands are examples of this first step which had the added advantage that the islands furnished security against the savages. The second step was to the coastal harbors where the land was somewhat better for agricultural purposes and where the islands could still furnish a quick refuge in the event of Indian attack. Pemaquid and New Harbor are relevant examples of this second step in our own area. The third step was the strengthening of these footholds on the main by the erection of forts and palisades which served as protective nuclei for the settlers clustered about them. From such points, as the number of settlers increased, the inevitable push was up the bays and sounds, then up the rivers until the head of tidewater was reached, where the larger towns were built on the triple economic foundation here specified.

In the Waldoborough area this penetration to the falls of the Medomak was a slow one. More than a century elapsed between the first settlements of Pemaquid and New Harbor (1625-1630) and the final occupation of the headwaters of the "Muscongus" in the 1730's and in 1742. This century was a tragic era for the early settlers. It witnessed four Indian wars with their bloodshed, torture, fire, captivities, and the repeated retreat of the colonists from their hard-won farms. Their successive pushes, however, in the brief intervals of peace carried them ever farther up the river and ever deeper inland. Pemaquid, New Harbor, Round Pond, Mus-

<sup>1</sup>A. J. McLeod, "Centennial Sermon" (German Lutheran Church, 1873).

congrus, Greenland, and Broad Cove in our area were the successive frontiers of this movement. Hence any history of Waldoborough cannot dissociate itself from such beginnings and from such a trend within the limits of its natural physical bounds. From the beginning the task of felling trees, clearing land, and building homes was slowly continuous and in one direction, namely to the headwaters of the Muscongrus, or Medomak as it is now known.

The area of exploration and settlement as a single geographic and economic unit is clearly indicated by the map accompanying this chapter. It may be roughly bounded by Monhegan and Allen's Island of the Georges Group on the east, and by Pemaquid Point on the west, thence northward following the contours of Muscongrus Bay inland, and up the Medomak River to the power sites at its head. The upper river valley beyond the falls and the lands adjacent to the lower Medomak on the east and west form a part of this area, which reaches to the heights of land constituting the water divide that separate it from the Georges River valley on the east and from the Damariscotta River basin on the west. Within these limits have taken place those historical events and those social and economic developments whose synthesis is the history of Waldoborough. It is recognized that this interpretation cuts at times across the boundaries of a few of the smaller adjacent towns. Such lines, however, are artificial and man-made and are neither observed nor respected by the free play of historical forces. In this volume they are respectfully observed save at those times and points where they are obliterated by the natural action of social and economic forces.

For many centuries preceding the discovery of this district, there were few major changes in conditions as they are experienced at the present time. Climatically it is probable that the rainfall was heavier and the winters severer in prediscovery days. Very old folks, relying on their own memories and on the accounts received orally from parents and grandparents, affirm the truth of this assumption. It is also confirmed by the records of the United States Weather Bureau reaching back over the better part of a century. If the trend observed in this period may be taken as an accurate gauge, the average temperature is rising at the rate of three degrees a century; and the rainfall is decreasing at the rate of two inches a century. In the last fifty-five years the snowfall has decreased fourteen inches.<sup>2</sup> Here again, if this represents a long-time trend, it would indicate harsher temperatures and more constant and deeper snows in this district in times before the advent of the white man.

<sup>2</sup>John J. O'Neill, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, March 13, 1938.



Geographically there was far less difference than climatically in the centuries preceding discovery. The contours and configuration of the area were in all essential features identical with those that we know today. In other respects, especially connected with the flora and fauna, it was markedly different. The district was formerly covered with forests of beech, elm, maple, birch, oak, ash, and conifers. These woodlands were not in the main dense, as the trees reached such tremendous proportions that underbrush and small growth inevitably lost out in their shade and disappeared. There had been ample time for the fittest in the way of tree life to survive, and these fittest were very fit indeed. Some idea of their size may be gained by recalling the observations of some of the earliest settlers as well as those of later naturalists who explored the forests of the northern part of the state in the nineteenth century when these woodlands were still untouched by the wasteful hand of man. Thoreau, for example, in his *Maine Woods*, an account of his trip to the Moosehead district in 1846, measured white pine that were six feet in diameter at the base and yellow birch that were fourteen feet in circumference. Certainly trees of equal size met the gaze of the first settlers in the moister and lower lands along the coast. On the estate of Col. Thomas H. Perkins on Swan Island in the Kennebec River, as revealed by early letters, there stood in front of the house

two mighty oaks each twelve feet in circumference; five white pines that were over one hundred and fifty feet in height, not by guess, but by measurements made by Major Barney of Baltimore, an officer in the Engineer Corps of the United States Army. There were six sugar maples on it [i.e., land near the house] each measuring fifteen feet in girth with large spaces around them, cleared from the forest by my grandfather Dumaresq, a great lover of fine trees; and there were many beautiful oaks both white and red which came near to the proportions of the two giants in front of the old house.<sup>3</sup>

Such forests as these, rising straight from the river bank and the shores of the bay, as well as on the coast and islands, and stretching away endlessly beyond the gaze, must have presented a sight of unparalleled charm, beauty, and majesty from the tender green of spring through the deeper green of summer to the riotous blaze of autumn and the deep, cold snows of winter. The natives left these forests practically untouched except for the dead wood and small stuff which they burned for fuel. In fact, more trees seem to have been destroyed by beaver than by Indians.<sup>4</sup> The moisture which these vast wooded areas conserved in the soil, as well as the heavier rainfall, gave to the brooks and streams a constant supply of water so that they flowed deep, clean, and unpolluted and

<sup>3</sup>Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 2nd Ser., II, 431.

<sup>4</sup>J. D. Whitney, *The United States* (Boston, 1889), p. 176.



foamed madly or lazily over their rapids according to the season of the year. Here and there along the shores were small clearings, where the Indians made their summer camping grounds and planted



their crops on their annual treks to and from the coast. Open glades or meadowlands, too, occurred in the forests where old beaver dams had flooded a considerable area in years past and killed out the trees, and where the young growth had been kept cleared by the moose, and the grass cropped close by the deer.



Without fail, such a land stirred deeply those explorers who first beheld it, and even more deeply the imaginations of their patrons in the Old World, as well as countless merchants and adventurers who saw in it vast empires and the possibilities of undreamed wealth. It was, in fact, something of a natural paradise. Only the law of natural selection and the crude snare and flint arrowhead of the Indian restricted in a very limited way the great numbers of moose, deer, bear, wolves, wildcats, bobcats, lynx, the stealthy panther, and fur bearers of every description — foxes, skunks, raccoons, beaver, otter, mink, and martins. The number of these fur bearers can, in a measure, be inferred from the account of Capt. John Smith, who came to this area early in the summer of 1614 and did a little trading on his own with the natives while his sailors laid in large stores of fish. His ship was based at Monhegan. With eight men in a small boat, he ranged the coast for twenty leagues and obtained for trifles in barter 11,000 beaver skins, one hundred martins, and many otter. The same year he reported that the French traders obtained on the coast a little farther north 25,000 beaver skins.<sup>5</sup>

Game birds were equally plentiful in this wilderness. The passenger pigeons, which had their range in this region and bred in central Quebec and Nova Scotia,<sup>6</sup> were seasonally present in flocks that defy description. Some idea of the number of these pigeons can be gathered from later observers who studied them within their natural ranges. As late as 1813 Audubon recorded a flight of these birds that literally filled the heavens. He stated that "the light of noonday was obscured as by an eclipse." This single flight that he records lasted for three days. Another observer early in the nineteenth century, Alexander Wilson, estimated a flock which he saw to contain more than 2,200,000,000 birds. The wild turkey, too, abounded along the Maine coast and fattened on the rich supply of acorns. Capt. John Smith reported "great flocks of turkies" in New England, while Thomas Morton (1632) in Massachusetts wrote: "Turkies there are which divers times in great flocks have sallied by our doors." The ruffed grouse abounded so numerously in the great forests that in an earlier day the damage they inflicted on budding fruit trees was counteracted in some towns in New England by a bounty of twenty-five cents per bird. Bobwhite was likewise no stranger in these parts, and his cheery whistle echoed from the small brush and cover of the areas of southern Maine.

The land, also, left with those who first beheld it an impression of fruitfulness. James Rosier of the Weymouth expedition

<sup>5</sup>Colls. Mass. Hist. Soc., Ser. 3, VIII, 20.

<sup>6</sup>F. M. Chapman, *Birds of Eastern North America* (New York: D. Appleton & Co.).

(1605) seems to have been our first summer tourist to leave behind him any record of his impressions. From his *Relation* we offer a brief account from a day's tramp in a neighboring river valley, where conditions may be taken as typical of those in our own:

The wood she beareth is not shrubbish fit only for fewell, but goodly tall Firre, Spruce, Birch, Beech, Oke, which in many places is not so thicke, but may with small labour be made feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward Islands with fresh water, which streameth down in many places. . . . Many of our Company who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasand and fertile, fit for pasture, for the space of some three miles, having but little wood, and that Oke, like stands left in our pastures in England, good and great, fit timber for any use. . . . The soil is black bearing sundry herbs, grass and strawberries bigger than ours in England. In many places are low thicks like our Coppices of small young wood. And surely it did all ressemble a stately Park, wherein appear some old trees with high withered tops, and others flourishing with living green boughs. Upon the hills grow notable high timber trees, masts for ships of 400 tons: and at the bottom of every hill, a little run of fresh water, but the furthest and last we passed, ran with a great stream able to drive a mill.<sup>7</sup>

In 1603 Capt. Martin Pring explored the area between the Saco and Piscataqua rivers and reported as follows:

Passing up the river we saw certain cottages [wigwams] together, abandoned by the savages and not far off we beheld their gardens and one among the rest of an acre of ground; and in the same was some tobacco, pumpkins, cucumbers and such like; and some of the people had maize or Indian wheat among them. In the fields were found wild peas, strawberries very fair and big, gooseberries, raspberries, hurts and other wild fruits. . . . And as the land is full of God's good blessings, so is the sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, or cod sufficient to laden many ships which we found on the coast in the month of June. Seals to make oil withal, mullets, turbot, mackerel, herring, crabs, lobsters, oysters and muscles with ragged pearls in them.

This plenitude of fish deserves special mention as it was one of the major factors which drew the first white men to this area and the one which for many decades thereafter formed one of its principal sources of wealth. In fact, James Truslow Adams has observed that "our commerce smelt as strongly of fish as our theology did of brimstone."<sup>8</sup> The shores of the coast and the clay flats of the rivers were everywhere full of clams, while lobsters were almost as common. I recall my grandfather, Jacob Keene, telling that when he was a young man in the first quarter of the

<sup>7</sup>*Rosier's Relation of Weymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine*, printed for the Georges Society (Portland, Me., 1887).

<sup>8</sup>*Founding of New England*, I, 11.



last century he would put on his rubber boots, take a bushel basket and short gaff, go to the shore at low tide, and return in twenty minutes with a bushel of lobsters. Numerous shell heaps along the rivers attest to the prevalence of the oyster. Purchas, in his *Pilgrims* (1625), records that the Popham colonists found "oysters nine inches in length" and that they were told that these were by no means the largest. In the winter there were frostfish, smelts, and flounders. In the spring alewives and smelts crowded the headwaters of the rivers. A little later came salmon and sturgeon, while mackerel, herring, shad, and porgies thronged the inlets and tidewaters. So abundant were the alewives and herring that the Indians and early settlers used them for fertilizer. One alewife to a hill of corn seems to have been the formula usually followed. A single fertilizing was sufficient to insure the fertility of the soil for three years.

The deeper coastal waters were filled with haddock, hake, and pollock which swarmed on the feeding grounds in the cold waters of the Labrador current, extending from Cape Cod to Newfoundland. It was to the cod, however, that this area owed its early European notoriety. Capt. John Smith himself, coming in 1614 to take whales, found a better profit in cod, of which he secured 60,000 in one month. This fish was much sought as a food in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, largely on account of the demand in the Catholic countries of Europe. Nowhere along the coast was it found in greater abundance than in the Muscongus area. This is attested by the statement of Capt. John Smith, cited by Purchas as follows: "All these ships till this last yeare, have been fished within a square of two or three leagues and not one of them would venture any further." John Pory, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia from Damariscove Island in 1622, quotes a report from the mate of the *Sparrow* to the effect that "a man cannot cast out a hooke at anie ledge at sea in that distance, but he shall draw up goodlie fish at pleasure." Furthermore, in a dispatch by the Milanese Ambassador in London to the Duke of Milan December 18, 1497, he comments on Cabot's voyage as follows: "They affirm that there the sea is full of fish that can be taken not only with nets, but with fishing baskets, a stone being placed in the basket to sink it in the water." They say "that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Islanda and that from that country there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish [cod]." Brerton, in his account of Gosnold's voyage, affirms:

We had pestered our ships so much with cod fish that we threw numbers of them overboard again; and surely I am persuaded that in the months of March, April and May there is upon this coast better



fishing and in as great plenty as in Newfoundland; for the sculles of mackerel, herring, cod and other fish that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore were wonderful; and besides these places where we took these cod (and might in a few days have laden our ship) were within seven fathoms water and within less than a league of the shore.

These comments, it should be noted, were all made with reference to Maine waters, and some of them directly concerned our particular area.

Little more need be said in reference to the Muscongus region and what it was like in the days before its discovery and exploration. That men found it an attractive place to settle is beyond question. Driven out repeatedly by the Indians, they returned again and again to hew their homes from this rich and fascinating wilderness.

## II

### THE PREDISCOVERY INHABITANTS OF THE WALDOBOROUGH AREA

*Vainly the silent, stone-tipped arrows flitter from the forest at twilight. The flash and roar of musketry replied. Manitou and Jehovah wrestled in the valleys together—and the tasseled Corn-God lost.*

HERVEY ALLEN

THERE IS AN ABUNDANCE of archeological evidence pointing to the fact that the North American continent has been the home of human beings for unnumbered centuries, though their numbers have been relatively small and widely scattered. In few continental districts have more ancient human artifacts been discovered than in the State of Maine, chiefly in the area between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers. Here, unquestionably, man was at home in times which reach back deep into the prehistoric past.

Contrary to general belief, the earliest inhabitants of this district, of which we have any knowledge, were not the Indians but an historically obscure race known today as the Red Paint People. They occupied portions of Maine thousands of years ago and, in their culture at least, were not related to the Indians who were living here at the time of discovery by white men. In fact, knowledge of these people is very recent. It goes no further back than to the closing decades of the last century. By the year 1892 there were only three sites of Red Paint culture in Maine which had been excavated. One of these was near Bucksport; one was on Lake Alamoosook near Orland, and a third was at Ellsworth. All were within a radius of seventeen miles. Sporadic explorations and discoveries were made up to 1912 when the work took a more systematic turn. In June of that year, an archeological survey of the state was begun which continued until 1920.<sup>1</sup> In this period three hundred historic and prehistoric sites, occupying an area of ninety-four by seventy miles, were mapped out. Nineteen of these

<sup>1</sup>Warren K. Moorehead, Field Director, "Archeological Survey of New England," and by the same author: "Prehistoric Cultures in the State of Maine," XIX Congress of Americanists (Washington, D.C., 1915).

sites by 1920 had yielded Red Paint remains and had averaged about five objects to a grave. Since 1920, further investigations have included in the range of this culture an area extending westward to the Kennebec valley, with the most extensive remains of all located near the forks of that river. Hence, at the present time, we may conclude that this culture occupied mainly the regions of the Kennebec and Penobscot river valleys with all the territory lying between them.

The evidence clearly shows that this culture was contiguous and that it occupied all the lesser valleys between these two main rivers, including that of the Medomak. It is unfortunate that some of the known cemeteries nearest to our area have been worked by careless and unpracticed hands. The Hart's Falls Cemetery above Warren was ransacked in this manner, as was the one on the Tarr estate in Union, although at the latter place eight or ten graves were later found undisturbed. The Red Paint site on the western border of Waldoboro, at Pemaquid Pond, three quarters of the way down from its head, was partially obliterated in excavations made about twenty-five years ago. Some of the artifacts from this cemetery have found their way into the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. The valley of the Medomak and the general area with its many ponds was included in the original survey. Although none of the newer sites marked yielded Red Paint artifacts, beyond doubt they are there. The final proof simply awaits the local archeologist who is curious, patient, and knows where to look and to dig.

All the remains of this Red Paint culture have been found in sand or gravel deposits, never in clay. Sand was preferred, as the digging with primitive tools was much easier, and the bodies laid in it were better preserved from moisture. No burial exceeds a depth of five feet; in fact, most of them are from two to three and one half feet in depth. The tools found in these Red Paint graves differ so markedly from the stone tools used by any of the North American Indians that we can only infer that these were a distinct people with a culture of their own.

The artifacts found in these graves fall into eight distinct classes: 1. the plummet, 2. the gouge, 3. the adz blade, 4. spears or daggers of soft stone, 5. long slender perforated pendants, 6. small crescents (problematical forms), 7. iron pyrites, 8. small hammer stones or paint grinders. These tools are of exquisite workmanship and represent a skill in flaking never achieved by the American Indians. The tools are usually found in a mass of red ochre. Some graves are so old that even gouges and plummets offer evidence of disintegration, while others produce gouges as sharp and thin as it is possible to work stone. Only a few graves, notably in the Lan-



caster Cemetery at Winslow, have yielded fragments of human bones.

The other distinguishing and remarkable feature of this ancient civilization and the one from which the people derive their present name is the presence in each grave of a large quantity of powdered hematite or red ochre. The quantity ranges from a few quarts to as much as a bushel to a grave. The only extensive deposits of this material in the state are those near the Katahdin Iron Works in central Maine, and from this source, scholars agree generally, the supply was drawn. That these people should have gone so far and transported with so much trouble a commodity which had no economic use unquestionably lends to this substance a high religious and ritualistic significance. This material was transported in the main by water from the Katahdin region to the coastal area, but even this involved long portages and overland lugs before it was available for final use. Each clan may have maintained a common store administered by a priest or chieftain, or each family may have held its own supply against the hour of its need. The emphasis laid upon the use of this red ochre may or may not explain the fact that all the remains left by these people are found near waters navigable for small boats, usually on river banks or ponds or lake sides. In fact, some are so close to streams that eroded banks have revealed their presence through the discoloration of the soil by the ochre.

In the discussions of this culture, little explanation has been offered why red ochre is found in practically all graves. A probable answer is not difficult, and perhaps becomes apparent when this civilization is compared with the stone age cultures in Europe in the late Pleistocene. In this latter period, 30,000 years ago, it was the general practice of Cro-Magnon man to bury his dead together with his crude utensils and ornaments.<sup>2</sup> Another unique characteristic of their burials is that the bodies were usually covered with red or yellow ochre. This practice is one that has been generally employed by various ancient peoples in other parts of the world. In a word, this custom is indicative of a simple belief in a life in the beyond, in which the dead person would have use for his tools, and the red ochre was evidently a very potent instrumentality in achieving and insuring his immortality. Such a belief goes back to the very primitive periods in our social evolution, many thousands of years ago, when man first observed the causal relationship existing between blood and life. In observing the death by violence of the game he killed or even of some of his own kind sorely or mortally stricken, he noted that as blood ebbed in great quantities life weakened and receded. If the flow of blood was

<sup>2</sup>Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Long Road* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 19.



checked, life returned and with it in the course of time strength and vigor. On the other hand, if too much was lost, death became inevitable. In this manner blood became associated in his mind with life. In seeking a crude answer as to the reason, it was the red element in the blood to which he ascribed its peculiar potency. By a simple act of mental transference, redness became a life-giving quality and "red things" became "life givers."<sup>3</sup> For this reason the red carnelian enjoyed a high repute among primitive peoples. Likewise, in the case of the ochre, its redness was life giving and hence a potent factor in insuring for the deceased a vigorous life in the world beyond. This I believe is, in brief, the answer which Anthropology offers in explanation of the significance and symbolism of red ochre in the graves of these ancient men of Maine who occupied the Waldoborough area as a part of their habitat.

The origin of these Red Paint People is a mystery on which the evidence casts no light, but it is known that mankind has existed on the earth for certainly more than a million years. In this tremendous span of time, man has wandered in slow migrations across the face of the entire earth. In this connection, it should be remembered that Cro-Magnon man reached the Atlantic shores of Europe from Asia, and the Red Paint folk, wandering in the reverse direction, may have reached the Pacific shores and crossed a land bridge to the American continent, as did the Indian millenniums later. Without question these speculations seem bold, but they are in harmony with such meager evidence as we possess in reference to the slow migrations, or rather movements, of men over the face of the whole earth during the many millenniums of the Pleistocene Period.

The extinction of the Red Paint civilization is likewise highly problematical, but here again we should, in passing, mention the most probable solution of this ethnic mystery. It is known that the Indians in Maine came from the west, for the folklore of the Abnaki contain tales of this migration.<sup>4</sup> In this case, it is entirely conceivable that the Red Paint People were first conquered by the savages, possibly massacred, hunted down and wiped out, and the few remnants absorbed in the Indian tribes. In such an event they would adopt the dominant culture, and their own, in the course of a few generations, would gradually disappear. This has been the fate of many an ancient race, the details of whose history, like those of the Red Paint, have been swallowed up by time.

At the time of the arrival of the white man in this area, the Indian was already here and had been living a settled life for a very considerable period of time. In the year 1600 there were several

<sup>3</sup>G. Elliott Smith, *Human History*, (New York, 1929), Chap. I.

<sup>4</sup>Fannie H. Eckstrom, *Maine, A History*, I, 45.

thousand Indians living on the Maine coast and in the interior of the state.<sup>5</sup> For one hundred and fifty bloody and fearsome years in this area, their history was closely integrated with that of the early settlers. From the early 1620's until after the fall of Quebec in 1759, the white man traded with the Indian, purchased and stole his lands, fought him, lived with him as captives, and adopted those aspects of his culture best suited for adjusting himself to the hard life of the wilderness.

The Indian was a tireless traveller; in the hunt and on the warpath he traversed wide areas. This was a fact which compelled the early settlers on the Medomak and in other coastal settlements to deal not only with their nearest savage neighbors but with most of the Indians of Maine and of large portions of eastern Canada as well.

The present area of Maine was occupied by the Abnaki at the time of the earliest voyages of discovery, and had been for many centuries prior to this period.<sup>6</sup> This tribe, with all its local divisions in this area, was racially of the Algonquin family which covered all of the eastern and central United States with the exception of the two alien racial islands, the Sioux and the Iroquois or Five Nations. At the time of white exploration, coastal Maine and the coastal river valleys were sparsely populated by the numerous subdivisions of this race. Many of them, as they were displaced by the whites, migrated to Canada and were first settled near Quebec. Eventually, in 1700, they removed to St. Francis where they joined the Abnaki who were also exiles from Maine. The St. Francis Indians were, from the first, the bitterest foes of the Maine settlers, and, in fact, of all New England settlers. Their settlement was at the junction of the St. Francis and St. Lawrence rivers; and from this point they repeatedly crossed the Maine wilderness and waged cruel and relentless warfare against the colonists occupying their former homes in the coastal regions of Maine, until they were virtually destroyed by Major Robert Rogers in 1759. The descendants of the few survivors of this massacre still reside in this same locality.

Of those Indians more immediately adjacent to the Medomak valley, first in order were the Pejepscots who were located at Brunswick near the mouth of the Androscoggin River. Just north of them in the valley of this river were the Arasaguntacooks. Their village, located near the present Lewiston, had the same name. They bore a reputation for courage and ruthlessness in war-

<sup>5</sup>W. K. Moorehead, *Archeology of Maine*, (Andover Press, 1922).

<sup>6</sup>The nomenclature and factual material of this chapter on the Maine Indians is derived from Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 vols., Bull. 30, Bur. of Am. Ethnology, (Washington, D.C., 1911). This is a compilation of leading American scholars and is the most reliable authority on Indian ethnology.



fare, and participated in all the wars against the settlers. Their town was burned by the English in 1690. They later joined the St. Francis on the St. Lawrence and continued the wars against the Maine settlers until their new home too was destroyed.

East of the Arasaguntacooks, in the valley of the Kennebec, was one of the two larger divisions of the Abnaki, the word meaning people of the eastland or morning land. They were known to the Puritans in Massachusetts as Tarateens until their removal to St. Francis, when this name was applied to the Penobscot tribe. The Abnaki, ignoring the ethnic range of this race, were the Indians of the Kennebec. There were the Canibas of the lower Kennebec, located above Merrymeeting Bay, and the more numerous and important Norridgewocks of the upper valley. This latter name means: people of the still water between rapids, and it was the typical tribe of the Abnaki Confederacy. Its territory embraced the major part of the valley. The principal village was on the left bank just below the rapids near the present town of Norridgewock. It was the seat of the mission of the famous Jesuit, Father Rasles, who began his work there in 1688. So warmly did he attach this tribe to the French that it became the center for most of the agitation and warfare against the coastal colonists. In 1724 the village was attacked and destroyed by the long-suffering English. The mission was burned; Father Rasles was killed while fighting valiantly, and the Indians were dispersed. They fled in groups to the Penobscots, the Passamaquoddies and to the St. Francis. A number later returned to their old home but were again attacked in 1749. It was not until the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754 that the last remnant withdrew to the St. Francis in order to join these in their warfare against the Maine settlers.

In considering the Indian wars and the attacks on settlers and settlements, we are prone to think of these forays as having been made by those Indians occupying lands not far removed. This was in no sense the case. The Indians were great travellers in peace, and in war they moved long distances to strike their deadly blows. The distance they would travel to trade may be inferred from an Indian conference at St. Georges, August 3, 1751. Here Colonel Louis, a Penobscot chief, complained that prices in the local truck house were higher than at Albany on the Hudson where some of his tribe went to trade. Likewise in war the savage ranged great distances. The Maine Indians waged war against the Massachusetts settlements and King Philip's warriors followed the war-path into Maine. For years the settlers at Pemaquid, Damariscotta, Broad Bay, and St. Georges sustained attacks by the St. Francis Indians from Canada as well as by those from the Penobscot and St. John valleys. In prediscovery days the Mohawks from central

New York waged war against the Abnaki groups in Lincoln and Penobscot counties. The widest known range of such activities is perhaps best illustrated by the Iroquois who were familiar with the country as far west as the Black Hills of Dakota from whence they returned with prisoners. The same tribes ranged as far south as South Carolina to attack the Catawba and into Florida against the Creeks.

Our closest Indian neighbors were the Wewenocs. The Medomak valley was a part of their hunting and camping range, but they were simply one of the many groups who brought death and devastation to the Waldoborough area. They too were members of the Abnaki Confederacy. Their range was from the eastern shore of the Kennebec through Lincoln County to the Georges River or possibly to the Penobscot. Their name in Abnaki meant very brave, fearing nothing. Captain John Smith in 1614 described them as follows: "They were active, strong, healthy and very witty. The men had a perfect constitution of body, were of comely proportions, and quite athletic. They would row their canoes faster with five paddles than our own men would our boat with eight oars." In the devastating wars that occurred between the Eastern and Western Indians (1612-1617), the Wewenocs were greatly reduced. As their famous chief, the great Bashaba, does not reappear in history after this date, it may be assumed that he was slain in this war. In 1617 the work of war was followed by a widespread and deadly epidemic which further decimated their numbers. They figured in the Falmouth Treaty of 1749 and other treaties of the period, but by 1727 most of them had removed to the St. Francis. Only a few families remained in Maine, and in 1747 these joined their confederates in exile and from their new base at St. Francis carried on intermittent warfare against the whites in their old homes until the power of the French in America was broken by the fall of Quebec in 1759.

East of the Wewenocs were the Penobscots. In Abnaki this word signifies: it forks on the white rocks. This name applied to the falls at Oldtown. These were the most numerous of the Abnaki Confederacy. In scattered villages they occupied the country on both sides of Penobscot Bay and claimed the entire basin of the river. Their summer seats were near the sea, but during the winter and spring they inhabited the territory near the falls where they still reside. The principal village was Oldtown on Indian Island. They seem to have been closely associated with the Wewenocs. The highest estimate of their numbers runs to about one thousand. Still farther eastward were the Malecites, meaning in Abnaki, broken talkers. As early as 1588 they were occupying the St. John



River valley. They were always close allies of the French and were constant in their hostility to the New England settlers.

All these tribes at one time or another, in groups or singly with other groups, harried the settlements in the present county



of Lincoln. Fate brought the two races in contact, as well as into conflict, for upwards of a century and a half. There was in consequence a reciprocal absorption of cultures. The life of the Indian was markedly modified; and the white man, too, freely adopted those aspects of savage culture which had definite survival value

in his conflict with the wilderness, as well as others which added agreeably to the amenities of his living. Many of the latter became irrevocably integrated with our culture and today are an unquestioned part of our own mode of living.

The American Indian has been, in the past at least, quite generally misunderstood, and has been allotted a role in our history which in a large measure is undeserved. This is entirely true of the Indians of Maine. In the very earliest period of colonization they were friendly and helpful. They soon learned from experience that this could not continue to be the case. The initial wrongs that led to the long misunderstandings and savage wars were first perpetrated by white men. In our area the first contact of white men with Indians led to the forcible seizure by Captain George Weymouth in 1605 of five savages, including two chiefs, who were taken to England and held there for two years.

Five years later Captain Edward Harlow, cruising along the coast, called at Monhegan, and either there or in the vicinity, abducted three natives who had come on board his ship for purposes of trade. At Cape Cod he kidnapped six more and took them all to England. In 1614 Captain Hunt, one of Captain Smith's captains, seized twenty-seven Indians in Massachusetts, took them to Spain, and was able to sell some of them at about one hundred dollars apiece. Through the intervention of friendly monks the sale of the rest was prevented. Various and sundry other white adventurers abducted the savages where possible and sold them as slaves in the West Indian and Spanish markets. Thus it was that even before the period of settlement the damage had been done, for such acts served to poison the minds of the Indians against the English and to lay the foundations of the hatred which inspired in part the later wars.

Wherever the English settler located, he cleared the land of its forests and in this manner destroyed the haunts of the game which was a substantial part of the Indian's living. The savage was quick to see that the modes of the white man's economy were destructive of his own; and once this issue was clearly fixed in his mind the Indian merely fought to retain his home, his hunting ground, and the only mode of life he knew and to which he was adapted.

The Indians who hunted, fished, trapped, and summered in the Medomak valley were in reality of a splendid race. They were more gentle in manners and more docile than their western brethren. They became our implacable enemies only in the face of long mistreatment. Only after the lapse of decades, when their hatred had been fully aroused, did they resort to torturing prisoners. However, women were always treated kindly. Hunting, fishing, and raising maize and vegetables were the basis of their economy.



They fertilized their fields with fish — a practice the white man was quick to adopt in the absence of other fertilizers. Their houses or wigwams were conical in form and were covered with birch bark or woven mats or skins. Several families occupied a single dwelling. Their villages were in some cases enclosed with palisades and contained a council house of considerable size, oblong in form and roofed with bark. These council chambers, as well as the smaller abodes, contained a central paved fireplace. In some such villages there was a second large house reserved by the men for purposes of social fellowship. The Indian was essentially a social fellow despite the fact that he is usually pictured in the white man's literature as silent, dignified, and reserved. Such a conception prevails largely because his etiquette required such bearing on ceremonial occasions where he was most frequently seen by white men. In actuality he was fond of talk, of joking and punning, and an ardent lover of games of skill and endurance.

These early possessors and occupants of Maine were not nomadic. Each tribe dwelt within the limits of a certain tract or region which it claimed. Thus the Wewenocs occupied and claimed our area including the coastal region from the Kennebec to the Georges or perhaps to the Penobscot River. Neither individuals nor families possessed vested rights in land. It belonged to the tribe as a whole. Hence it was impossible for a chief, family, or clan legally to sell or give away to aliens any part of the tribal domain. It is doubtful if the Indian ever understood the white man's conception of individual land ownership or realized the significance of deeds or treaties which ceded away territory. In most cases they believed they were selling or assigning to the settlers merely the right to use the land as they used it, namely, for hunting, fishing, trapping, or the raising of maize and beans. This basic difference in the conception of land and its uses would alone have been sufficient to lock the two races in a conflict, the inevitable solution of which had to come through force.

The annual round of life for the Indian of Maine before the coming of the white man was about as follows: With the advent of spring, he moved from inland toward the coast and settled for a couple of months in the area near the head of tidewater. Here in the spring run of fish at the falls, he caught, smoked, and dried large quantities for winter use. When the run of fish was over, he utilized the cleared spots of meadowland, old camping sites and beaver-dam meadows, to plant his maize, beans, and pumpkins. These crops were cultivated until thoroughly established; and then late in June he left them, moving to the coast, coastal inlets and coastal islands where he camped for the summer months, finding an easy living amid rich supplies of clams, lobsters, mussels, oysters, and deep-sea

fish. These were consumed in large quantities, and additional supplies were dried and cured for winter use. In the early fall, when the plague of flies and gnats in the woods had abated, he would move back to the head of tidewater, harvest his crop of vegetables when it had sufficiently ripened, and then in early autumn would move deep into the inland forest for the fall hunting.

Here the Indians would break up into smaller groups and scatter. In a sheltered spot, deep in the recess of some little valley, a dozen families would set up their winter wigwams. From this point the men of such a group would hunt over tremendous areas. In canoes they would proceed far up the major rivers and follow their tributaries deep into the inland recesses to the Chain of Lakes, across the Height of Land to the bounds of Canada and beyond. The meat from the hunt was smoked, cured, and cached along the line the inland waterways followed; and on the return trip in late autumn, it would be picked up and taken along to the winter home. At such times the game around their homes was left unmolested in order that there might be a supply of fresh meat for midwinter hunting when the range of the hunter would be limited by the cold or deep snow.

The banks of the Medomak afford ample evidence of the presence of the red man and of this economy. Shell beds line the river bank at numerous spots. Only a few need be mentioned here. Those on the shore banks of the Hezekiah Mink farm are typical. They are largely clamshell deposits, ranging to the usual thickness of three feet, and have yielded arrowheads, flint, and flint flakes. Just a bit below, on Trowbridge's Point, the farm owned by Mrs. Russell Cooney, stone tomahawks, arrowheads, and flint flakes have been found in the deposits. Other deposits from which stone artifacts have been taken are on the old Kuentzel farm now owned by Mark Smith, Brick Yard Point on Dutch Neck,<sup>7</sup> and Woltzgrover's Island at Forest Lake. From this latter deposit Elmer Eugley many years ago dug a small stone axe, fabricated by a savage apparently as a plaything for his son. There are many other points along the Medomak which furnish evidence of this mode of life practiced by the Indians of our valley and coastal region. The coming of the white man, who usurped the valley and this coastal area, interfered markedly with this age-long savage economy and was one of the factors which led to a century and a half of cruel and bloody strife.

The presence of these shell heaps in the Medomak and neighboring river valleys has been the subject of a good deal of irrational speculation. There is, however, no great mystery associated with them in the mind of the anthropologist, even in the case of

<sup>7</sup>The brick yard and wharf from which brick was shipped three-quarters of a century ago, when it was owned and worked by Moses Kaler.



very extensive ones, such as those in the Damariscotta area. These heaps are common throughout the United States. They are in the main deposits of rubbish resulting from the consumption of shellfish as food. They are not, however, always mere random accumulations; for during the period of deposition, and subsequently, the materials have been utilized by the savages for the erection of mounds for residence, for defense and as depositaries for the dead. Deposits covering ten and even twenty acres are not uncommon.

The sites of the few villages mentioned in this chapter do not include all Indian localities in Maine. These villages were small and often temporary in character, as the savage had very little to move, and there was oftentimes ample reason for his not abiding very long in one spot. Those listed also serve to make clear how sparsely populated the state was by its original Indian population. This fact is brought out in still clearer relief when it is recalled that at the time of discovery the Indian population of the United States did not exceed 850,000.<sup>8</sup> Their number undoubtedly seemed much larger to the colonists because of their practice of assembling from such great distances in order to carry on their warfare.

The Indians who claimed and roamed the valleys of the Medomak, the Sheepscot, the Damariscotta, and the Georges stoutly resisted the advance of the settlers in six wars before the latter were able to win an enduring peace. The very earliest English settlers in Lincoln County in these earlier wars were repeatedly driven from their homes, and for decades at a time the country was virtually abandoned and lay waste. On the shores of the Medomak the Germans and Scotch-Irish were visited by the last two of these struggles only, which will be reviewed in sequence in the later chapters.

<sup>8</sup>John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the *New York Times*, April 3, 1939.

### III

## THE DISCOVERY OF THE MAINE COASTAL AREA AND ITS EARLY EXPLORERS

*By the time the Mayflower sailed, one could find men in any fishing port from Bristol to Bilbao who could tell the bearings of Cape Ann from Cape Cod, and compare the holding ground in any harbor from Narragansett to Passamaquoddy.*

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF OUR LAND area and its earliest occupants have been set forth in outline in the preceding chapters, and with this the prehistorical survey has been completed. At this point the curtain inevitably rises on the earliest scenes in the conquest of a new continent, and the history of our tiny district begins, and begins fittingly, as a phase of world history. Such it is and undeniably always has been. To speak contrariwise would be to affirm that a part is not a portion of a whole. By the same token local history is world history. That of Waldoborough must, in the nature of things, be simple and obscure; yet there has little happened in it since the time of the discovery of its area by white men that is not a reflection and an effect of those deep causal forces which have been slowly molding the world over the decades and centuries into what it was yesterday and what it is today.

The discovery of the American continent was an accident, and the discovery and exploration of the Maine coastal area was a very early incident in this accident. The earliest discoverers and explorers were not searching for America, nor were they in quest of Muscongus Bay or of the headwaters of the Medomak, nor of any other point along the Atlantic seaboard. As a matter of fact, they were looking for Asia and the Spice Islands of the East when America showed up. Columbus never realized that he had discovered America. In his third voyage, when he reached the continent of South America, it was his belief that at last he had found the mainland of Asia. Everyone else thought so too. All through Europe it was noised about that the Genoese Captain had "found that way never before known to the East."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ramusis, *Raccolta di Navigazioni*, I, 414, quoted by E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (New York, 1904).

In this general belief John Cabot in 1496 applied for letters patent from Henry VII of England to equip an expedition for Cipango (Japan). According to the King's commission, he was "to set up banners and ensigns in every village, isle and mainland, so newly discovered." It is held by many scholars that in 1497 or 1498 a second expedition sailed under the command of Sebastian Cabot; that on this voyage, after making his landfall far in the north, he sailed south from the barren shore of Labrador, discovered Newfoundland, and entered Maine waters believing that he was sailing along the mainland of Asia; and that he skirted the coast from 56° to 38° north latitude. His ships were small and since his primary search was for Asiatic lands, he probably sailed close in among the islands to see what the continent was like. In this case he may have navigated the waters of Muscongus Bay and become possibly the discoverer of our area and the first European to sail its waters.

The second generation of explorers learned the truth with reference to the existence of a new world, and thereafter the search became one for a passage leading through to the continent of Asia. Spain and Portugal, at an early date, modestly agreed to divide this newly discovered world between themselves with the sanction of Pope Alexander VI.<sup>2</sup> Neither France nor England accepted this twofold jurisdiction, and in 1524 France sent her first adventurer across the Atlantic in the person of the Florentine, Verazanno, who in one ship with fifty men explored northward from Cape Hatteras to Nova Scotia and gave the name of Nouvelle France to the territory. In 1534 he was followed by Jacques Cartier and Roberval who explored the St. Lawrence and the adjacent region in search of the elusive passage. Verazanno of a certainty was in Maine waters, but how far inland he penetrated, if at all, will never be known. An important factor introduced into our local history as a result of these voyages is that they laid in part the foundation of the later French claim to our district which was persistently asserted for two hundred years, and underlay the Indian activity and warfare that made the existence of the settlers in this area so precarious during the first six decades of the eighteenth century.

What was the origin of this eagerness to reach the Indies to which we owe the presence of these first Europeans in our area? Stefan Zweig in his biography of Magellan answers the question in these simple words: "It all began with spice."<sup>3</sup> This is seemingly a rather small matter, but it looms rather large in world history and is directly reflected in our own. It was during the Crusades

<sup>2</sup>Father of Cesare Borgia.

<sup>3</sup>*Conqueror of the Seas* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1938).



that medieval Europe had learned what a change in the savor of food could be effected by sugar and spice. The European coarse food and unskillful cookery had been made palatable by the sweets and spices of the East, and hence it came to pass that an insistent demand was set up for such commodities. In the mid-fifteenth century this trade had come to a standstill. Access to its source was blocked by the rise of a new power in the Near East. The fly in this sweet commerce was the Ottoman Turk. By 1453 he had conquered Constantinople and abrogated all the old trade privileges of Europe with the Orient. Hence the demand of European markets for eastern products could no longer be met, yet the demand for such commodities had in no sense abated. This constituted a real problem for European trade and rendered sugars and spices rare and priceless.

In old American deeds or grants made by some of the original proprietors, including our own, we find the latter exacting one peppercorn as annual rental for the use of land. To the modern this may seem odd and trifling. It does, however, reflect a real value which passed into legal terminology from this fifteenth-century condition. It followed then inevitably from the conditions here outlined that the men, the nation, or the government that could find a new way to the Orient, free from all the checks, tributes, and interruptions imposed by the Turk, might claim a trade of indefinite extent and almost unlimited profit. This was the major motive which lay behind the voyages of one hundred and fifty years to the westward, and sent the explorers of Europe to scan our coasts and peer into our inlets, including that of our own Muscongus Bay.

There is probably little point in cataloguing all the voyagers who came to our coast and cruised in the waters of this particular area. They were too numerous and many are unknown, for fishing expeditions to the coast on the part of both the English and the French started shortly after the Cabot voyage of 1497. Spanish vessels, too, were engaged in this business as early as 1517. In 1527 twelve French fishing vessels are known to have been on the coast, and in the next twenty years their number increased in excess of two hundred and fifty. By 1600 England was sending annually more than a hundred fishing vessels to the North Atlantic coast. At first they frequented the Grand Banks, but by the close of the sixteenth century their voyages included Maine waters, and they were thoroughly established on the Maine coast. No section was better suited to fishing than the area between the Kennebec and the Penobscot; and with the lapse of a few more years, we find the headquarters of this activity located in our own area at Monhegan and Pemaquid.



Meanwhile there had been no diminution in either the interest or activities of European states. In 1603 Henry IV of France granted to De Monts a charter of Acadia. This grant included the Waldoborough area and represents the first assignment of this district to any European proprietor. The next year saw Poutrincourt and Champlain cruising in the coastal waters of the state. Naming Monhegan Island *La Nef*, they passed on leisurely to the eastward and established a settlement at the mouth of the St. Croix River, which was abandoned after the first winter. A new settlement was made at Port Royal.

The early French voyagers on this coast, in contrast with the English, treated the Indians kindly and courteously, and even at this time laid the foundations of that close friendship between the two races which a little later was to cost the English settler so dearly. The object of the early French posts was trade, not agriculture. This was a policy which left the Indian in undisturbed possession of his forest. The use to which the French put the land was in harmony with the Indian's economic needs, whereas the English method of clearing and settling land limited the savage in his hunting and deprived him of his fishing privileges. In the absence of any basic economic conflict between the French and Indians throughout the colonial period, alliances between the two were always made with relative ease. The English were never successful in destroying these alliances until the power of both races was broken on the American continent.

The English, ever jealous and suspicious of French exploration, were not slow in matching their endeavors. In March 1602 Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, in the *Concord* with thirty-two men, sailed along the great circle instead of by the route previously followed, namely, via the Canaries and the Azores, and made his landfall at 42° north latitude. From thence he sailed southward to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. The only significance of the voyage was that it established the direct route from Europe to Maine waters. The trip was made in seven weeks and the return trip in five weeks. This rather speedy transit attracted much attention inasmuch as it shortened the voyage by about one hundred leagues. This was especially the case in the city of Bristol which was destined to become, in the early colonial period, more intimately associated with our history than any other English city.

In view of the interest aroused, a new expedition was shortly projected in the city of Bristol. Among others it commanded the backing of Robert Aldsworth, a young and ambitious merchant of the city, who later became one of the joint proprietors of the Pemaquid Patent. This claim, in the possession of his heirs, later came into conflict with that of General Waldo, relative to the land

on the west bank of the Medomak. It remained a source of acute trouble to the founding fathers on our "west side" down to the hour of final adjudication in 1811.

By far the most important for our area of all these early voyages came about in 1605. It was made by Captain George Weymouth. He sailed from Ratcliffe, England, on March 5, 1605, with a crew of twenty-nine men in the ship *Archangel*. Among the members of the ship's company was one James Rosier, the chronicler of the voyage. Rosier has left a very complete account of this exploration in the book known as *Rosier's Relation*.<sup>4</sup> This is a fascinating account of the survey made by Weymouth, and it includes a detailed narrative of all important things seen and done. In fact, it gives us the first authentic picture of this general area and of the people who were living here. The account of this exploration by Weymouth cannot be told in any way more effective than by drawing excerpts from Rosier's narrative which pertain to this district. The ship's landfall in the new world was made amid the sands and shoals of Cape Cod. Not daring to anchor there, they sailed north, seeking land with bolder water. Rosier relates:

We much desired land and sought for it. Friday, the 17th of May, about six o'clock at night we descried the land . . . but because it blew a great gale of winde, the sea very high and neere night, not fit to come upon an unknown coast, we stood off until two o'clock in the morning, being Saturday; then standing in with it again, we descried it by eight o'clock in the morning, being northeast from us. It appeared a meane high land, as we after found it, being but an island of some six miles in compasse, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered.

The island was "woody, grown with firre, birch, oke and beech, as farre as saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow gooseberries, strawberries, wild pease, and wild rose bushes. The water issued forth down the rocky cliffes in many places; and much fowle of divers kinds breed upon the shores and rocks."

At two o'clock that day, they landed and Monhegan became the first land in New England on which, according to recorded history, white man ever set foot. Rosier continues:

From hence we might discerne the maine land from the west-south-west to the east-north-east and a great way . . . up into the maine we might discern very high mountaines, though the maine seemed but low land. The next day being Whit-Sunday; because we rode too much open to the sea and windes, we weyed anker about twelve a clocke, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the maine, and in the rode directly with the mountaines, about three leagues from the first island where we had ankered.

<sup>4</sup>Printed for the Georges Society (Portland, Me., 1887).



Here a small boat was manned to approach the shore, make soundings and seek "a safe place for our shippe to ride in; in the meanwhile we kept aloofe at sea, having given them in the boat a token to weffe in the ship, if he found a convenient harbor; which it pleased God to send us, farre beyond our expectations, in a most safe berth defended from all windes." In gratitude Weymouth named this harbor "Pentecost." It was among the Georges Islands which can be seen from the chart as the group next east of Mon-



The First Recorded Meeting between White Men and Red Men in New England. Allen's Island, *Muscongus Bay*  
May 30, 1605.

hegan. On the largest of this group, now known as Allen's Island, they set up "a crosse upon the shore side upon the rockes." This was an act, Rosier adds, "never omitted by any christian explorer." The next week was spent in exploring the islands and the adjacent coast around the mouth of the St. Georges River.

It was not until the afternoon of May 30th that Weymouth and his men learned aught of the inhabitants of this new land. On this day they discerned, in the distance, several canoes paddled by Indians. They were undoubtedly braves or warriors of the Wewenoc tribe who were away hunting, or who had come out



from their summer encampment on the mainland. Rosier thus describes their visit:

This day about five o'clock in the afternoon, we in the shippe espied three canoes coming towards us, which went to the island adjoining, where they went ashore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ship; to whom we made signes with our hands and hats, weffing unto them to come unto us, because we had not seen any of the people yet. They sent one canoe with three men, one of which, when they came neere unto us, spake in his language very lowd and boldly; seeming as though he would know why we were there, and by pointing with his oare towards the sea, we conjectured he meant we should be gone.

What these red men thought and what this red man said in this first interchange of words between the two races will never be known. His words may indeed have been portentous of a future of long, dark, and bloody years.

Gradually the crew of the *Archangel* enticed the savages into intercourse and showed them the use of such articles as combs, mirrors, and knives. They also made them gifts of cheap rings, bracelets, and peacock feathers, until in the course of time they "seemed all very civil and merrie," and finally came aboard the ship. Here an active barter took place, the merest gaudy trifles being exchanged for valuable furs. Rosier writes: "I traded with the savages all the fore noone . . . for knives, glasses, combs, and other trifles to the value of foure or five shillings. We had 40 good beaver skins, sables, and other small skins." The Indians apparently were eager to continue this trade and importuned the white men in the sign language to accompany them to their houses where they evidently had a much larger supply of furs which they wished to offer in trade.

The Rosier narrative continues:

Munday the third of June . . . they came about our ship, earnestly by signs desiring that we should go with them along to the maine. Our capitaine manned the light-horseman with as many men as he could well, which were about fiftene with rowers and all; and we went along with them. Two of their canoas they sent away before, and they which lay aboard us all night, kept company with us to direct us. . . . They in their canoe with three oares, would at their will go ahead of us and about us, when we rowed with eight oares strong; such was their swiftnesse.

They finally reached a little point of land where the Indians on shore had kindled their fires. Here the savages wanted the crew of the "light-horseman" to land, but the latter feared treachery, and there was delay. In the end one of the Englishmen, Owen Griffin, went ashore to look the situation over; and one savage came aboard the pinnacle as a token of good faith. When Griffin returned

to the boat, he reported that there were on the shore "two hundred and eighty-three savages, everyone with his bowe and arrowes," and "not anything to exchange at all." The English alleged that they felt treachery, for Rosier adds they "would have drawn us up further into a little narrowe nooke of a river for their furies as they pretended." This "narrowe nooke of a river" was, in all probability, the present New Harbor. The treachery which Rosier alleged the Englishmen sensed may have been merely a verbal screen to justify their own nefarious objective of capturing some of these savages, for Rosier continues: "Wherefore after good advice taken we determined so soone as we could to take some of them, least (being suspitious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us." With this design they made five savages prisoners. Three were lured on board the boats, and two were taken by force on the shore. This probably took place somewhat later as they would hardly have attempted it at this time, in the face of so superior a force. The first known act of aggression committed by the whites against the red man in New England, this event probably took place on one of the Georges Islands. The names of these Indian captives were Tahenedo, "a sagamo or commander," Amoret, Skidwarres, and Maneddo, "gentlemen," and Saffacomoit, "a servant." They were taken by Weymouth to England. Samuel de Champlain, in his account of a voyage along the coast in the same year, states that he was told by Anasou, an Indian, that the English "had killed five savages under the cover of friendship."<sup>5</sup> This was the first step taken by the English to lay the foundation of a hatred which was to endure upwards of two centuries and was, again and again, to drench the very ground with the blood of their own countrymen.

It is true, however, that these five captives did contribute in a very direct way to plans for settling this area which were shortly to be initiated in England; for on Weymouth's return to his native country Sir Ferdinando Gorges became interested in him and his captives, three of whom he took into his own family. These captives, said Gorges, "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." They acquired some knowledge of English and told Sir Ferdinando of the "goodly rivers," and "stately harbors" of America, of the different tribes of savages, of their locations and their ways of life. From this time on, Gorges became the leading figure in western England in promoting American exploration and settlement. The savages were treated with the greatest dignity and kindness. Tahenedo returned to Pemaquid in 1606 with Captain Martin Pring of Bristol, England. Skidwarres returned with George Popham

<sup>5</sup>*Brief Narration*, Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., II, 17.



the next year. Maneddo and Saffacomoit, with Captain Henry Challons, were captured by the Spaniards on their trip across. Saffacomoit was recovered later, but the fate of his companion was never known. Gorges bemoaned the loss of these wild guests who contributed so markedly in England to the interest in their homeland.

After the seizure of the five natives, Weymouth lingered for a few weeks longer in Muscongus waters. On June 11, 1605, he ascended the St. Georges River for a second time and marched with some of his men across the country for four miles in the direction of the Camden Hills, hoping to reach these mountains. The day was so hot and their armor so heavy that they soon became weary of "so tedious and laborsom a travel," and returned to their light-horseman. The next day they resumed their exploration of the river and searched particularly for that "part of the river which trended westward into the maine." At the end of the day the cross was set up, and the crew returned to their ship. On Sunday, June 16th, "the winde being faire," the *Archangel* set sail for England.

Weymouth's voyage had been sponsored by the Earl of Southampton, a friend of William Shakespeare, and Thomas Arundel, Baron of Wardour, the Earl's son-in-law. Its purpose had been to explore the coast and to locate a site suitable for a plantation. Muscongus Bay, as such a site, is described by Rosier as "answerable to the intent of our discovery, being fit for any nation to inhabit." In view of the grant of this area to De Monts by Henry IV of France, it was realized that the French were becoming active on the coast; and it was desired to know just what they were doing in order to counteract any possible plan from that quarter. In fact, just two weeks after Weymouth had headed back for England, Champlain rounded Pemaquid Point and sailed on to Mount Desert. It was in part on this voyage that France based her later claim to this portion of the new world, and it was in part on Weymouth's voyage that England based her claim to the same identical section.<sup>6</sup> The captured savages and Rosier's narrative served to dramatize these discoveries and claims in the imaginations of many Englishmen. Interest was stimulated thereby and plans were formulated to give substance to the British claim. Gorges became the leading figure in this movement; and his interest in colonizing projects, conceived at this time, ended only with his life. The thoughts of other prominent English merchants and noblemen began to turn westward with similar intent. This

<sup>6</sup>Shortly after 1621, in view of the representations of the French Ambassador apropos of the grant of Acadia to Sir Wm. Alexander, James I commanded Gorges to defend the claims of England. Gorges based the claim on the discoveries of the Cabots, the voyage of Weymouth and others, and on the possession and settlement of Popham on the Kennebec.



took substance in 1606 when a joint stock company was formed with the object of planting two colonies on the American coast. As the first of these two projects had its headquarters in London, it became known as the London Company; and the second, which was backed by west England men, became known as the Plymouth Company. It is this latter company and its plans and policies which is the more closely connected with our history.

In 1607 the Plymouth Company embarked on its first colonial venture. Under its direction there was organized an expedition in charge of George Popham, a nephew of Chief Justice Popham, and Raleigh Gilbert, the son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Its two ships were the *Mary and John* and the *Gift of God*. The two vessels carried a total of one hundred and twenty planters. On June 1, 1607, they sailed from Plymouth Harbor. The ships soon became separated. On July 31st the *Mary and John* made her landfall off Nova Scotia and came to anchor in 44° 30' north latitude. From this position she proceeded southward along the coast and on August 5th sighted the Blue Hills of Camden — "three heigh mountains that lye in upon the mainland near unto the ryver of Sagadahock." The next day they found "three other illands . . . and about ten of the klok att nyght . . . recovered them." The early morning sun revealed the cross of Weymouth upon the lonely shore and they knew they had reached haven among the Georges Islands.<sup>7</sup>

In the days immediately following, while the ships were lying at anchor at Allen's Island, certain excursions of an exploratory character were made in adjacent waters which merit recognition here as a part of the earliest history of this area. They were doubtless made in the quest of a desirable location for the planting of the colony. The first of these trips was to the westward and to Pemaquid.

The next day, Sunday, August 9th, the explorers were back at Allen's Island and held the first religious service of a Christian nature ever conducted in New England. This service was in the open on the shore "wheare the crosse standeth. Thear we heard a sermon delyvered unto us by our preacher,<sup>8</sup> giving God thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the country. . . ."<sup>9</sup> So it was that the first Christian worship ever held in New England took place in our district.<sup>10</sup> It antedated the devotions of the Plymouth Pilgrims by a full thirteen years.

On Monday, August 10th, Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty men, and Captain Raleigh Gilbert in his ship's boat with

<sup>7</sup>*Strachey's Account*, Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., III, 283.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Seymour.

<sup>9</sup>Henry Burrage, *The Beginnings of Colonial Maine* (Portland, 1914), p. 72.

<sup>10</sup>This spot has since been appropriately marked by the Episcopal Church as the site of its first service of worship in the New World.

twenty men, rounded Pemaquid Point and "sailed towards the ryver of Pemaquid."

The English camped that night on the western shore of the inner harbor. The next day they rejoined their ships at Allen's Island and on August 12th sailed for the mouth of the Kennebec where they began their ill-starred settlement at Popham. As this enterprise is beyond the geographical range of our district, their activities will not be followed. It simply remains for us to clarify somewhat the historical facts implied in those few days of exploration, from August 8th to August 12th, in the land area of Muscongus Bay.

The two visits to Pemaquid by men of the Popham expedition were made, in the first place, by landing at New Harbor and marching across the peninsula to the beach; and secondly, by rounding the Point and coming up off the Indian village at the beach. Weymouth had progressed only as far as New Harbor and had not dared to accompany the savages overland to their village, where doubtless were the larger store of furs and tobacco which they had desired to use in trade. We are safe then in inferring that the village at Pemaquid Beach was there in 1605. These facts would clearly indicate that this was the summer site of at least one of the prehistoric Indian settlements in our area.

In the meantime European vessels were becoming commoner on the Maine coast. In passing, incidental reference may be made to Henrik Hudson who in 1609 cruised in the waters of Muscongus Bay in sailing from the Penobscot to Cape Cod. There is, however, need to consider in any detail only one more feat of exploration in our area. This preceded the period of earliest settlement by only a few years. It was the most detailed and extended of all and was made by no less famous a personage than Captain John Smith, who was unquestionably the most versatile and picturesque personality connected with early American exploration and settlement. He was a soldier, sailor, administrator, and author. His *Description of New England* starts in abruptly as follows:

In the month of April 1614 with two ships of London, of a few marchants, I chanced to arrive in New England, a parte of Ameryca, at the Isle of Monahiggan, in 43½ degrees northerly latitude, — our plot was there to take whales and make tryalls of a myne of gold and copper. If those failed, fish and furies was then our refuge. . . . Monahiggan is a round Isle, and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we rid.

Whales, gold, and copper apparently were not forthcoming, so Smith set his men to fishing in Monhegan waters, and "whilst the sailors fished, myselfe with eight or nine others of them might best be spared; ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles



neer 1100 bever skinnes, 100 martins, and neer as many otters; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. . . . We ranged the coast both East and West much further." Smith traded, studied the country and its contours closely in the interest of map making, fraternized with the Indians, and formulated plans for settling and holding the country permanently. "The savages," he says, "have entreated me to inhabit if I will." Such a plan became definite in 1615 in his projected second voyage when he was supplied with sixteen men for this purpose. The place of projected settlement in New England is not entirely clear in his *Description*, but it seems to have been somewhere in Muscongus Bay, where he had arranged with the Wewenocs to have them furnish him territory and aid in return for protection, for he states: "I had concluded to inhabit and defend them against the Taratines."<sup>11</sup> He knew Tahenedo, whom he called Dohoday, and had been able to win his confidence along with that of the other Indians at the Pemaquid village.

The maine assistance next to God to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the salvages, especially with Dohoday, one of their greatest Lords, who had lived long in England<sup>12</sup> . . . by the meanes of this proud salvage, I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit amongst the rest of the salvages,<sup>13</sup> and their alliance, to have as many of them as I desired in any designe I intended, and that trade also which they had by such kind of exchange of their countrey commodities, which with both ease and securitie might then have been used with them and divers others.

On July 18th Smith set sail for England in one of his two ships, his mind filled with designs for a return and a settlement in this area which he had found so profitable and so pleasant. But Captain John Smith was destined never to return. Three times he essayed it. The first attempt was frustrated by a tempest which dismasted his ship; in the second venture he was captured by French pirates; and in the third he was held windbound in Plymouth Harbor for three months, whereupon he was deserted by his backers and never again did he sail to American waters. But for these fateful events one cannot but wonder what might have happened. Beyond question Smith knew how to make colonial enterprises succeed. Had he been able to return, it might easily have come to pass that the first *permanent* settlement in New England would have been planted somewhere on the shores of Muscongus Bay. As it turned out Smith turned to publicity work. He wrote his history, travelled up and down England, familiarizing

<sup>11</sup>Probably the Penobscot Indians.

<sup>12</sup>This is the last reference in history to Tahenedo. It is not improbable that he fell a victim in the war of 1612-17, or in the pestilence immediately following this war.

<sup>13</sup>The Wewenocs.



the public with the New England he knew, and completed his map (1616), the crude lines of which show the areas he had sailed and the contours he had studied. In his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England* . . . he explains that

the most northern part I was at was the Bay of Penobscot. . . . Segocket<sup>14</sup> is the next, then Nufconcus, Pemaquid and Sagadahock. . . . But all this coast to Penobscot, and as farre as I could see eastward of it is nothing but such high, craggy, cliffy rocks and stoney iles that I wondered such great trees could growe upon so hard foundations. . . . It is a countrie to affright rather than to delight one.

In the early years of the century prior to the voyage of Captain John Smith, English fishermen had been visiting Maine waters annually. The number continued to increase, and this area soon became a mecca for this business. Smith wrote while his ship was lying at Monhegan: "Now all these ships till these last two yeares have been fishing within a square of two or three leagues." This square was largely delimited by the waters of Monhegan, easterly, and by Damariscove Island on the west. Through the activities of the fishermen and through the writings of Rosier and Smith, this district became the first part of New England really well known to Englishmen. In consequence its early settlement was inevitable. In fact, the first attempt at settlement had been made at Popham seven years before Smith ever reached these shores. The story of its disaster is a familiar tale. The next step was a matter of colonization following trade. It was the fisherman who took this step. Fish, after they were taken, had to be dried on shore. For this purpose some of the men had to live ashore. For such, habitations were necessary as well as buildings to house stores and supplies. At first such residences were but temporary summer quarters. The next step involved homes of a more permanent character. The case was, as William Cullen Bryant stated it in his *Popular History* two hundred years later: "They [the fishermen] stepped from the deck of a fishing smack and began the work of founding a republic by tending the rude stages where the fish were dried." The beginning of settlement made the land desirable in the eyes of the great folk who might find profit in owning a growing land. So it is that our history enters its next phase, in which these shore areas with huge stretches of the back country were awarded by the crown claiming them to the companies and proprietors interested in development, trade, and settlements.

<sup>14</sup>St. Georges.

## IV

THE STAKING OF CLAIMS IN THE  
WALDOBOROUGH AREA

*At the opening of the seventeenth century the very air was charged with schemes for growing rich in a thousand ventures connected with the commerce and settlements of expanding England.*

CHARLES A. BEARD

**B**EFORE THE LAST IMPORTANT PIECE of exploration in the Waldoborough area had been completed, the staking out of claims covering this district had begun. The first move by the British in this direction was made in 1606 when James I issued a patent under the great seal which is generally known as the first Virginia Charter — the term Virginia at this time being applied loosely to the eastern coastal area of America. The London Company received the exclusive right to locate its first settlement between 34° and 38° north latitude, while the Plymouth Company received the exclusive right to plant their first settlement between 41° and 44° north latitude, that is, in the area reaching from the present Manhattan Island to Halifax. This was the first grant made by the British Crown from the land which it claimed in the New World. The grant made to the Frenchman, De Monts, as has been indicated, preceded this by a period of three years. The Waldoborough area lay within the range of both these grants made by the French and British crowns.

As students of American history we are familiar with the first colonizing venture of each company, the one at Jamestown, Virginia, and the one at Popham, Maine. Of the two groups settled under the charter issued by King James, the one in Virginia underwent years of suffering before the permanency of its venture became a certainty. At Popham on the Kennebec the tragedy was briefer, but tragedy there was. During that first winter the colony lost its leader, George Popham, by death, and its storehouse by fire. The following spring all the planters returned to England, and with their departure ended the first effort at settlement in Maine. For a number of years nothing more was done in the north

apart from trading and fishing which in the earliest years entailed only seasonal voyages to this coast. The accounts of Rosier, John Smith, and others, however, again stirred the English imagination relative to these parts; and by the beginning of the second decade of the century, new projects were simmering. In 1620 Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Raleigh Gilbert and associates — forty noblemen and gentlemen in all — secured a new charter from the Crown under the name of The Council for New England. Gorges was the moving and dominant figure in this group. Henceforth Maine and its colonization became the major ambition of his life. The patent granted to the Council covered the territory between 40° and 48° north latitude, and already bore the name of New England, a term which had originated with Captain John Smith. What doubtless appealed most strongly to some of the associates was the fact that this charter gave them a virtual monopoly of the rich fisheries along the whole New England Coast.

The first permanent settlement within the charter limits of the Council was an accident and was made at Plymouth by the Pilgrims in 1620. Before leaving England the Pilgrims had secured a patent from the London Company authorizing them to settle within the limits of its grant; and their objective had been lands farther south, probably along the Delaware. As their grant was without force outside of Virginia, other arrangements had to be made both in securing a legal claim to the land and in establishing the forms of a civil government for a settlement in the area to which fate had led them. This condition led in the first place to the drafting of the famous Mayflower Compact as an immediate solution to the problem of government, and in the second place to an application to The Council for New England for a charter.

Their petition for a charter was sent to England by the *Mayflower* on her return trip and was readily granted. It was issued in the name of John Peirce, "citizen and cloth worker of London,"<sup>1</sup> and a number of associates. It reached Plymouth in 1621 on the ship *Fortune*. This charter was a rather unique document. It recognized no metes and bounds, but stated simply that a settlement had been begun in New England, and conveyed to Peirce and his associates one hundred acres of land for every person who might be transported to New England by them, and who would continue in the country for a period of three years. Peirce, however, is related to this district in a way even more direct. It seems clear that he was interested either in securing a degree of control in the Plymouth venture, or else he had colonial

<sup>1</sup>This name is spelled variously as Peirce, Pierce and Pearce. See also Colls. Me. Hist. Soc. Doc. Ser., Ser. 2, VII, 45-53.



designs of his own, for without the knowledge of the Pilgrims he applied for and received on April 20, 1622, a second patent which superseded the first one. This move definitely jeopardized the title of the settlers at Plymouth. They clearly felt that they had been played false and at once demanded redress of the Council. A settlement of this difficulty was effected in 1623 on the basis of a payment of £500 to Peirce and a new charter confirming them in their location, and stating that "the surplus, [of land] that is to remain over and above by reason of the late grant [1622] the said Peirce to enjoy and make his best benefit of, as to him shall seem good."

If Peirce had hoped to secure a controlling voice in the affairs of the group at Plymouth, he was balked by this vigorous reaction of the Pilgrims to his plan. At this point the "London cloth worker" and his colonial schemes disappear completely from our history; but after the lapse of a brief time, a Richard Pearce, allegedly a son of John Peirce, emerges from the obscurity of the early history of this area as a resident of Muscongus. He married the daughter of John Brown of New Harbor, who in July 1625 allegedly purchased land of the two Indian sagamores, Samoset and Unongoit, which embraced parts of the present township of Waldoboro. One hundred and fifty years later the descendants of Brown and Pearce, basing their claims in part upon the Peirce patent of 1622 and in part on the Indian deed of 1625, asserted their right to the lands on the west bank of the Medomak at that time in the possession of Waldo's German immigrants.

It seems probable that John Brown, Richard Pearce, and others came to the Muscongus district shortly after 1623. They were possibly sent by the elder Peirce who may have wished to clinch his claim under the patent by even a very small settlement. These settlers may have been the men that Samoset had in mind when in 1623 he told Levett at Cape Newagen that there were white men in possession of land at Pemaquid.

This patent, issued to John Peirce and his associates in 1622, together with the alleged purchase of land on the western shore of Muscongus Bay by Brown in 1625, opens a chapter in the land troubles of the early settlers of Waldoborough which remained a fruitful source of controversy and litigation until finally settled by legislative fiat in 1813. This fact linked Brown closely to Waldoborough history for upwards of three-quarters of a century, hence the basis of his claim should be outlined in some detail. John Brown came to this district directly from Bristol, England, between 1623 and 1625. A son of Richard Brown of Barton Regis in Gloucester, England, he married Margaret, the daughter of Francis Hayward of Bristol, also in England. Brown, who was

commonly known as John Brown of New Harbor, mason, derives his prominence in our annals from his supposed purchase of land in our district from the Indians. The extent of the territory covered by this purchase is indicated on the map connected with this chapter.

For many years this Indian deed of John Brown's was regarded as the first instrument of its kind drawn on American soil. The document, however, has in recent years occasioned doubts in the minds of historians. John Johnston calls attention to the fact that the deed was not recorded until after the lapse of one hundred and twenty years, and that it was then entered on the records at Charlestown, Massachusetts. He also cites it as being remarkable that thirty-five years after this transaction, that is, in the year 1660, the names on the Indian deed, Matthew Newman and William Cox, appear as witnesses to a deed from John Brown of New Harbor to Sander Gould and his wife, who was Brown's daughter.<sup>2</sup> More recent studies of this document have led contemporary students of Maine history to the conclusion that it is a forgery perpetrated by certain of Brown's descendants to establish a claim to a considerable portion of the Muscongus area. The evidence is set forth in detail by Wilbur D. Spencer, and it appears conclusive.<sup>3</sup> The document is in no sense precise as to its bounds and points from which bearings are given; but even when construed generally, it pushes the extreme northern boundary of the claim beyond the limits of the townships of Waldoborough and Jefferson to about the center of Washington. Its outline, sketched on the map in this chapter showing the original land grants, can naturally be no more definite than the instrument itself warrants. The validity of this claim is only an incidental and interesting factor in our history. Its sole importance arises from the fact that the descendants did enter and prosecute a claim based upon its provisions.<sup>4</sup> This, along with other overlapping claims, constituted a momentous and destabilizing factor which was many years later replete with unfortunate consequences in our history.

In the later disposition of the land in the Waldoborough area, the Brown claim had little more than nuisance significance. The real struggle lay between the two major grants apportioning the land in this district. Both these documents were issued just prior to 1635 — in the period of greatest activity on the part of The Council for New England. This timing was particularly propitious especially from the standpoint of those interested in colonization, for it was only a little earlier in this century that the

<sup>2</sup>*History of Bristol, Bremen and Pemaquid.*

<sup>3</sup>*Pioneers on Maine Rivers* (Portland, 1930).

<sup>4</sup>The later heirs in the eighteenth century exhibited an unusual degree of freedom and irresponsibility in selling and conveying lands in this area to all purchasers with little reference to specific metes and bounds.



Indian population in this and contiguous districts had been greatly reduced. First they were decimated by a relentless inter-tribal war. Following close on its heels came the great pestilence, which was most deadly in the regions west of the Penobscot. Captain Dermer, who explored along the coast a couple of years later, in 1619, found areas a few years before occupied by natives now entirely vacated. The bones of the dead were left bleaching on the ground for years in some places, as the living dared not bury them.

This diminution of savage strength was regarded as providential by the English, as the Indians, even at this early date, were manifesting signs of acute suspicion due to continued mistreatment. As matters stood the very first settlers were given a respite from other than economic troubles in which to establish themselves. The fate of the Pilgrims at Plymouth might have been very different had they not found land cleared, unclaimed, and waiting for their first crops as a consequence of this plague. In England the attitude of those interested in American enterprises is reflected clearly in the Patent of New England granted by James to Ferdinando Gorges and his associates on November 3, 1620, where it is written:

We have been further given certainly to know, that within these late years, there hath, by God's visitation, reigned a wonderful plague amongst the savages there heretofore inhabiting, in a manner to the utter destruction, devastation and depopulation of that whole territory, so that is not left, for many leagues together, any that do claim or challenge any kind of interest therein.

Under such conditions The Council for New England became very active. It became even more active in the 1630's, when it realized that its life was destined to be short. On June 7, 1635, it was compelled to surrender its charter to the King. Before dissolving, however, its members divided by lot among themselves all the territory remaining within the limits of the grant, apparently in the expectation that the King would confirm this arrangement. Of the thirteen recorded grants made of Maine territory within the Council's brief lifetime of fifteen years, three included territory within the Waldoborough area. The first of these, to John Peirce and his associates on June 1, 1621, has already been reviewed. The second was a grant to John Beauchamp of London and Thomas Leverett of Boston, England, on February 12, 1630. The latter was apparently a member of Cotton Mather's church in Boston, England, and may have come with Mather to Boston in New England in 1633 as he was on October of that year there chosen a ruling elder of the church. John Beauchamp, too, came to Boston, but at a later date.



This grant was known as the Lincolnshire, or Muscongus, Patent. As it formed the basis of all the original allotments of land in Waldoborough, the document is here presented:

To all to whom this presented shall come greetings Know yee that the counsell established att Plimouth in the Countie of Devon for the plantinge ruleinge orderinge and governinge of New Englande in America for Divers good Causes and Considerations them thereunto especially moveinge. Have given granted bargained souled infeoffed allotted and sett over and by these presents doe cleerly and absolutely give grant bargain sell alien enfeoffe allot assigne and confirme unto John Beauchampe of London gent and Thomas Leverett of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne gent their heires assciats and assignes All and singular those Landes and Tenements and hereditaments whatsoever with the appurtenances thereof in New England aforesaide which are situate lyinge and beinge within or Betweene a place there commonly called or Knowne by the name of Musrongrus towarde the South or Southwest and a Straight Line extendinge from thence directly Tenn Leagues up into the Maine Lande and continend thence toward the greate Sea commonly called the South Sea and the Utmost Limitte of the space of Tenn Leagues on the North and the North East of a river in New Englande aforesaide commonly called Penobscott towards the North East and the greate Sea commonly called the Western Ocean towards the East and a Straight and direct line extendinge from the most western parte and pointe of the said straighte line which extends from Muscongeus aforesaide towards the South sea to the uttermost Northerne Limitte of the said Tenn Leagues on the North side of the said River of Penobscott towards the weste and all Landes groundes wood soiles Rivers waters Fishings hereditaments proffitts commodities priviledges franchises and emoliments whatsoever situate lyinge and beinge ariseinge happeninge or remaing or which shall arise happen or remain within the Limites and Boundes aforesaide or any of them Togeather with all said lande whatsoever and be within the space of Three miles of the saide Lande and premisses or any of them To HAVE AND TO HOLDE all and singularly the saide Lande Tenements and Hereditaments and premisses whatsoever with the appurtenances and every parte and parcell thereof unto the said John Beauchampe and Thomas Leverett their heires associats and Assigns forever to their only proper and absolute use and behoofe of the said John Beauchampe and Thomas Leverett their heires Associates and assignes for evermore To Be HOLDEN of the Kinges most excellent Majesty and successors as of his Manner of East Greenwich by Fealtie only and not in Capite nor by Lengthe of service YIELDING and PAYING unto his Majtie his heires and Successors the fifthe parte of ALL such Oare of gold and silver that shall be gotten and obtained in or upon the premisses or any parte thereof In WITNESS whereof the said Counsell established att Plimouth in the Countie of Devon for the plantinge ruleinge orderinge and governinge of New Englande in America have hereunto putt their Common Seale the thirteenth day of March in the first yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Charles by the Grace of God Kinge of Englande Scotlande France and Irelande Defender of the Faithe &c. ANNO Domini 1629.<sup>5</sup>

R. WARWICKE

<sup>5</sup>Archives, Mass. Hist. Soc. (Boston, Mass.).

This document was drawn up by a group of men in England, not one of whom had ever been on the Maine coast, and with a map certainly no more detailed or accurate than the crude outline published by Captain John Smith in 1616.<sup>6</sup> Its every mark bespeaks vagueness and haste. It was based on no survey. In consequence its metes and bounds are ill-defined indeed. In the eighteenth century they were construed as being from the seaboard between the Penobscot and Muscongus rivers to an unsurveyed line inland, running east and west, and as far north as would, without interfering with any other grant, embrace an area equal to thirty square miles. Despite the almost meaningless vagueness of this grant, its western bound was the only one ever successfully disputed. This arose from the looseness in early times with which the name Muscongus River was used. It was variously applied. Did it mean in the patent the present Medomak, or the small stream running into the sound at Muscongus, or was it the present Pemaquid River? It is highly doubtful if the hand that drafted this document could have given an answer to the question. Of these rivers, however, the Medomak was the only one of any importance by reason of size and became by court ruling the eventual western bound of the Muscongus Grant.

The original patent of Beauchamp and Leverett was purely a land grant and implied no powers of civil government. It was originally acquired for purposes of trade with the natives; and this was the first use ever made of it; for immediately after the acquisition the patentees appointed two agents, Edward Ashley and William Pierce, and dispatched them with five men to the St. Georges River where a truck house was built near the recently restored mansion of General Henry Knox. Here trade was inaugurated and carried on until the outbreak of King Philip's War (*circa* 1675) when the station was of necessity abandoned.

On the death of Beauchamp, Leverett, in the right of survivorship, succeeded to the whole patent. From him and wife, it passed in 1656 to his son, Captain John Leverett, who later became Governor of Massachusetts. Amid territorial shifts in this section at the close of each war between the English and the French, Leverett kept an eye on his eastern interests and maintained possession by his trade with the natives. In 1714 the patent descended to John Leverett, President of Harvard College, and a grandson of the original grantee.<sup>7</sup> He seriously considered planting settlers

<sup>6</sup>This document and the alleged Samoset deed to John Brown are contemporaneous. A comparison of the style, diction, and orthography are most revealing.

<sup>7</sup>And after the death of the said John Leverett the same descended to and became the sole and absolute estate and property of his grandson and heir-at-law, John Leverett of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex, Province of Massachusetts Bay, (the said Governor leaving no son). This inheritance was through Rebecca Lloyd, a daughter of Gov. Leverett. Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 9, p. 220.



on his grant; but feeling that the undertaking was too formidable for a single person, he associated others with himself and on August 14, 1719, divided the grant into ten shares. These were held by eight associates, as follows: John Bradford, twelve parts; Sarah Byfield, twelve parts; Elisha Cook, twenty-four parts; Hannah Davies, twelve parts; Nathaniel Hubbard, twelve parts; John Leverett, twenty-four parts; James Oliver, twelve parts; Spencer Phips, twelve parts. The shares allotted to Spencer Phips, adopted son of Governor Sir William Phips, were in exchange for a title which Sir William had obtained from the Penobscot Chief, Madockawando, in May 1694, of land on the St. Georges River as far up from the mouth as the lower falls or head of tide. By the absorption of this title the associates could claim unchallenged the Penobscot as their eastern bound.

In 1737 the Muscongus Grant was again divided, and others called the "Twenty Associates" were admitted into the Company as tenants in common, under mutual obligations for procuring settlers and making preparations for their accommodation.<sup>8</sup> Among these twenty additional associates were Cornelius Waldo<sup>9</sup> and Jonathan Waldo, the uncle and father of General Samuel. It was in this way that the Waldo family acquired a direct interest in the Muscongus Patent.

In the year 1729, while the grant was still in the hands of the eight associates, the effort to establish a settlement on the St. Georges River was renewed and an unexpected check received. It was at this same time that Colonel David Dunbar, a former colonel in the King's army, had received an appointment as Surveyor of the King's Woods in America, and through the aid in England of parties hostile to the Puritans, had also obtained a royal order under which the entire province of Sagadahoc was given into his hands; and he was directed to settle, superintend, and govern it, the only condition laid upon him being that he was enjoined to preserve 300,000 acres of the best oak and pine for the use of the Royal Navy. Dunbar was an able, positive, and energetic man; and through him the Muscongus Proprietors received a decided setback in their plans for a settlement. He forbade the Muscongus Proprietors proceeding on any other condition than that of taking deeds under him, a procedure which would of course have been an acknowledgment of the invalidity of their own claim.

In consequence of this position taken by Dunbar, petition and complaints against him were submitted to the General Court. A committee of this body made a full report on the claims of

<sup>8</sup>For indenture or Great Plan, containing names of all associates as well as map based on a survey of the Grant, see York Co. Reg. of Deeds (Alfred, Me.), Bk. 20, p. 109.

<sup>9</sup>There was a Cornelius in each generation, grandfather, uncle and cousin of Samuel. *Waldo Genealogy*, Arch. Am. Antiq. Soc. (Worcester, Mass.).



Massachusetts and on the conduct of Dunbar. A statement of the whole case was ordered to be presented to the Lords of Trade, and his dismissal was solicited. Samuel Waldo of Boston was sent to England to represent the interests of the colony in this case. His intercession was successful. On August 11, 1731, the King's attorney and solicitor general gave their opinion in favor of Massachusetts and the proprietors. On his return from this mission, Waldo was granted a further substantial interest in the patent and from then on became the dominant proprietor. In the indenture of December 12, 1737, "Ninety Great Lotts, & all of the said Twenty Lotts are claimed by, & Belong to the Said Samuel Waldo, as assignee of the said Twenty two last named Associates of and in the said lands on the Main." Of the one hundred and twenty lots in the grant, Waldo at this time was in possession of one hundred and ten. The "Great Lotts" were located in the inland area of the grant, while the whole coastal district had been divided into smaller lots in order that each associate might have access to the sea. This indenture of 1737 shows Waldo in possession of the whole coastal area of the Patent, and of ninety of the one hundred of the larger inland lots. From this time on, the colonization of this area became a matter under the exclusive direction of Samuel Waldo.<sup>10</sup>

From his return from England in 1731, the Muscongus Patent had become Waldo's major interest, and a good part of his time was devoted to extending his control and to plans for the development of the project. It was as though he feared that his claim under the grant to the lands on the west side of the Medomak River and Muscongus Bay was in no sense either certain or secure. Only in the light of such misgivings on his part can we explain his purchase in 1733 of such lands from James Stilson, Jr., an heir of the dubious Brown claim.

On August 8, 1660, John Brown of New Harbor had conveyed by a deed of gift to his son-in-law, Alexander Gould, and wife, a rather large section of land, known as the "eight mile square tract," which embraced a large area of the present town of Waldoboro—in fact, nearly the whole west bank of the Medomak from Broad Cove to Winslow's Mills and beyond. This is described in the deed as

a certain tract or parcel of land, lying in Broad Bay, beginning at a pine tree marked in the western most branch of the bay;<sup>11</sup> from thence

<sup>10</sup>An indenture of May 20, 1743, restates this division as follows: "... whereas this John Leverett and the other associates and partners to the present number of thirty Contracted and Agreed with Mr. Samuel Waldo of Boston Merchant that he the sd. Waldo should fully complete the settlement of this Tract of Land and perform all the terms and conditions. In consideration whereof they gave and granted unto the said Waldo all the aforesaid Tract of Land and premises ... except 100,000 acres thereof, which the Associates or Proprietors reserved to themselves." York Co. Deeds (Alfred, Maine), Bk. 24, pp. 35-36.

<sup>11</sup>The present Broad Cove.

north northeast by Muscongus River<sup>12</sup> eight miles; from thence eight miles northwest and by west; from thence south southwest eight miles; from thence south, east and by east eight miles to the tree where it first began.



The looseness of this delimiting method is characteristic of the many sales made under the Brown claim. Certain sections of this same tract were later sold by members of the Gould family

<sup>12</sup>The Medomak River.



without regard to the rights of the other heirs. Such a sale was that made by James Stilson, Jr., on March 27, 1733, to Samuel Waldo, when he conveyed for £200 an undivided half of this "eight miles square tract," and in addition seven hundred acres on Broad Bay adjoining it. This purchase to a degree strengthened Waldo's questionable claim to the west bank of the Medomak. In case his rights under the Patent should fail to embrace this area, he felt he would be in a position to support his claim by falling back on the Stilson deed. In the absence of any counterclaims at this time, he somewhat extravagantly insisted that the lands on the western side of the river and bay as far as and including Round Pond were within the limits of his grant. In fact, he actually sold a lot at Muscongus Harbor to William Burns and another at Round Pond to James Yeates. By the same token he did not hesitate a decade later to settle his German immigrants on the western bank of the Medomak.

This brief outline has sketched the development of the Muscongus Patent from 1630 until the time the stage was fully set for the appearance of the colonists. It has also told how Samuel Waldo came to be the "Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay," and it has prepared the background for an understanding of the issue of conflicting claims which inevitably arose as the lands in question became settled, cleared, and hence valuable. At one time no one in particular wanted them much. Later, after their development by the frugal, hard-working Germans, everyone with a claim wanted them.

Following the Muscongus Patent by a brief span of time came the last grant of land made in our area by The Council for New England. As will be seen it was a grant which embraced much of the Brown claim and enveloped in part that of General Waldo. Unfortunately for the future settlers of Waldoborough, it was a grant set forth in terms considerably more definite and explicit than any preceding it. This grant was known as the Pemaquid Patent. It was "made the nine and twentieth day of February, Anno D'm 1631, And in the seventh yeere of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God King..."

Under its terms

the said President and Councell doe further graunte assigne allott and confirm unto the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, of the City of Bristoll merchants, theire heires and assignes Twelve Thousand acres of land more over and above the aforesaid proporcon of One hundred acres the person for every person Transported or to be Transported as aforesaid as his or their proper inheritance forever, The same land to be bounded, Chosen, taken and laid out neere the River Commonly called or known by the name of PEMAQUID or by what other name or names the same is or have been or hereafter shall be called or knowne by and next adjoining by both along the Sea Coast Lyeth, and Soe upp the



River as farr as may containe the said Twelve Thousand acres within the said bredth and length Together with the said hundred acres for every person by them the said Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge to be transported as aforesaid Together alsoe with all the Iselands and Islettes within the lymitts aforesaid Three leagues into the Main Ocean.<sup>13</sup>

This is but a brief excerpt from a lengthy document. Its date is probably erroneous, since February 29th comes only in a leap year and 1631 was not such a year. According to our method of time calculation, the Charter, for such it was, was issued in the year 1632, certainly after the Beauchamp Leverett Patent. Under its provision each person was to receive one hundred acres of land provided he settled within a period of seven years from the date of the Charter. According to the deposition of Abraham Shurte, when delivery of possession was given him under the Charter as agent for Aldworth and Elbridge, it was agreed to bound the twelve thousand acres by a line drawn from the head of the Damariscotta River to the head of the Muscongus (Medomak) and between them to the sea, a tract containing nearer one hundred thousand acres than the twelve thousand acres stipulated in the Charter.<sup>14</sup> As a hundred years later the heirs laid claim to ninety thousand acres, it could only be on the grounds that a larger number of settlers was established in the colony under the provisions of the grant, a point on which the evidence is very scant indeed. It becomes immediately patent that under the terms of this document a conflict existed between it and the claims later to be made by General Waldo. It is this point that should be clearly kept in mind as a basis for an understanding of the later land troubles in the Broad Bay district.

On the death of Robert Aldworth in 1634, Elbridge became the sole possessor of the grant. On his decease it passed through various hands until in September 1657 Nicholas Davison of Charlestown, Massachusetts, became the sole proprietor. In pressing their claims his heirs were the proprietors so hated a century later by the settlers throughout the county. The activities of these owners were led and directed by Shem Drowne. In 1712 he had married Catherine Clark, one of the legatees of the Davison estate, and in this way had acquired a direct interest in the lands at stake. He believed in their value. Consequently in 1735 he assumed the role of agent and attorney in the interest of all the heirs. He early visited the area, introduced settlers, and probably had a preliminary survey made. In 1747 he had a final survey made of the whole tract. It was then divided into numbered lots which were subsequently distributed by lot among the several claimants.

<sup>13</sup>Archives, Amer. Antiq. Soc.; also Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., VII, 165.

<sup>14</sup>*Lincoln Report* (1811), p. 40.

There were in all twenty-two of these Davison heirs. They remained organized and active in the prosecution of their claims until 1774, when, on November 24th, they held their last meeting. To the early settlers, harassed by the demands of this agent, this grant was known as the Drowne claim. Thus in the brief period of its existence, The Council for New England by reason of its haste, its vagueness, and its ignorance of geographical details, laid the foundation of the two major warring claims which rendered the status of the settlers on the west bank of the Medomak a precarious and uncertain one for well over half a century.

From the middle of the seventeenth century a growing unrest among the Indians held in check any inland penetration from the coastal region in the Waldoborough land area. Beginning with King Philip's War in 1675, even the coastal districts were abandoned and the country lay waste until into the next century. In this interim successive forms of control were imposed over this area from without. New masters appeared; and the present Waldoboro land area became in turn a part of the counties of Cornwall, Devon, and Sagadahoc. These changes were but temporary in nature and largely a matter of the whim of the monarch reigning beyond the seas. They were simply brief interludes in the steady extension on the part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay of its power eastward.

The acquisition of sovereignty by Massachusetts over the territory of Maine was the outcome of successive thrusts northward made by the Bay Colony at times when the auspices in England were favorable to such a policy. Their charter had set the northern bound of the colony as "three miles to the northward of the Merrimac River and any and every branch thereof." Since this embraced the Maine settlements on the Piscataqua River, the inclusion of these settlements in the Bay Colony was formally ratified by the General Court in 1641.

The second thrust occurred in 1652, when, during the rise of the Puritan, Cromwell, in England, such a move faced no challenge. This time the General Court arbitrarily extended its northern boundary to three miles beyond the head of the Merrimac where it issues out of the lake.<sup>15</sup> From this point a line extending east and west brought the Casco Bay area in Maine under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This second move was checkmated in 1660 when Charles II was restored to the British Throne. The Monarch on complaint decided to investigate these developments beyond the seas, and dispatched a commission to the scene of the

<sup>15</sup>The Merrimac River is formed near Franklin by the union of the Winnepesaukee and Pemigewasset, the former being the short outlet of the lake of the same name and the latter the outlet of Profile Lake in Franconia, N. H.



dispute. After a thorough survey in the populated areas of western Maine the government of Massachusetts in the newly claimed areas in Maine was annulled, and a new civil control set up. In 1666 the commission was recalled and England went to war with France and Holland. Civil control in Maine faltered and the Bay Colony was importuned by the native population to intervene, which it did and again took over jurisdiction in the area. At the same time it strengthened its position legally by having its agent in London purchase for £1250 the old Gorges Charter of 1639, even while Charles II himself was trying to secure this right. This move extended Massachusetts jurisdiction to the Kennebec, and it was on this river that the Bay folk came face to face with the French.

This impasse was brought on in the following way. The war between France and England was terminated by the Treaty of Breda, July 31, 1667. In this arrangement all of Acadia was ceded to France. This was a vaguely defined area at best, and the treaty yielding it stipulated no boundaries, a fact which left the Bay Colony in an awkward position. French agents immediately took possession of all the land east of the Penobscot and erected forts at strategic points. In addition to this they claimed all the territory westward as far as the Kennebec. This claim definitely placed the Waldoborough land area within the limits of the French claim — a claim which, if not resisted, would have placed Massachusetts Bay unpleasantly close to the sphere of French influence and power. This condition gave rise to deep concern in Boston. The problem was discussed in the General Court in May 1671; and a decision was reached to extend the line of the northern boundary, so that it would include territory farther east, as it was claimed the charter authorized. The services of one of the most competent surveyors of the time were secured. In 1672 he reported to the General Court to the effect that "if the honorable Court were pleased to goe twenty minutes more northerly in Merrimack River it would take in all the inhabitants and places east along, and they seem to desire it."<sup>16</sup> And so the northernmost sources of the Merrimac were located at about two leagues farther north than in the previous survey, namely at latitude 43° 49' 12".

A line run due east and west from this point supposedly brought the Muscongus district within the limits of the Massachusetts Bay Patent and made Pemaquid the eastern outpost of the Bay Colony. In the same year a petition signed by eighty-six of the inhabitants of "Kennebeck, Cape Bonawagen, Pemaquid, Sheepscoate, Damaris Cove, and Monhegan, requested the General Court in Boston to 'take them under its government and protec-

<sup>16</sup>Mass. Recs. IV, Part V, 519.



tion.' " In the May session of 1674 the Court appointed four commissioners who were to

repair to Pemaquid, Capenawaggen, Kennebec, etc., or some one of them to the eastward, and there, or in some one of these places, to keep a Court, as a County Court, to give power to the constables thus appointed, and also appoint and approve such meet persons, inhabitants there, to such offices and places, according to God and the wholesome lawes of this Jurisdiction, so that the wayes of godliness may be encouraged and vice corrected.<sup>17</sup>

Thus did it come to pass that all places east of the Kennebec, present and future settlements within the limits of Massachusetts, were organized into a county to which was given the name of Devon or Devonshire, and the Court there was to become an annual event set for the third Tuesday in July. In this manner Massachusetts pushed her bounds farther eastward to include the Muscongus area and to face the French on the Penobscot — and, it should be added, for the first time in history, the forms of a civil government were established in the Waldoborough area.

Hardly had this third push to the eastward on the part of Massachusetts been completed when King Philip's War broke out. On September 6, 1675, the General Court took action in support of "the distressed inhabitants of Devonshire." Massachusetts, however, was powerless to extend protection over the full extent of the territory it claimed; and the more easterly part of its claim passed for a time under the control of the Duke of York and was administered by his appointees, the governors of New York. This Sagadahoc territory, as his province in "eastern parts" came to be known, included the whole of the Waldoborough area. This liaison was an intolerable one. The region was so distant from New York and consequently so difficult to administer that such an arrangement just could not endure. The relationship was terminated in 1685 when James, Duke of York, by the death of his brother, Charles II, ascended the throne of Great Britain as James II. By reason of this change both New York and Sagadahoc became royal provinces. Due to the distance separating the two provinces, Sagadahoc was detached from New York in 1686 and placed under Sir Edmond Andros, "Captaine Generall and governor in chiefe of the territory and Dominion of New England."

In 1689 the abdication of James II and the accession of William and Mary to the throne again changed the picture. Under the new regime Massachusetts Bay obtained a new charter in place of the old one annulled in 1684. In this brief interim of years the Bay Colony had been a royal province. Sir William

<sup>17</sup>Mass. Recs. V, 5, 17.

Phips, a Maine man, became the first governor under the new charter (1692), which again placed the eastern section of the Province of Maine under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The county of Yorkshire was organized as embracing the old Province of Maine extending to the Penobscot.<sup>18</sup> In 1716 this area was extended to the St. Croix River, and York was established as the only shire town in the province. This status, achieved in 1692, left the sovereignty of Massachusetts unquestioned in eastern parts down to 1820, when the Province of Maine became the State of Maine.

This chapter has outlined the shifts of scene which took place in the Waldoborough land area between 1630 and 1716. It has revealed a quickly changing map with the lines of Cornwall, Devon, and Sagadahoc drawn and obliterated; and it has shown the very earliest settlers on the shores of Muscongus Bay as living under the overlordship of many masters. The background of these swiftly switching scenes was furnished by the unchanging policy of Massachusetts to extend her claims deeper and deeper into "eastern parts." With the advent of the county of Yorkshire in 1692, the scene became more fixed and the background assumed permanence. When the period of active colonization in the Waldoborough area got under way in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Bay Colony was permanently a part of the picture, and the rapid development of the settlements was made possible because in their time of weakness the settlers were able to draw needed strength from the strength of Massachusetts.

<sup>18</sup>William D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, I, 88, 91.

## V

### COLONEL SAMUEL WALDO AND THE FIRST SETTLERS ON THE BAY AND RIVER

*The Countrey all along as I sailed, being no other than  
a meer Wilderness, here and there by the Seaside a few  
scattered plantations, with a few houses.*

JOHN JOCELYN (1638)

ONE OF THE FIRST DISTRICTS of New England to be visited regularly by white men was the general Waldoborough area as defined in the first chapter of this book. For a goodly number of years before there was any settlement at Plymouth, Monhegan and Pemaquid had been sites of white occupation. Here, however, the sojourning was only seasonal, whereas the settlement at Plymouth in 1620 was a permanent one. For a number of years, nevertheless, before the coming of the Pilgrims and for some decades thereafter, the outer reaches of Muscongus Bay remained the most frequented area on the North Atlantic coast. It was at the turn of the century that this activity seems especially to have been focused on this section of the coast. In the summer of 1612 English fishermen are known to have quartered at Monhegan, and two years later Captain John Smith with forty-five men and boys in two ships made his headquarters at the island. At this time "right against us in the main [at New Harbor] was a ship of Sir Francis Popham," which was reported as having been a regular visitor to the coast for several years previous, engaging in fish and fur trade.<sup>1</sup> In 1616 Sir Richard Hawkins, president of the Plymouth Company, with the *Garland* and one other vessel, arrived at Monhegan where he found the following fishing vessels: the *Nachen* of Dartmouth with twenty-one men, the *Trial* of London, the *Blessing* of Plymouth, the *Judith* of London, and the *David* of Plymouth.<sup>2</sup> In fact, this point seems to have been generally known as a center frequented by Europeans, for three men whom Captain Edward Ricroft had set ashore at Saco in 1618 for mutinous activity made their way to Monhegan and passed the winter on the island in one

<sup>1</sup>Capt. John Smith, *Description of New England*.

<sup>2</sup>Wilbur D. Spencer, *Pioneers on Maine Rivers* (Portland, 1930).



of the storehouses. This would indicate that Monhegan at this time was a well-established center for trade in stores with the fishing fleet. Possibly these men wintered with custodians of these stores, although no mention was made of this fact when they were taken off the island in the spring of 1619 by Captain Dermer. The fact, also, that the Indians of the district were familiar with the English language presupposes a contact of considerable duration. Samoset, from his home at Muscongus Island (Loud's), had had so much intercourse with white men and over so long a period as to be able to talk in English with the Pilgrims at Plymouth on that Friday morning, the fifteenth of March, 1621. William Bradford, writing somewhat later, states: "He came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English which they could well understand."<sup>3</sup> In 1622 and again in 1623 there was enough in the way of surplus stores at Monhegan and in the fishing fleet to succor the Pilgrims and the people of Weston's settlement at Weymouth from starvation when the planters, Miles Standish and Edward Winslow, made their way to the island in quest of supplies.<sup>4</sup> All in all, it may be said of the outposts of this area that whenever they emerge from the mists of their early and unrecorded history, they appear as busy places. Dr. Henry Burrage summarized this early state of affairs when he observed that "for nearly a score of years [before 1620] . . . the little harbor [at Pemaquid] and that at Damariscove, as well as the waters about these islands, presented busy scenes as the vessels from English ports came hither with each opening spring."<sup>5</sup>

Among the very earliest residents of this area, the leading spirit was Abraham Shurte. He was sent to these parts in 1626 by the Pemaquid Proprietors, Aldsworth and Elbridge, to act as their agent and was authorized by them to purchase the Island of Monhegan from Abraham Jennings. This sale was effected for a consideration of £50, Jennings' entire stock of stores being sold at the same time to Governor Bradford and Mr. Winslow of the Plymouth Colony for £400 sterling.<sup>6</sup> Shortly after this sale Shurte transferred his activities to the mainland and passed the major part of his remaining days at Pemaquid. In a brief time, under his direction, this place became the center of the fishing business formerly transacted at Monhegan and as such was the most active point on the New England Coast. The first fort, a stockade, was built in 1630 or 1631. The place developed rapidly, occupants began staying the year round, and farming was started. With the completion of the stockade a refuge had been established as a center

<sup>3</sup>*History of Plymouth Plantation* (1856), p. 182.

<sup>4</sup>Young: *Chronicles of Plymouth*, p. 293.

<sup>5</sup>*The Beginnings of Colonial Maine* (Portland, 1914).

<sup>6</sup>*Colls. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, III, 208.

of safety, and with the greater sense of security which it offered, the people began taking up land in more distant areas where the soil was of a better quality for agricultural purposes. This began the push up the sound toward the more fertile valley lands and the falls of the Medomak.

The first pioneers in this movement up the sound were John Brown and his wife Margaret (Hayward), who were at New Harbor probably as early as 1623. A deed from one of John Brown's descendants describes "the Homestead that was formerly John Brown's of New Harbor Dec'd," as being "at the Head of sd. Harbor where said Brown House and Garden formerly was."<sup>7</sup> This tract contained twelve acres and was located at the extremity of the inlet on both sides of a creek known as "Western Brook." This homestead was commonly regarded by the French as the boundary line between New England and the French province of Acadia. *La maison de Jean Bron qui fait la limite des terres de la Majesté d'avec de la Nouvelle Angleterre.*<sup>8</sup> John Brown and his wife had several children who in turn married and settled on lands farther up the sound; a daughter, Margaret, married Alexander (Sander) Gould who lived on Muscongus Island. The first farm above New Harbor was purchased from Samoset by Richard Pearce, carpenter, January 9, 1642, who married Elizabeth, another daughter of John Brown; their homestead was located at Round Pond. At Passage Point (Keene's Narrows) about two miles farther up was another grant from Samoset to Richard Fulford, planter, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Pearce.<sup>9</sup>

An insight into the growth of this settlement by 1640 and its settled agricultural character at the time is furnished by a reference in Governor Winthrop's *History of Maine*. It runs as follows:

Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem, the 2d. day (May) in the morning, in a ketch of about 40 tons (three men and a boy in her) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind easterly) upon the third (Tuesday) in the morning, and then took in some twenty cows, oxen, etc., with hay and oats for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day about three afternoon.

This clearly points to a well-established society in the environs of Pemaquid able to succor its neighbors through the export of its surpluses. Of its actual numbers we cannot be certain. Sullivan uses Captain Sylvanus Davis as an authority for stating that as early as 1630 there were "eighty-four families, besides fishermen about the Pemaquid, St. Georges and Sheepscot rivers."<sup>10</sup> Johnston in his *History of Bristol* observes that "the statement of Davis

<sup>7</sup>York Co. Reg. of Deeds (Alfred, Me.), Bk. 16, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup>*Documentary History of the State of Maine*, VI, 428.

<sup>9</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 12, p. 323.

<sup>10</sup>*History of Maine*.



still on file in the Secretary's office in Boston, scarcely justifies the assertion." Burrage notes in 1910 that "there are no such files in the Secretary's office now, and search there and elsewhere has yielded no information upon which such a statement could be based, but," he adds, "the gain in residents at that time was undoubtedly large."<sup>11</sup> Though we may be uncertain as to the size of this settlement, there is no doubt as to its make-up; for the seasonal occupants and the first settlers in our area were of a different type from those in Massachusetts Bay. They were not nonconformists, but conservative Englishmen, in some cases adventurers, and were warmly attached to the established church in their forms of worship. This difference was the reason for a decided lack of sympathy for them on the part of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. Indeed, this feeling was even strong enough to be characterized as an antipathy which continued until Puritanism had run its course.

This movement of settlers up the sound continued until checked by King Philip's War early in the last quarter of the century. As this struggle was extended into Maine, the settlements as well as the more isolated farms were abandoned and the people took refuge on the islands. At the time of the first Indian onslaught in this area as many as 300 people were gathered on Damariscove. After a week's stay many moved to Monhegan. From these two places they migrated back to the older settlements to the south and west, and many enlisted for service against the Indians. At this time Pemaquid was a sizable colony, and there were about twelve houses at New Harbor.<sup>12</sup> Even as those at Pemaquid were leaving their homes, they could see the smoke rising from the burning dwellings at New Harbor. This was merely the prelude to what was to come. In their absence all property was either destroyed or burned.

In order to conserve to the settlers their rights during this enforced absence, the General Court in 1700 appointed a commission to receive and register all claims to the lands in the region from which the owners had been driven during the Indian wars. From 1700 to 1720 many entries were made both by bona fide settlers and by land speculators in a book entitled *Eastern Claims*. The whereabouts of this book is no longer known; but it showed, according to John Johnston, who was able to consult it, many claims at Long Cove, New Harbor, Muscongus, and Greenland.<sup>13</sup> There is one of these entries which registers a claim in the very heart of present-day Waldoboro. Under it one, "Morrice Chalmes," claimed land as follows:

<sup>11</sup>*Colonial Maine*, p. 198.

<sup>12</sup>John Johnston, *History of Bristol, Bremen and Pemaquid*, p. 228.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 231.



Uplands and meadows lying on the western side of Musconcos River butted and bounded viz. beginning on the North-east side of a marsh in the Broad Bay called by the name of Humphrey Farrell's marsh two miles into the woods upon a west line this being the Southeast bounds, and from the aforesaid marsh, or Farrell's marsh round the great Bay and so up along Musconcos River side to a falls or fresh River commonly called and known by the name of Madahomack Falls, from said Falls two miles upon a west line into the woods, this being the Northward bounds, Musconcos River and the Broad Bay being the East Bounds, with all meadows . . . Deed by Indian Sagamore Arrowagonett Dated 9th January 1673. Possession given in presence of Sylvanus Davis and John Pearce.<sup>14</sup>

It will be noted that this claim embraced the whole west bank of the Medomak from Farrell's Marsh to the First Falls.

The implications of this document are both interesting and suggestive, since it points to clearings and cabins on the Medomak in the second half of the seventeenth century. Johnston, discussing the expansion of settled areas up the sound in the first half century of Pemaquid history, states that "the houses of the settlers were considerably scattered" from Pemaquid up to Broad Cove in Bremen.<sup>15</sup> With settlers occupying lands so close to the boundary of present-day Waldoboro, the conclusion is inescapable that the push had carried on for the remaining three or four miles to the coveted mill sites at the head of the Medomak. In fact, we have already seen that one of these sites was the subject of a claim as early as 1673. Still more convincing is the existence of place names such as "Humphrey Farrell's Marsh." Such names as Kaler's Hill, Cole's Hill, the Gay Brook, and a host of others are not derived from mere claims to untenanted land, but rather do they take their names from the family which lived on the hill or beside the brook. Hence the supposition is a strong one that the marsh in question was a part of the claim on which Humphrey Farrell had been living for some time prior to 1673. Such settlement as there may have been at this early date was, however, at best evanescent; for as King Philip's War spread into Maine, *circa* 1675, these outlying units were the first to be liquidated by the Indians; and their occupants were either slaughtered or fled to the islands, or to the more heavily settled areas, for protection.

After King Philip's War, with the return to more settled conditions, some of the settlers returned to their lands; and the movement toward the headwaters of the Medomak was again resumed, here again on the part of the descendants of John Brown of New Harbor. Margaret, a daughter of Sander Gould and granddaughter of Brown, had married James Stilson of New Harbor; and the couple had moved up to Muscongos or possibly Broad Cove. In

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

1688 or 1689 Stilson was killed by the Indians, and his wife and daughter, Margaret, were taken as prisoners to Canada and sold to the French. In 1700 or 1701 they were ransomed and restored to their friends. At this time the Hiltons in the person of William Hilton, the elder, were located at Muscongus. He married Margaret Stilson shortly after her return from captivity and lived first at Muscongus and later at Broad Cove until 1718, when they were driven out by the Indians. They withdrew to Massachusetts where William died in 1723.<sup>16</sup> This couple had nine children, one of whom, a son, William, married — Lee, and moved back to this district and occupied the old homestead of his father, William, Sr. This may have been around 1729 when Fort Frederick was rebuilt at Pemaquid by Colonel Dunbar. This William had four sons: James, Richard, John, and William. He carried on farming operations at Broad Cove and gave his sons land there, which they were improving. Here he also built himself a small cabin in which he apparently lived. During the French and Indian War, for greater security, he made his headquarters at the old home at Muscongus and worked the farms at Broad Cove by commuting back and forth with his sons by boat. In doing so it was their wont to take their dogs with them; and while the boat laid off the beach, the animals would swim ashore and nose around for Indians.

On one occasion with his sons William, Richard, and John, this precaution was neglected and as they landed they were fired on from ambush. The son, William, was killed and the father badly wounded in the knee by another Indian who had dashed forward and gotten possession of the dead boy's gun. One of the savages in turn received the contents of Richard's fowling piece in the leg. The elder Hilton and his two sons regained the boat and made their way back to Muscongus, where in a few days the father died of his wounds. A rescue party of Germans went over from Dutch Neck, where the sounds of the combat had been clearly heard. They arrived too late, however, to punish the Indians. They wrapped the remains of the dead son in some bedding from the Hilton homestead and buried them on the shore bank of the old Hilton farm at Broad Cove. Years afterward erosion of the shore bank revealed the presence of the bones. They were taken up on the death of Richard Hilton; and the remains of both brothers were buried in a common grave.<sup>17</sup>

It was remarkable that William Hilton, Sr., had been able to remain at Broad Cove unmolested by the Indians until driven out in 1718; for the destruction at Pemaquid of Fort William Henry in

<sup>16</sup>"Deposition of Hannah Teuxbury of Manchester, Mass., taken Sept. 9, 1807," printed in Johnston's *History of Bristol* . . . , p. 244.

<sup>17</sup>As related by a grand-nephew, Chas. V. Hilton, to John Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249.



1696 had put an end to all English influence in this region; and there was not a single stronghold left anywhere in the area to which families could flee in case of need. In fact, it is highly probable that there were no white families in the whole district other than the Hiltons; for Patrick Rogers, who was for a time a lieutenant in the garrison at Pemaquid, testified in 1773 that at about 1720 or 1721, when he was living at Georgetown (Bath), there was not a house that he knew of standing between Georgetown and Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, except a single fish house on Damariscove Island.<sup>18</sup>

In the interim that Hilton was at Broad Cove the settlers had fled westward to the Massachusetts Bay region where they were living and biding an opportune time to return and claim their possessions in the Muscongus Bay area. But the outlook was not good. There was no stockade to provide them refuge; the French were in possession on the Penobscot; and the Indians remained uncertain and treacherous. In fact, since Philip's time the Indian wars were so frequent that the peaces between them were mere breathing spells. In 1702 had come Queen Anne's War with the French which was the third Indian war since 1676. Again every straggling Englishman in Maine and every unprotected settlement became legitimate prey for the savages. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought another brief breathing space during which conditions existing in "eastern parts" made it clear to the government in Boston that if the Province of Maine was to be settled at all, a change in program affecting the savages would be necessary. Accordingly it was decided to embark on a more conciliatory policy with reference to the eastern Indians.

In 1717 Governor Shute inaugurated the new program of conciliation by holding a conference on Arrowsic Island in the Kennebec with the chiefs of the neighboring tribes, at which a peace of a sort was agreed to. Following this peace the proprietors of the Beauchamp-Leverett grant (later known as the Waldo Patent) made their second attempt at systematic colonization in their territory. At or near the site of the present Knox mansion on the St. Georges River, in 1719 a fort was built which was to serve as the nucleus of a new settlement. This time it was destined to stand until the Indians were quieted forever. For the time being, however, it merely remained a stronghold. A settlement proved impossible; for the peace was being constantly violated by small bands of roving Indians; and the whites, on their part, were not slow in reciprocating in kind. Certainly there was a reason for this acute unrest on the part of the savages, since the continued expansion of the English settlers meant the levelling of the forest, the departure

<sup>18</sup>*Lincoln Report* (1811), p. 60.



of game, and the consequent limiting of Indian hunting grounds. It also meant the loss of the food supplies derived during the summer season from the shores and coastal waters. In a word, it meant the break-up of their agelong economy as outlined in the second chapter. From hard reality they realized the full consequences to themselves of the spread of English civilization. Hence the Fourth Indian War in the immediate wake of the third was inevitable. In this struggle the savages were urged on by Father Râle, the Jesuit missionary among the Abnaki, on the Kennebec. At his instigation notice was served on the garrison at Arrowsic that "if the settlers did not remove in three weeks, the Indians would come and kill them all, destroy their cattle, burn their houses . . ." and repossess themselves of the lands "which the Great God had given their fathers and themselves." In this manner the struggle was again precipitated, but this time the Indians were on their own not having as usual the open support of the French.

The coast shipping seems to have been an especial object of their attack; and in the course of the struggle, over twenty schooners were seized and many of the crews killed or captured. Murderous attacks were also sustained by the English settlements, and there was bloody and ruinous retaliation on the Indians. Their power to resist was materially weakened in two major battles of this war. There was Lovewell's terrific battle at Lovewell's Pond in the present town of Fryeburg, at which the power of the Pequawket tribe under its chief, Pangres, was broken forever and his remaining followers dispersed to the westward, and the destruction of the Abnaki stronghold at Norridgewock which took place in 1724. In this struggle Father Râle was killed, his church burned, and the second most powerful tribe in Maine scattered and forced to seek refuge in Canada. These were the two decisive blows of the war.

All in all conditions were too exhausting and too horrible to be long endured by either side. As the Penobscots were less active in this war than the Indians to the westward, Lieutenant Governor Dummer took steps in the early summer of 1725 to sound them out in order to learn if anything could be done in the way of a restoration of peace. Commissioners sent to the Georges River found the Penobscots favorably disposed; and in the autumn of the same year four distinguished chiefs of the eastern tribes gathered in Boston to discuss with the authorities the terms of a permanent settlement. An agreement was difficult to reach, since the Indians demanded the demolition of Fort Richmond on the Kennebec, and of Waldo's blockhouse on the Georges. To such terms the English were hardly willing to accede.

The best the conference could do after a long parley was to reach a tentative compromise subject to the approval of the various tribes. For this purpose a conference was arranged to meet at Falmouth in May of the following year. Due to misunderstandings the conference did not convene until July 10th. Present were about forty Indians representing all eastern tribes except the Norridgewocks, and Governor Dummer of Massachusetts, Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, and Colonel Paul Mascarene of Nova Scotia. Dummer was chief spokesman for the English and Saguarum of the Penobscot tribe for the Indians. The latter stoutly defended the main Indian objective which was to the effect that "no houses or settlements be made eastward of Pemaquid or above Arrowsic." He was also loath to concede to the English the right to establish any settlements above tidewater on the coastal rivers. This, however, was a position on which no agreement could be reached, and one which remained an unsettled point and the root of future controversies.

The conference ended with a rather mournful speech on the part of the Indian spokesman, giving expression to the hope that the white men would obtrude themselves no further upon their neighbors the Indians. The English on their part agreed to maintain at public expense truck houses or trading posts at Fort Richmond on the Kennebec and on the St. Georges, where supplies of goods suitable for the Indians' needs would be kept and exchanged at a fair price for furs. All the goods trafficked in under this agreement, however, were not suited to the red man's needs; for only a little later Saguarum had occasion to register the following solemn admonition: "Never let the trading houses deal in much rum. It wastes the health of our young men; it unfits them to attend prayers. It makes them carry ill both to your people and their own brethren. This is the mind of our chief men."

Since this treaty was not ratified by the Norridgewocks, who for some unknown reason had absented themselves, another conference was appointed to meet at Falmouth in the summer of 1727. This was attended by about one hundred Indians representing all the eastern tribes, and the treaty of the preceding year was ratified in apparent good faith, with the added proviso that the English and Indians would join forces to restrain any refractory Indians who might presume to disturb the peace. This settlement, called the Peace of Governor Dummer's Treaty, was the most enduring one negotiated during the period of the Indian wars. It concluded the Fourth Indian War in Maine and preserved the peace until 1744, when France joined Spain in the war against England, known abroad as the War of the Austrian Succession, and locally as King



George's or the Fifth Indian War. It was in this comparatively long lull of peace that the final and successful effort was made to settle the Waldoborough area. In this colonizing movement Shem Drowne, representing the Pemaquid Patent, and Samuel Waldo, the old Beauchamp-Leverett Grant, were the major figures.

Samuel Waldo (1695-1759) was a Boston merchant, aristocrat, capitalist, and politician. He was a grandson of Cornelius Waldo who was living in Ipswich, Massachusetts, as early as 1647.<sup>19</sup> Samuel was the eldest surviving child born to Jonathan and Hannah (Mason) Waldo of Boston. On December 22, 1695, he was baptized in the First Church of that city, and according to tradition received his education at the Boston Latin School which was later attended by his sons. He began business as a merchant in partnership with his cousin, Cornelius, and on capital advanced by his father. Apparently the Waldos were at first specialists in delicatessen, for in the *Boston News Letter* of September 5, 1734, we find them advertising the following: "Best London Market Madiera wine lately Imported hither via St. Kitts, to be sold by the Pipe, hogshead or quarter cask by Messrs. Samuel and Cornelius Waldo." Later the partnership was dissolved and Samuel seems to have expanded his business, for in 1738 we find him advertising new lines of wares as follows: "To be sold by Samuel Waldo Good Florence Wine in chests, good Irish Butter by the Firkin at two shillings per pound and a Likely Young Negro Fellow." These articles were dealt in from his home on Queen Street. Thus it was, consonant with the practices of the times, that the foundation of Samuel Waldo's fortune was laid in trade.

In 1722 Samuel had married Lucy, daughter of Major Francis and Sarah (Whipple) Wainwright of Ipswich. To this union were born Samuel Jr., Lucy, Hannah, Francis, Sarah, and Ralph. As Waldo's mercantile interests expanded he finally came to an exclusive trade in rum, fish, wood, and lumber. For a period of years he was the official mast-agent for the Royal Navy and collaborated with Thomas Westbrook of Falmouth in getting out white pine spars for the British fleet. It was while in this line of activity that Waldo became involved in the famous colonial lawsuit of *Frost vs. Leighton*.<sup>20</sup> This case is here touched upon because the circumstances are so characteristic of the man. Waldo employed Leighton to cut timber on Frost's woodland, and had his lawyer defend him against Frost's suit for trespass, and won the case for his employee.

It was, however, land speculation on a large scale which became the chief interest of the last thirty years of Samuel Waldo's

<sup>19</sup>*The Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 333.

<sup>20</sup>*American Historical Review*, Jan., 1897.



life; and his career is mainly significant by reason of his unwearied efforts to develop the area on the coast of Maine lying in general between the Penobscot and the Medomak rivers, which was the territory loosely embraced by the old Beauchamp-Leverett Grant. We have already seen that John Leverett, the sole owner of this patent, had long been interested in developing his claim. Since it was too large a project for him to exploit unaided, he had admitted to proprietorship eight other gentlemen; and again in 1729 these eight had admitted the Twenty Associates, among whom was Jonathan Waldo, the father of Samuel. This was the basis of Waldo's original interest in the project.

In the peace which followed the Third Indian War, plans were formulated by the proprietors for settling and developing this area; and the initial move toward this end had been taken with the construction of a blockhouse in 1719 on the Georges River. The plans, however, did not proceed with entire speed and smoothness; for the Fourth Indian War broke out in 1722; and for a number of years the fort was little more than a garrison on the defensive. The Indians were firmly set against any settlement east of Pemaquid. In consequence this garrison was their pet aversion; and it was attacked with unexampled ferocity on June 15th, August 24th, and December 25th, of 1723, and once again in 1724. In the face of this hostile attitude, there could be no question of the development of a settlement.

Following the peace the proprietors encountered another major obstacle to their plans when, in the spring of 1729, Colonel David Dunbar appeared at Pemaquid with a royal commission as Governor of the whole territory of Sagadahock. To this commission a little later was added the office of Surveyor General of the King's Woods, whose function it was to protect in these regions the timber deemed suitable for masts and other purposes in the Royal Navy. It was also proposed by Dunbar's backers in England to set aside 200,000 acres for mast trees in Nova Scotia, and to settle a colony of Irish and Germans in the tract between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers, forming a new colony which was to bear the name of Georgia.<sup>21</sup>

There was in Great Britain a party which held that in all this territory ownership of the soil was legally vested in the Crown as against all other claimants, including the heirs of the original proprietors. This position was taken on the ground that the capture and destruction of the fort at Pemaquid in 1696 by the French was really a conquest by that nation, and that the territory became legally its property, thereby extinguishing all prior claims. By the

<sup>21</sup>"Reports of Lords of Trade, May 14, 1729," C.O. 5, No. 4, *Acts, Privy Council*, III, 152, 183ff. Also: Robert E. Moody in *The New England Quarterly*, March, 1941, pp. 113-120.

same token when England reconquered the territory in 1710, the ownership of the soil was thereafter vested in the Crown, especially since the French by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 formally retroceded this area to Great Britain. It was on this principle that Dunbar proceeded. He was a man of great executive force, and immediately outlined elaborate plans for the settling of the area, inviting settlers from any part of the country and offering them lands on easy terms. In so doing he disregarded alike the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and the claims of the great proprietors whether held under royal grants or Indian deeds, as well as those of the poorest settlers holding farms under grant of such proprietors.

This policy of Dunbar's stirred up immediate opposition and especially did it subject the plans of the Muscongus Proprietors to a severe check; for so long as this theory of soil ownership prevailed, they could issue no valid titles to settlers taking up lands under their claims. This condition served to array against Dunbar a united front of all persons representing the older grants. This included Shem Drowne, who represented the heirs to the Pemaquid Patent, the proprietors of the Muscongus Patent, and others, including Governor Belcher who upheld the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and in his choice language described Dunbar as "the bullfrog from the Hibernian Fens." Petitions and remonstrances followed one another in rapid order to the General Court. The question was at once referred by that legislative body to a committee which after due study printed a report setting forth the facts in the case and denouncing the procedure of Dunbar. In the face of his royal commission, however, the Court could not act in any other way than to bring the case to the attention of the British authorities. Shem Drowne, for the Pemaquid heirs, petitioned the Crown for Dunbar's removal; and Samuel Waldo was sent to England by the claimants under the Muscongus Grant, probably sometime in 1730. Waldo was at his best in undercover work, and labored untiringly against Dunbar, both secretly and openly in collaboration with English friends. The whole question finally reached the Board of Trade, which requested Francis Wilkes, the Province agent, to prepare all the data in the case. This material was then referred to the Attorney and Solicitor General for an opinion. The report made by these officers fully sustained the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and the claims of the proprietors and held in consequence that the Crown had no right to appoint a governor with the extraordinary powers of Dunbar, or to make assignments of the land.<sup>22</sup> This opinion was submitted in August 1731, and was accepted by the government. One year later Dun-

<sup>22</sup>William D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, 11, 174.



bar's dismissal took place, and he retained only the office of Surveyor of the King's Woods.

Samuel Waldo was a dogged fighter, somewhat unscrupulous as to means and relentlessly persevering until his ends had been attained. His was a clear-cut victory over Dunbar. It validated all the proprietary claims east of the Kennebec and left the door open for the first time since the Dummer peace for the legal admission of settlers to lands held under proprietary grants. The Indians too were now quiescent, and the enterprise involving the Muscongus Grant was soon to be in strong and interested hands.

Waldo's father Jonathan had died in 1731 while his son was in England fighting the Dunbar commission. Since he had been one of the Twenty Associates in the Muscongus Patent, Samuel found himself on his return in 1732 possessed of his father's interest in the grant; and for his services to the proprietors while in England, he was granted a further substantial interest in the patent on October 19, 1734.<sup>23</sup>

Waldo promptly had his parts set off in severalty. These included the lands on both the Medomak and the Georges. Experiments made with the limestone on the latter river having demonstrated its excellent quality, the proprietor promptly had a kiln erected and started the burning of lime for the Boston market. He also began at this time surveys in the area and formulated his program for extensive settlements. These preparations met the decided disapproval of the Indians who had consistently objected even to a fort on the Georges. Hence in April 1735 Waldo went to his outpost and conferred with the Penobscot sachems in an effort to mollify them. On this visit of the proprietor, a number of prospective settlers gathered at the fort, attracted by the liberal terms which Waldo had advertised.<sup>24</sup> These men came from Pemaquid and the settlements farther westward. The agreement entered into with these people in April of this year led in the following year, 1736, to the first permanent settlement on the Georges River. Throughout 1735 Waldo made preparations for his new colony; he erected a sawmill, surveyed the lots, and in November realized the need for holding a second conference with the Indians, whom he seemed to reconcile to his program *in so far as they understood it*.

At this time, or very shortly thereafter, began Waldo's struggle with Governor Jonathan Belcher. Their differences originated in an undercurrent of opposition in Boston to the new settlement projects. Doubts were expressed and rumors circulated relative to the validity of the Waldo title to eastern lands. Since all this would

<sup>23</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 24, p. 213.

<sup>24</sup>Waldo's Adv. of Eastern Lands (Boston, Mar. 3, 1734), given in James Truslow Adams, *Revolutionary New England*, p. 147.



have a deterring effect on prospective settlers, Waldo was led, in order to offset this grapevine opposition, to publish in 1736 a pamphlet entitled, *A Defence of the Title . . . to a Tract of Land . . . Commonly called Muscongus Lands*,<sup>25</sup> which set forth in some detail the proof of his legal ownership. For all this covert opposition he blamed primarily Governor Belcher, whom he especially felt was trying to thwart him by lining up the Indians against his projects.

The Muscongus Grant was but one of several land developments in Maine which intrigued Samuel Waldo. He was even at this time engaged in large plans with Thomas Westbrook for industries on the Stroudwater River in Falmouth. There were also lands on the Sheepscot in which he maintained an interest. This latter enterprise had come about in something of the following way: In 1663 three Indian sagamores gave a deed to lands on both sides of the Sheepscot to George Davie, an English seaman from Cornwall or Devon, who took up residence there until driven out by the Indians in King Philip's War. He returned only to be driven off in the Second Indian War. About 1729 resettlement of this area was undertaken; and the heirs of Davie residing near Portsmouth thought it best to dispose of their holdings. Among those becoming interested by purchase in the Davie claim were William Pepperell of Kittery, John Frost of Newcastle, N. H., Samuel Daggett of Marshfield, and Job Lewis, Thomas Boylston, *Samuel Waldo* and Thomas Hubbard, all of Boston, who at once organized for the concerted management of their property in this district.<sup>26</sup>

The Muscongus Patent, in contrast to these others, was Waldo's own individual sphere and the focus of his interest and activity, inasmuch as at this time he had settlements on both the Medomak and the Georges. In his frequently published circulars encouraging settlement on his grant, he always gave expression to the generous sentiment that from such enterprises he entertained no hope of profit or gain. This was the thinnest sort of propaganda. His primary objective at this time in promoting his settlement was commercial advantage and money-getting. With large and flourishing colonies on the Medomak and the Georges feeding the Boston market through him its cordwood, staves, lumber, lime, and fish, and he in turn providing these growing communities with hardware, cloth, provisions, tools, in short with all manufactured necessities, here, indeed, was a virtual monopoly and a handsome profit. The dream picture was destined to change somewhat with the lapse of time, but such it was in the 1730's.

Difficulties continued, however, to interject themselves. The settlers on the Georges having pushed up beyond the falls, the

<sup>25</sup>Archives, Am. Antiq. Soc. (Worcester, Mass.).

<sup>26</sup>William D. Patterson, *Sprague's Journal*, XIV, 165-166.

Indians became threatening and set forth a strong remonstrance. This was a bad situation for Waldo as the savages had it in their power to wipe out in a night everything that he had accomplished in these parts. As it was they showed more than their usual restraint when they marked a tree on the shore at the head of tidewater and forbade all white men to take up lands beyond it. Unable to get satisfaction from the foolhardy settlers or proprietor, they sent a delegation to Boston to lodge a protest with the General Court. They represented Waldo's tenants as "encroaching on their lands and rights to such a fearful extent that they could no longer endure the sight of such flagrant wrongs."

The proprietor had plenty of enemies in the government, and this protest accordingly found the Court sympathetic. The committee to which their protest was referred reported that neither "Mr. Waldo nor any others ought to be protected in settling or improving any lands, on that river above the falls until this government shall be satisfied that these lands have been fairly purchased." Here again by inference doubt was cast by the Court upon the legality of the claim. Waldo staged a stiff battle against the report, but despite this it was accepted by the Legislature, and the Indians returned home well satisfied and bearing presents worth £100, the gift of the Court to their tribe.

Here again doubt had not only been publicly cast on the legality of Waldo's eastern claims, but the use of the lands in his Muscongus grant limited. Rightly or wrongly he thought he discerned the frustrating hand of Governor Jonathan Belcher, and in his mind it became clear that he could not hope to push his plans as he wished for settlements on the Medomak or St. Georges as long as Belcher was at the head of the government in Boston. With this conviction clearly defined in his mind, he again took his departure (1738) for England as the representative in the field of various political and economic factions bent on ousting the governor. The principal co-conspirator was William Shirley, Waldo's attorney in Boston, whose covert ambition it was to succeed Belcher as Governor of Massachusetts. The story of this conspiracy is revealed in some detail in Shirley's letters to Waldo in England. William Shirley was an extremely competent personage and later as governor a popular and able executive. His duplicity as revealed in this correspondence is by no means unusual in the annals of political intrigue. A few excerpted sentences introduced here from these letters will not only shed light on the personalities and methods of both men under the conditions faced, but will also reveal the energetic Waldo at his covert labor of dislodging one more obstruction from the path of his program in the Waldoborough and Georges areas.



William Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle, Boston, N. E.,  
March 3, 1738:

Having thus broke in upon your Grace, I must further beg leave just to mention my uneasiness at Mr. Waldo's indiscretion in his Application to yr. Grace in my favour: The Account which he has sent me of his intruding on your Grace in Sussex, and his manner of soliciting for me since, has given me no small pain. It is what I was much surprised at, and if I had been consulted in it, should never have consented to. I am well satisfied of Mr. Waldo's friendship for me, and hold myself much obliged to him for his good intentions; but I can appeal to my own letters to Mrs. Shirley<sup>27</sup> and Mr. Waldo's letters to me for a full proof, that he had no commission from me to be so troublesome to your Grace.<sup>28</sup>

This letter reveals Shirley's fear of a lack of due tact on Waldo's part, rather than his indifference to an appointment as Belcher's successor.

The balance of the excerpts in the following paragraphs, bearing on this conspiracy, are taken from the Knox papers,<sup>29</sup> and from those letters sent by Shirley to Waldo in London while he was indefatigably laboring with others to bring about the overthrow of Belcher. It was Shirley's role to remain in Boston and there collaborate under cover with Belcher's foes, advising those working in London and keeping Waldo supplied with funds for their common aim. So deep was Waldo's hatred of the governor that it was his avowed purpose to ruin himself if necessary in order to ruin Belcher. Shirley, in his letter to Waldo of April 15, 1739, had suggested that the latter bear his part of the expense of (Shirley's) obtaining the commission of governor on the grounds that Waldo would reap advantage from having his friend in such an office.

It would be the means of your own [Waldo's] saving a large sum of money by means of my interest. . . . As to your calculation of the profits, I have no great notion of the 1/3 of Sheriff's fees, nor above £500 sterling commission in lands. . . . But you overrate the neat profits of that post, and Clerk of the Inferior Court of the County of Suffolk. . . . And as to your assurance of Mr. Phip continuing to be Lieut. Gov'r, if he quits upon terms as I propose, your word will be kept, and you may have that post if you please.

At this point there is set forth by Shirley a series of acts on the part of Belcher which were to be used by Waldo to weaken the governor before the Ministry by placing an unfavorable interpretation upon them:

<sup>27</sup>She was in England at this time.

<sup>28</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, ed. by Chas. H. Lincoln (New York; Macmillan Co., 1912), I, 14-15.

<sup>29</sup>Archives, Mass. Hist. Soc. (Boston, Mass.).



I must own that I think . . . there is much in what Mr. Paris says of keeping up the resentment of the Lords, and not letting it flag or cool. . . . I should think it would be of service, if you was to take an opportunity of convincing Mr. Holden<sup>30</sup> what a stalking horse the Gov'r makes of religion; how ridiculously he stopped at the Quakers' Meeting House on his way to Piscataqua, and after they had done preaching, telling 'em in the Meeting House that he liked them very well, and had a great esteem for Quakers. . . . I am much surprised at Mr. Cornelius Waldo's<sup>31</sup> behaviour; he declared to me over and over that you had to his certain knowledge a clear estate of more value than £80,000, and wondered that Mr. Fanueil should be so scrupulous as to insist on that particular security, and yet he does it in effect at the same time.<sup>32</sup> . . . I doubt not when the Grand Enemy<sup>33</sup> is removed, but the Indians<sup>34</sup> will be complying enough, and I shall not scruple to act in favor of the settlements without an instruction.

On May 9, 1739, Shirley wrote to Waldo the following, apparently as a spur to Waldo's efforts:

His Exc'y and I had a quarrel in the Province House upon his threatening me about my being too busy in executing the Commissions of the Ld's of Admiralty. He also talked to me so insolently about your affairs concerning which he tells me he has wrote home volumes, and talked in such a manner that if you had heard him, it would have galled you to the heart; as it did me; . . . he threatens you much: And in short he must be got out, or I don't see how you can return in any comfort for the rest of your days.

The remainder of this correspondence addresses itself to intrigue of every order, with the one end in view, viz., the removal of Belcher.<sup>35</sup> Success eventually crowned these efforts, and in 1741 William Shirley succeeded Belcher as the Governor of Massachusetts Bay. With the accession of his friend, the way was opened for Waldo to prosecute his program of settlement on the Muscongus grant without the obstruction of his powerful enemy, and with the support, secret and open, of the government in Boston. He could now treat with the Indians with ample backing and map his ambitious plans for settlement according to his pleasure.

The foundations of the two colonies on the Medomak and Georges had been laid in 1735-1736. The origins of both were a part of one and the same plan and were begun at the same time. In April 1735 Waldo spent some time on his great estate and it was in this month that he had a considerable number of prospective colonists shown the sites on the two rivers. These men who gathered to meet the proprietor and to hear his terms were from Pema-

<sup>30</sup>A nonconformist London banker and generous friend of the Puritan Church in New England.

<sup>31</sup>Cousin to Samuel.

<sup>32</sup>The reference is to a loan which Shirley was negotiating in Waldo's behalf, for which the security was a mortgage on Waldo's home.

<sup>33</sup>Belcher.

<sup>34</sup>The Penobscots.

<sup>35</sup>"Shirley-Waldo Correspondence," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, No. 2 (Jan., 1931).

quid, Boston, and all parts of New England. A majority preferred the site on the Georges, and a minority elected to take up land and establish their residence on the Medomak. In the summer of 1735 Waldo had the survey made for his "town of Leverett." This was the first step taken in the direction of the systematic settlement of the present town of Waldoboro. Prior to this time the white man had, according to extant evidence, pushed his clearings up the river as far as Broad Cove. Before this, back in the seventeenth century, early settlers at Pemaquid and New Harbor had beyond question explored the Medomak to its falls and beyond, staked out their claims there, and quite probably erected cabins and started to improve the land. It would be folly to try to say, in fact, it will never be known, who first built a lonely cabin and made a home along its upper shores; but the settlement of 1736 is a verifiable fact supported by conclusive evidence.

The first Waldoborough, or "the town of Leverett," was located on the east side of the river and covered a territory of contiguous farm lots from a point about 100 rods below the present Farnsworth Point, reaching up the river to approximately the location of the present Trowbridge's Point in the heart of the Slaigo district. From this point up the river a gap occurred in which no lots were occupied until a point just below the first falls was reached, where the settlement was resumed, reaching up into the valley along fresh water for about two miles.

On the southern tip of the settlement below Farnsworth's Point was Lot No. 30, next north was No. 29. Both lots were of 100 acres, 40 rods in width, running back from the shore of the bay a due east course until the 100 acres in each lot were completed. These lots were allotted to Thomas Yeates in 1736, but the legal transfer of title was made by deed on January 26, 1743, to land "in his actual possession now being by virtue of a grant made formerly to him." Yeates, a farmer, received this land by paying five shillings for each lot, and "forever hereafter the annual rent of one peppercorn if lawfully demanded."<sup>36</sup> It is probable that Yeates was a member of the Yates family of Pemaquid, and that he moved up to Broad Bay from the Peninsula in 1736. He seems to have taken refuge in Massachusetts during one of the subsequent Indian wars, for on August 13, 1761, he sold one of his lots, No. 29, to Jonathan Robbins; the deed of transfer stated that at the time both men were farmers of Attleboro, Mass.<sup>37</sup>

Next north of Yeates on No. 28 was William Carter. Little is known of this settler; but the name suggests that he, too, may have moved in from the Pemaquid Peninsula. His fate is unknown.

<sup>36</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 24, p. 214.

<sup>37</sup>Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 137.



He may have fallen a victim to the Indians or sought a safer haven to the westward in the Indian wars. Apparently he never fulfilled the conditions of his tenancy; for the property reverted to the Waldo heirs and was sold by them on April 19, 1762, to Jonathan Robbins of Attleboro, Mass. for £13 5s. 8d.<sup>38</sup>



The next lot, No. 27, embraced the Farnsworth Point. This was known in the earliest times as Roods Point, drawing its name from David Rood who was the original holder of this farm.<sup>39</sup> Rood seems either to have met his end in Indian attack or to have retired to the west during one of the Indian wars. Later the lot came into the possession of James Sweetland, through Jonathan Robbins. Just how this happened the records do not reveal; but it was in

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>39</sup>York Co. Deeds, *op. cit.*, p. 213.



Sweetland's possession in 1768, when he sold the shore front to William Farnsworth.<sup>40</sup>

Lot No. 26 next above the Rood farm was, as the others, 40 rods in width, but contained only 90 acres. This modification in acreage would seem to indicate a different date of settlement. This is indeed the case, for the deed reads: "Dennis Cannaugh in possession by virtue of a grant made to him by Samuel Waldo, May 14, 1738."<sup>41</sup>

Cannaugh seems to have died during his tenancy either from natural causes or in Indian warfare, leaving a widow and a lame son, Peter. The widow later married a German by the name of Schmidt, and both lost their lives in an Indian attack on their cabin in 1748. The son, Peter, escaped by taking refuge in the cellar.<sup>42</sup> In all probability the heirs disposed of the property to Thomas Waterman of Marshfield, mariner, who probably was the captain of a coaster engaged in trade between Maine points and Boston. He in turn sold the lot on March 3, 1764, to William Farnsworth, "gentleman of Broad Bay" for £53 6s. 8d.<sup>43</sup>

Proceeding north up the bay the next lot was No. 25 in possession of John Vass or Voss, Jr. A little farther up the river were his uncle and father on Lots No. 24 and 23 respectively. Intervening between the lots of John Jr., and his Uncle Jeremiah, a mason, was a road four rods wide running due east parallel to the farms. The Vass families, according to the written record, were among the first permanent settlers on the river. Each lot was 40 rods wide and contained 100 acres. All three deeds were the same in language and dates, and were issued January 26, 1743. The deed to John Vass, Jr., reads: "Samuel Waldo to John Vass, Jr. . . . a certain lot in his actual possession by virtue of a grant made to him, Oct. 15, 1736." The document specifies the lot as No. 25 on the east side of Broad Bay, containing 100 acres "beginning at a stake on the south side of a 4 rod highway and running 40 rods down sd. Bay to another stake which is the north bound of Dennis Cannaugh's lot, then an east course into the woods by marked trees until the 100 acres are completed."<sup>44</sup> The history of the Vass families in the early settlement is obscure. It is simply known that by 1760 John Vass, Sr., and John Vass, Jr., were no longer living, and that the only heirs were Elizabeth, widow of John, Sr., and her brother-in-law Jeremiah. It is also known that this Elizabeth's son John was killed in September, 1747, while fighting the Indians under Captain Jabez Bradbury.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 24, p. 213.

<sup>42</sup>See Chap. IX this volume.

<sup>43</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup>York Co. Deeds, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>45</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc. Doc. Ser., XXIII, 390.

On August 12th of this year

Elizabeth Vass of Gloucester, widow of John Vass, late of Broad Bay, and Jeremiah Vass of Gloucester, mason, in consideration of £60, lawful money, paid by William Farnsworth of St. George's, gentleman, he to discharge the quit rent in the deed of one peppercorn to be paid annually, sells, conveys, transfers etc. three lots of land, Nos. 23, 24, and 25, on the eastern side of Broad Bay, each containing 100 acres, bounded in three Indentures, all from Samuel Waldo to John Vass, John Vass, Jr., and Jeremiah Vass.<sup>46</sup>

Next north of the Vass lots on No. 22 was Patrick Cannaugh, a brother of Dennis, on Lot No. 26.<sup>47</sup> Patrick was a farmer, and seems to have outwitted the Indians and survived all the uncertainties of these very uncertain days in the settlement. Whether he did this at Broad Bay or sought a safer haven elsewhere during the Indian wars is not known. We do know, however, that he lived on into the days of peace; and on the 9th of March, 1761, "Patrick Cannaugh of Broad Bay" sold his lot, No. 22, to Captain Charles Leissner for £29 5s. 8d., Leissner undertaking to discharge the quit rent of one peppercorn required by the deed on each September 29th.<sup>48</sup>

Cannaugh's next-door neighbor on the north was James Norton, who held two lots, Nos. 21 and 20, of 100 acres each. This fact places Norton in the settlement in 1736. In fact, from the deed it is to be noted that he was on October 15th a contemporary of the Vasses. These two lots were secured by Norton by a down payment of five shillings for each lot and a rent of *two* peppercorns "yearly paid Sept. 29th. forever." Between Norton's two lots was a highway four rods wide "being hereby reserved for benefit of settlement."<sup>49</sup> Little is known of Norton's life in the settlement. He apparently fulfilled the conditions of his tenancy on both lots, but was among those who fled to the westward during the Indian wars. Later he disposed of his lands to William Simonton of Cape Elizabeth. Simonton in turn in 1771 sold Lot No. 21 to Heinrich Burgkart (Burkett) of Broad Bay, yeoman, for £66 13s. 4d.<sup>50</sup> This was the farm formerly owned by Daniel Schwartz, between the Burroughs and the old Will Ewell farm. Lot No. 20, the Will Ewell farm, was sold by Simonton on November 13, 1769, to Henry Ewell of Broad Bay, farmer, for £60 13s. 4d.<sup>51</sup> Both Ewell and Burkett obligated themselves to discharge the quit rent of one peppercorn per annum forever.

<sup>46</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 116.

<sup>47</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 24, p. 213.

<sup>48</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 33.

<sup>49</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 26, p. 54.

<sup>50</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 160.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 158.

The next lot, No. 19, was the ministerial lot,<sup>52</sup> a lot reserved for the first pastor of "the town of Leverett," but it was destined never to be graced by a pastoral presence. Its first occupant was Adam Schumacher to whom it was allotted by Waldo in 1753. When Schumacher migrated to North Carolina, he sold the lot to Abijah Waterman of Marshfield, shipwright, for £60;<sup>53</sup> and the farm remained in the Waterman family down to the time of its purchase in 1932 by its present occupant, Andrew Currie.

The next lots north were Nos. 18, 17, and 16, including the present farm of Alfred Davis and stretching along the hill to the George Simmons estate. In all probability Francis Cooper held two of these lots and his son Boice, the third. Cooper was a man of some means, who came to New England from Ireland in the fourth decade of the century in a brig of his own.<sup>54</sup> He married Elizabeth, the daughter of John North, resided at first at Portsmouth, and a little later moved to Pemaquid. Around 1738 he contracted with Waldo for several lots of land on Broad Bay, moved hither, performed a settler's duties on two of them and located his son Boice on a third. Cooper had several indentured servants which rendered easy the task of settling on two lots, clearing the required number of acres, and erecting cabins within the time limits prescribed. It is by no means improbable that these servants also performed most of the required work on the lot of Cooper's son. After a two-year residence on the bay, Francis Cooper died and probably lies buried in an unknown grave somewhere near the shore on either the Mary Howard, Dr. Oldis, or Al Davis farm.

Boice Cooper, as his father's heir, remained at Broad Bay for some years following the latter's death. He is characterized by Cyrus Eaton in the *Annals of Warren*, as a typical Irishman, care-free, impulsive, and irresponsible. It is related of him that when his father's brig needed repairs, she was hauled up at Pemaquid Point for that purpose while the father went to Boston to procure workmen. "During his absence some of the people, influenced either by motives of mischief or profit, persuaded Boice that it would be better to build a new one with the iron of the old. He seized upon the idea at once, set the brig on fire, and on the elder's return nothing much remained but the ashes." In the son's Irish nature, there was a deep love of music; and he seems to have been a gifted violinist. He is further characterized as humorous and eccentric, "a genuine son of the Emerald Isle, fearless and reckless, passionate

<sup>52</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 26, p. 54.

<sup>53</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup>A table brought over in the North or Cooper vessel, which became the property of Boice Cooper and which graced the cabin on the banks of the Medomak in the 1730's is now in the possession of a descendant of his in this town, Mrs. Ida Mallett.



and profane, but generous and hospitable, prodigal of his money, his time and convivial hilarity." He also seems to have possessed the Irishman's love of a fight, for after the coming of the Germans to his neighborhood, "his habits, temper and recklessness brought him into perpetual collision with them, their fists being more than a match for his tongue, especially as the latter was not understood."<sup>55</sup> He soon abandoned the unequal battle in disgust, exchanged with Waldo his lots on the Medomak in 1743 for land on the Georges<sup>56</sup> and retired from a scene now dominated by the Teutons. It is hardly necessary to say that his subsequent days in the latter settlement remained characteristically reckless and picturesque.

The next lot, No. 15, brings us to the Slaigo Brook area at the foot of Thomas' Hill. This lot contained 90 acres, was forty rods in width, and had the Gay Brook as its western bound. It covers pretty much the area of the present George Simmons estate and part of the farm of Clyde Sukeforth. The deed drawn June 25, 1743, transfers this property to James Littel (Little), a farmer, "the lot in his actual possession now being by virtue of a grant made to the said James Little by Samuel Waldo, December 6, 1736." This instrument reserves to Waldo "any stream or Falls of water for mills," which, of course, means any mill rights on the Slaigo Brook. Little moved into this area in all probability from Pemaquid, where Little is still a common family name. Little, too, collided with the Germans, against whom he complained bitterly to Waldo; but he stood his ground and remained in the settlement for a number of years. In the French and Indian War he did service in the militia in the company of Captain Alex Nickels in 1756 and thereafter disappeared from history. In 1762 John Ulmer acquired this lot from Little's heirs and sold it to John Martin Schaeffer, clerk, of Broad Bay for £66 13s. 4d.<sup>57</sup> This seems to have been Dr. Schaeffer's first acquisition of Broad Bay real estate, and it may have been the scene of his first residence in the colony.

Due west of the James Little lot on the peninsula formed by Broad Bay and the Slaigo Brook, on the tip of what is known nowadays as Schenck's or Hollis's Point, was Captain Lane. Captain Lane is the mystery man of the "town of Leverett." Nowhere is there record of this lot being allotted to him by Samuel Waldo, yet many of the old records contain references to Captain Lane and to Lane's Point as the earliest designation of this tract of land. Consequently the conclusion is unescapable that Captain Lane was one of the earliest settlers on the river. Among the references to

<sup>55</sup>Cyrus Eaton received the narrative of these facts from the lips of Mrs. Elizabeth Montgomery, a daughter of Boice and a granddaughter of Francis Cooper. *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 69.

<sup>56</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 24, p. 219.

<sup>57</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 231.

him is one contained in a letter of June 5, 1744, from Governor Shirley to Colonel Arthur Noble. At this time active defense measures were being taken at Broad Bay against the Indians on the eve of the Fifth Indian or King George's War. The letter in question directs Colonel Noble to assign ten men to the garrison "at Captain Lane's at the Point of Broad Bay."<sup>58</sup> Captain Lane's place was not a blockhouse, since the only blockhouse in the settlement is specifically mentioned in Shirley's order as being elsewhere; but it was merely a good log cabin which had been surrounded by a stockade. It was the lower garrison on the east side and stood on the knoll on the site of or near the present summer home of Carroll T. Cooney. This was a very strategic point and it served as a refuge and rallying point for the settlers in the Slaigo district and those farther down the river.

Little more is known of Captain Lane. It is probable that he joined the expedition to Louisburg in 1745 and served in Waldo's regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble, who was a co-proprietor of land in Nobleborough and Lane's commanding officer in the Waldoborough area the year before. In this case he may have been killed in action or died in camp at Cape Breton, for his name does not appear again in our history, although the name of Lane's Point recurs again and again in old deeds and indentures of the period. Especially is it recurrent in the Quadripartite Indenture of March 19th, 1768, in which the Waldo children effected a division of their father's holdings under the Muscongus Patent.<sup>59</sup> If Lane had abandoned his farm in the course of the Indian war or died at Louisburg, his claim at Lane's Point would have reverted to Waldo in case the terms of his occupancy had not been fulfilled. This seems to have been the case; for in the Indenture "three hundred acres of land at a place called Lane's point in Broad Bay" were in Waldo's possession at the time of his death in 1759, and in the division of the property were assigned to his oldest son, Samuel, Jr. There is a further possibility that after the Louisburg campaign Captain Lane abandoned his home at Broad Bay and became a professional soldier, for we hear of a "Capt Lane" in 1756 recruiting men for the expedition against Crown Point, and again in 1775 as recruiting soldiers among the Indians.

This land remained unoccupied until 1769 when Samuel Waldo, Jr., for the consideration of £100, conveyed the title to Andrew Schenck, tanner. The amount conveyed was 100 acres "being lot No. 1 on Lane's Point" and embraced territory from "Place Brook so called, including the same with the Falls" to the shore of Broad Bay.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc. Doc. Ser. XI, 296.

<sup>59</sup>Lincoln Co. Decds, Bk. 27, p. 82.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 16.



Next north of the north line of the Little and Lane farms was Lot No. 14, containing ninety acres with a width of forty rods. This farm extended from the shores of the bay due east into the woods until the ninety acres were completed. The line began

by a spruce tree by the riverside, and running down the river by high water mark forty rods to a white burch and from said trees to run into the country forty rods wide on east course till said ninety acres are complete, said Waldo reserving to himself any stream or falls of water lying within the premises suitable for creating a mill or mills.

This lot was conveyed by deed of January 26, 1743, to James Burns, "in actual possession of James Burns by a grant made to him December 6, 1736." Like all the other deeds, this one contains the usual peppercorn clause, which reads: "and especially in consideration of the Rent of one Pepper Corn per annum to be paid yearly by the said James Burnes to the sd. Samuel Waldo his Heirs and Assigns on every Twenty Ninth Day of September forever."<sup>61</sup> This is an old formula, but its inclusion in these deeds is interesting, as it gave Waldo a feudal claim to all the land and may indicate the presence in his mind of the thought that some day there would be, as there actually was, a nobility in the colonies, and that he might be the Baron of Muscongus, or even as he actually styled himself later, "the Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay." James Burns moved into the "town of Leverett" from Pemaquid, and was the father, or perhaps brother, of Joseph and William Burns who were allotted farms in this area at the same time. At the outbreak of King George's War in 1745, he abandoned his farm and seems never to have returned to it.

North of No. 14, the Burns lot, was a wide strip of virgin forest which extended unbroken to a clearing just below the first falls of the Medomak. Here in 1736 was William Burns with a cabin and ninety acres of land reaching back over the hill and including the present Main Street and land north thereof. Burns came from the Pemaquid area, where he had been allotted a farm by Shem Drowne. This lot was not suitable because of lack of water, so Drowne offered him (September 26, 1735) an additional house lot if he would build a cabin and improve the land. This arrangement apparently was not satisfactory to Burns, since on February 21, 1736, he sold his claim at Pemaquid to George Craddock<sup>62</sup> and took up the lot offered by Waldo just below the first falls in the town of Leverett. Here he remained improving his land until the outbreak of the Fifth Indian War. In 1745 when a large part of the settlement joined the Louisburg expedition, Burns raised a company of militia for the defense of those remaining in

<sup>61</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 27, p. 108.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 25, p. 193.



the settlement. Indian attacks, however, were so frequent and fierce that Burns finally withdrew to Scituate, Mass. At the close of the war he again took up land under Waldo, this time at "Smelt Cove" on Muscongus Brook,<sup>63</sup> where he died in 1750.

North of the Burns lot were the two largest grants on the river. On April 20, 1737, two men, either brothers or a father and son by the name of Samuel and William Douse from "Clughereen, County of Kerry in the Kingdom of Ireland" and later of Boston, signed an agreement with Samuel Waldo to settle for seven years two tracts of land on the Medomak above tidewater. The first of these tracts, on the east side of the river, contained 2010 acres and began

at the northwest corner of a certain Lot of Land now in the Improvement and Possession of one, Willm. Burnes below the Lower Falls . . . and thence running up along by the said River the same Course which the said River runs into the Country till the sd. Tract is one mile and a half in breadth and so running back within that Breadth an East Course into the Country till the aforesd. quantity of Two Thousand and Ten Acres is made up and Completed.

The Douses were also to have the sole use and privilege of the lower falls and also "such part of the aforesaid River or Stream as shall be necessary for the Useing and Working such Iron Works or other Works of that kind as shall be erected by the said Samuel and William Douse." From this tract Waldo reserved for his own use ten acres adjoining the Great Falls a half mile above, for the building of "one or more Mill or Mills for the Accomodation of a Settlement there commonly called or known by the Name of the *Town of Leverett*." For this land the Douses were to pay "16 Pounds, 13 Shillings, 4d. each March 25th."

On the west side of the river there was a similar tract which began at the lower falls and embraced 2100 acres. This lot followed the course of the river up into the country for 385 rods. From this point it "ran back into the Country North Thirty Three Degrees West and up along the aforesd. River the Same Course which the said River runs into the Country till the aforesaid quantity of Two Thousand One Hundred Acres is made up and Completed." On this side Waldo reserved for himself 100 acres "to be laid out or Adjoyning near to a Certain great Falls upon the aforesd. River at about half a Mile's Distance from the herein before mentioned lower Falls." This tract, also, he planned to use for mills for his settlement known as the town of Leverett in honor of one of the original owners of the Muscongus Patent and his later heirs, one of whom had become Governor of Massachusetts and another President of Harvard College. For this second tract the Douses

<sup>63</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 107.

were to pay the yearly rent of five shillings. These two "Agreements by Grantees" were both executed on April 20th, 1737, acknowledged August 10th, 1737, and recorded May 22, 1738.<sup>64</sup> Of the later activity and eventual fate of the Douses nothing further is known. They may have enlisted under Waldo for the Louisburg campaign in 1745, or joined the local militia for the defense of the settlement, or abandoned their holdings in the face of the certainty of the impending Indian war.

The west side of the river below the Douse grant was a stretch of virgin forest extending down to Broad Cove. At this place in the 1730's were cabins and clearings of James Hilton, possibly Jacob Eaton, and certainly Joseph Burns,<sup>65</sup> a brother of William, who also moved into this area from Pemaquid. He was the captain of a local transport in the Louisburg expedition, was present at the capture of the stronghold, and still at Broad Cove in 1761 when the Pownalborough records list him as being married to Mary Bogs of Pemaquid. After the war he resettled at "a place called Musconkus, about four miles south of Broad Cove."<sup>66</sup>

This process of settling after the initial start had been made should be thought of as slowly continuous, with now and then a new family taking up land on the river. Such was Waldo's policy and such was the procedure as is apparent from several sources, one of which is cited here, an advertisement in the *Boston Gazette* of July 13, 1738: "Samuel Waldo of Boston, Merchant, intending to take his departure for Great Britain with Capt Hall, gives notice that all desiring to settle on the Eastern Parts of this Province, apply in his absence at his House on Queen Street from his agents." Never again, from 1736 on, was the settlement ever entirely abandoned.

The principal occupation of these first settlers on the Medomak was the supplying of firewood to the Boston market, the proceeds from the sale of which went for the purchase of winter supplies of food and such other necessary articles as they could not fabricate for themselves. To this must be added farming and some fishing and trapping. The wood sloops plied constantly between Maine points and Boston in all ice-free seasons of the year. They usually carried thirty cords of wood when loaded, were manned by three hands, and made an average of about fifteen trips each year. The settlers received seven shillings per cord for the wood delivered at the water side. These boats also carried passengers, the charge for which was six shillings a trip, the traveller providing his own food.

<sup>64</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 20, pp. 131, 133.

<sup>65</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 66.

<sup>66</sup>"Testimony of Wm. Burns, son of Joseph," *Lincoln Report*, pp. 161-162.

The data set forth in this chapter renders inevitable the conclusion that the first permanent settlement on the banks of the Medomak, the beginnings of the present town of Waldoboro, was in 1736, and that the first settlers were of English, Irish, and Scotch-Irish descent and had pushed up from the lower districts of the sound or filtered in from other sections of New England. Their settlement was continuous and overlapped that of the first Germans who came between 1739 and 1742. Some of them relinquished their holdings after the coming of the Germans, some during the War of the Austrian Succession, 1744-1748, and others during the French and Indian War. The last holdings of these earliest settlers were not disposed of by sale until the early 1760's when the Germans were fully established.

This chapter has been fully documented in order to fix finally the date of the first settlement of the town, which heretofore has been guessed at by historians, various dates being given, such as 1748, 1742, and 1740.<sup>67</sup> The earliest settlement was one of slow extension up the sound, of advance and retreat, of holding and relinquishing. It was the Germans who finally held on, in part because once on the land here they were too poor to leave, and in part because they were inured by a long tradition of living amid uncertainty, insecurity, and fitful warfare. They had been trained by hard experience to bear up under situations which the Irish, the English, and Scotch found intolerable, and from which they repeatedly retreated.

<sup>67</sup>Samuel L. Miller, Edgar O. Achorn, and Cyrus Eaton respectively.



## VI

### THE EARLY GERMAN MIGRATIONS TO AMERICA AND THEIR BACKGROUND IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Man is explicable by nothing less than all his history.*

EMERSON

THE MOST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT at Old Broad Bay was made by peoples from the populous valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries, who came in an unending stream across the Atlantic from 1680 down to the beginning of the American Revolution, and onto the coasts of a New World, and into the valleys of the Savannah, Susquehanna, the Mohawk, and the Medomak.

The motives leading to these migrations are implicit in the very beginnings of Germanic history. The less remote and more immediate causes, however, are always the more dramatically apparent, and of course the more potent. Hence we shall start *in medias res* and begin to pick up the motives from the early half of the sixteenth century, when the religious unity of Europe was shattered and a deep fissure was opened up within the Universal Church. This line of cleavage, now known as the Protestant Reformation, was one of the major causes for the peopling of America. A second of these major causes influencing emigration was the desire to better their fortunes, and along with those legitimately so actuated, there must be included the adventurers, the footloose, the ne'er-do-wells, who sought the New World from sheer restlessness and recklessness in the hope that there "luck would do better for them than labor." With our German forefathers at Broad Bay, however, migrating was largely a matter of economic betterment and religious freedom.

Out of the Reformation in northern and western Europe there evolved three schools of dissenting doctrine which took root in the teachings of Martin Luther, John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli, and in due time became established faiths. There was also a great host of earnest souls "hungering and thirsting after righteousness," who failed to find fulfillment of their religious needs in any of these forms sanctioned by the state. Bohemia, Saxony, and Moravia were the breeding grounds of these dissidents. Here there was con-

stant religious ferment and out of it grew independent communities and sects which devised and propagated some rather unconventional practices and beliefs, such as lay ministers, unpremeditated sermons (preaching as the spirit might at the moment move them), refusal to submit to oaths, changes in the sacraments, religious objections to military service, nonparticipation in secular government, and rejection of infant baptism, the basest of all heresies to the Catholics. According to the religious belief of these sects baptism was the mark of an individually attained relation to Christ, and a sacrament to be practiced only when such a relationship had been personally experienced. Hence they taught the necessity of rebaptism, which under the doctrines of the established churches was an impiety, and in the eyes of the law a capital crime.

It was inevitable that persecution and martyrdom should follow such heretical teachings. In Germany and Switzerland they took the form of wholesale expulsions, drownings, beheadings, and deaths at the stake. In the face of universal persecution these dissenting sects became peoples without a national home. Many of them ultimately found refuge in Pennsylvania, and some figured colorfully in early Broad Bay history.

The religious troubles occasioned by such schisms created as a by-product intolerable economic conditions, for they brought on the great Thirty Years War. It was Germany especially which became in these years (1618-1648) the witches' brew of these clashing sects and competing fanaticisms. For nearly a century after Luther's time such differences had smouldered, flaring up now and then in a persecution or a more violent outbreak, only to subside and smoulder anew, until around 1618 the smoking embers again broke forth in the conflagration that involved practically every country in Western Europe. Germany was its battleground. The political losses and gains accruing from this raging struggle did bring an undeniable advance toward religious freedom, but this was little indeed compared with its catastrophic effects on Germany, its principal victim. As A. W. Ward has pointed out, its effects material and moral together, furnish perhaps (prior to the First and Second World Wars) the most appalling demonstration of the consequences of war to be found in human history.<sup>1</sup> When this war came to an end in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, Germany lay devastated, depopulated, and crushed.

The basis of the peasant economy, which was agriculture, was scarcely existent. It could not have been otherwise, since for three decades the armies of Western Europe made up of both a

<sup>1</sup>Prof. A. W. Ward, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV.

native and a mercenary soldiery, with no organized commissariat, paid largely by such loot as they could lay hands on, had marched back and forth, fighting major battles and minor engagements often in the same areas. In fact, matters came to such a pass that amid such devastation military operations in certain districts became impracticable. There were areas that were almost entirely depopulated, where the property wreckage was appalling. In Bohemia, where the war had broken out, 6000 villages were left standing at its finish out of a total of 35,000. In Moravia conditions were little different. There was, in short, scarcely a district in Germany where destruction, famine, and desolation did not stalk unchecked and where disease was not more deadly even than the work of the sword.

The depopulation arising from this bitter war finds few parallels in history. The number of people in the Empire shrunk in these thirty years from 16,000,000 to less than 6,000,000, which was close to a two-thirds reduction. Of this number 350,000 had perished by the sword, famine, and disease, and the abandonment of the land had done the rest. In districts which later figured in Broad Bay history, the loss of life had been even more frightful. In the lower Palatinate it is estimated that one person in ten survived; in Würtemberg it was one in six. Cannibalism was a common practice; where there was nothing else the bodies of the dead were used as food. Later in the old Duchy of Franconia the problem of repopulation was met in part by allowing a man a legal limit of two wives, and by forbidding anyone under sixty to become a monk.<sup>2</sup>

The restoration of peace brought no surcease of oppression to the peasants who had survived the ordeal of war. There was still a master class left to impose taxes. These were freely levied wherever it was possible to collect them, and since there was no money the equivalent of these imposts was usually taken in goods and services. Through such a practice the condition of the peasantry was largely reduced to one of serfdom. In the face of such an intolerable status farms were deserted and reverted to forest and bushland, until a full third of the arable land remained uncultivated. Such a development reduced the standard of living close to a level of hopelessness, and in this depressed state it remained for the better part of two centuries.

The military and economic effects of the war were no less severe in cities and towns, from which some of our Broad Bay settlers later came. Many of these communities faced the problem of rising from their own ashes. Cologne was completely crippled

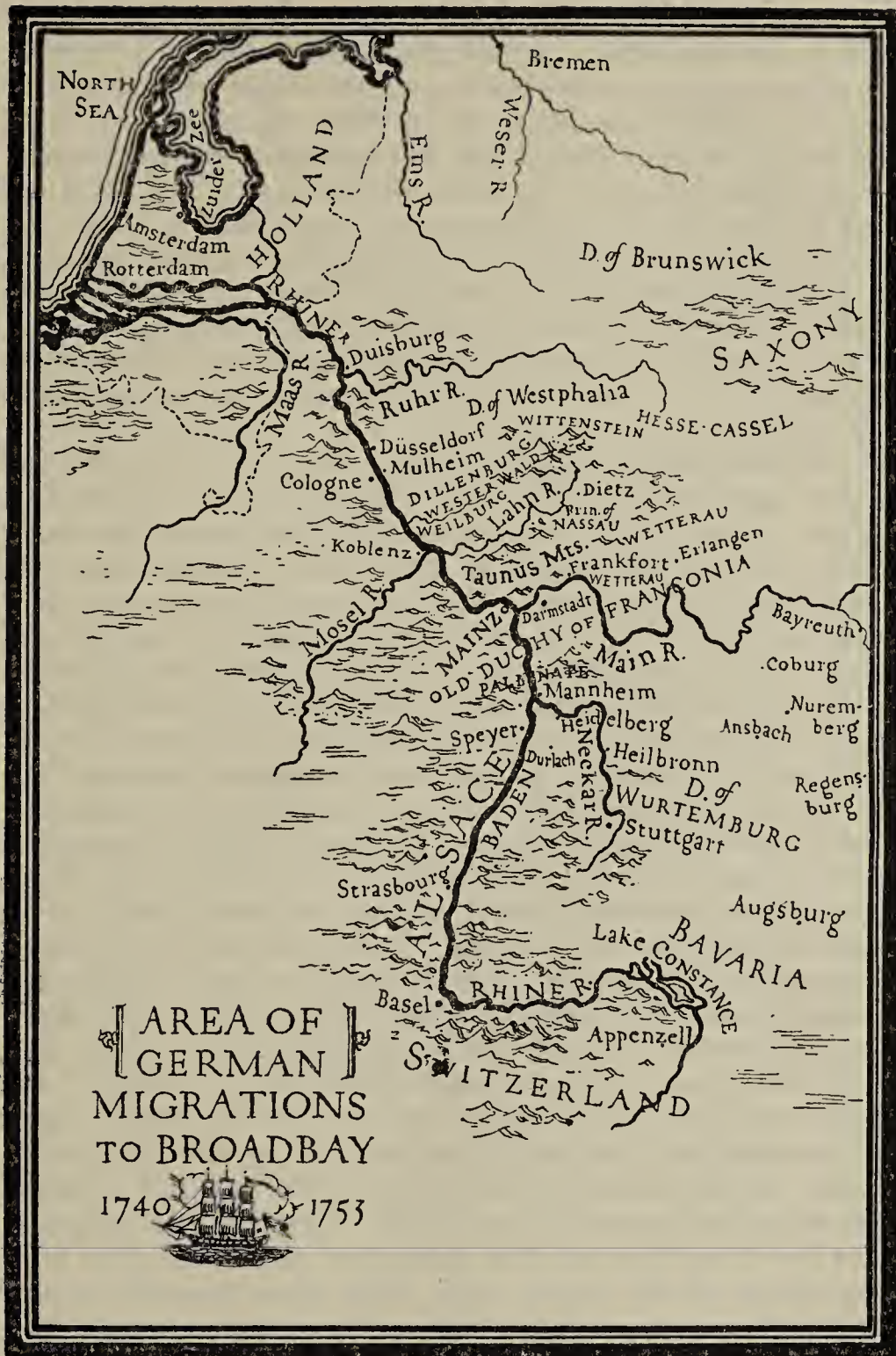
<sup>2</sup>E. F. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), pp. 496-497.



commercially and industrially; Aachen had shrunk to one quarter its normal size; the balance of trade once centered in Rhinish cities shifted to France, and the products of German industry literally vanished from the markets. In the absence of capital and of adequate labor Germany entered a long period of economic stagnation, and its people a further prolongation of degradation, hardship, and poverty. A blight seemingly deadly and unending lay over the whole land. There was also the widespread abandonment of all moral controls, so characteristic of war, and so much a part of its aftermath, a breakdown of restraints built up by centuries of culture and spiritual discipline. The higher values disappeared from life. The influence of education was but faintly felt; the voice of literature was nearly silenced, and amid bitterest sectarian hatreds, the renewal of religious life, necessarily fostered by a faith in God and a trust in man, was left for later generations to recreate.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1649 did not bring an end to this tragic waste, at least not in the Rhineland from which the great mass of our forebears came. Conflicts, petty and local, continued to flare up, checking recovery in the areas afflicted. The climax of trouble was reached in 1688, when Louis XIV, who had long cast a covetous eye on the Rhine Provinces, turned his armies loose upon them. What followed here exceeded the devilishness of the Thirty Years War. The full force of this blow fell on the home of our ancestors, the Palatinate, but the goal of the French monarch was never realized, for the rapid rise of William III, Prince of Orange, and joint sovereign with Mary II of Great Britain and Ireland, brought about a realignment in European politics which forced Louis to modify his foreign policy and to relinquish his prey. He bowed out with a vengeance, issuing orders to his troops to devastate the country in order to shatter it economically and thus eliminate competition with French industries. For weeks and months a veritable saturnalia of arson, carnage, and looting followed. The populated areas around many Rhine cities were harried, pillaged, and burned. Heidelberg was sacked in March 1689, and Mannheim, Speier, and Worms soon met the same fate. Ladenburg and Oppenheim were burned, and the whole Palatinate and large areas of the Electorate of Trier and of the Margraviate of Baden were laid waste. The Rhine districts remained the scene of battles and of a pillaging soldiery until the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in the spring of 1713.

This, in brief summary, is the background which explains the early German migrations to America, to the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and to Frankfort (Dresden) and Broad Bay here in Maine. Our forefathers who settled these



parts and their fathers' fathers before them had lived in an area perennially wasted. For decades poverty and suffering had been their lot. They had lived under the constant shadow of destruction. Even religious freedom had been restricted by their fast-changing



masters. The Palatinate was at different times in these years ruled by a Lutheran, a Prince of the Reformed Church, and a Catholic. At each change the people had to conform to the religion of their master or suffer persecution. Apart from this, their very living was meager and uncertain. Death in the form of violence, famine, or pestilence had stalked up and down the land. They could not look forward with certainty to an economic future. Theirs was an existence brightened by little hope. Despite the known hardship of friends and relatives in the New World, America was the beacon lighting their way to a new hope. And so from 1685 down to the Revolution an unending stream of them poured across the Atlantic to find in a new land suffering and death as well as riches and security.

This stream of emigrants, to be exact, started in 1682, and at first was a tiny brooklet made up largely of the persecuted splinter sects who sought asylum in Pennsylvania under the kindly protection of Penn's Quakers. When Anne became Queen in England in 1702, the brooklet broadened into a steady stream. Her ministers took the view that to conserve England's power her own people should remain at home and that the colonies could well be populated by Germans and other unfortunate folk from the continent, provided they were Protestants and unfriendly to France and Spain. Consequently government propaganda literature was circulated in the Rhineland. Some of these pamphlets bore a picture of the Queen and a title page in gold letters. Among the Germans they were long remembered as the Golden Books of Queen Anne, and they were filled with somewhat deceptive accounts of life in the New World. Their effect upon a people long suffering and insecure was to start a steady surge of emigrating humanity across the Atlantic. In the years 1708 and 1709, 30,000 Germans entered England, there to re-embark for America. This initial influx into England led the ministry to a revision of procedure, involving direct shipment to the Colonies usually from a Dutch port, the ships merely touching in England to have their cargoes cleared under the authority of the Crown, a pattern adhered to for the next seventy years. Under this new arrangement first Rotterdam and then Amsterdam became the great shipping centers of this human traffic. Ships were chartered to proceed to these ports to load Palatines for America, just as they were chartered for cargoes of expendable goods such as rum and molasses. As this traffic assumed highly profitable proportions it became vigorously competitive, and the owners and captains engaged in this trade developed techniques for handling it which rather closely resembled the practices on slave ships engaged in the trade of the middle passage.



In this trade all types of vessels were used, brigs, snows, pinks, packets, and ships, which could carry from fifty to six hundred "freights." These emigrants or freights were transported to Georgia, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and Maine. The business was no casual one but was plied systematically. In modern economic parlance it would have been termed a racket, and a most inhuman one. The shipowners or Rheeder, as they were known, employed agents called by the Germans Newlanders (*Neuländer*), and later soul-sellers (*Seelenverkäufer*) who moved through the Rhineland inducing the ignorant and gullible natives to sign up for the colonies in America. They were a ruthless, unscrupulous lot who stopped at nothing to attain their ends. They operated on a basis of a per capita commission, receiving for each freight from one to two gulden. Many of them were Germans who had been in the colonies for long or short periods and so were able to veneer their deceptions with a certain coating of reality.

In this business they employed every kind of trickery known in the annals of misrepresentation. Wherever more than the usual influence was necessary, they were equipped with funds to buy and pay even for the influence of a clergyman. It was, in fact, always the best policy to secure a minister to accompany a migration; inasmuch as the Germans were all the more easily induced to migrate if a clergyman was to go in the ship.<sup>3</sup> Since it was not always easy to secure a bona fide minister for such a purpose, anyone was taken who could pass for a minister or half-minister. This fact accounts in part for the charlatan preachers in the early Broad Bay colony and in other German settlements on the eastern coast, as well as for the rather excessive numbers of schoolmasters in all colonies who were willing to act in a ministerial capacity. Liquor was another frequent ally of the Newlanders. They would get the head of a family "good and drunk" and then sign him up with wife and children included.

The life of the common people in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not far removed from what we now regard as the animal level; nevertheless the passage across the Atlantic and the conditions under which these emigrants reached the American shores was rather strenuous even for those callous days.<sup>4</sup> On arrival the ships were often veritable pesthouses of smallpox and other diseases of filth which had necessarily increased in virulence under the crowded conditions of a voyage lasting from five weeks to two months. One ship arrived after a voyage of six

<sup>3</sup>W. J. Mann, *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg* (Phila., 1887).

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Rupp, "Notes," to Benjamin Rush, *Manners of German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1789); and Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names of Germans, etc.* (Phila., 1875).

months with its few surviving emigrants living on rats and vermin. It was not uncommon for a vessel to lose in passage one third of her cargo from disease. The Philadelphia editor, Christopher Sauer, who publicized these conditions in the hope of ameliorating them reported that in one year 2000 Germans died in crossing the Atlantic. The Palatine ship which was wrecked at Block Island in 1738, and which John Greenleaf Whittier used as the theme of his poem, "The Palatine," had left Europe with 400 passengers. At the time of the wreck this number had been reduced by dysentery and fever to 105. The horrors of the passage, especially to Pennsylvania, are almost beyond our contemporary, humanitarian imagination. For those who do not shrink from revolting realities there exists a somewhat detailed account of the conditions of the passage, written by a Gottlob Mittelberger who made the journey to Pennsylvania in 1750 and returned to Germany in 1754. A few paragraphs taken from the account of this eyewitness, even if considerably overdrawn, will furnish an insight into some of the horrors and brutalities of the passage:

In Rotterdam and Amsterdam they begin to pack the people in like herring, and since the ships insist on carrying not less than four, five or six hundred souls besides . . . chests, water casks and provisions, many are obliged to occupy berths scarcely two feet wide by six long. . . .

It is not, however, till the ship has raised its anchor for the last time and started on its eight, nine, ten, eleven, or twelve weeks sail for Philadelphia that the greatest misery is experienced. Then there are heart-rending scenes. The filth and stench of the vessels no pen could describe, while the diverse diseases, seasickness in every form, headaches, biliousness, constipation, dysentery, scarlet fever, scrofula, cancers, etc., caused by the miserable salt food and the vile drinking water are truly deplorable, not to speak of the deaths which occur on every side.

In addition to all this, one invariably meets with an actual scarcity of every kind of provisions, with hunger, thirst, frost, severe heat, an ugly wet vessel, murmurings, complaints, anxiety, loathsome, contagious diseases and other innumerable varieties of tribulations, such as lice in such a number that they can literally be taken in quantities from the bodies of the passengers, especially of the sick. Forlorn, though, as the situation is, the climax is not yet reached. That comes when, for the space of two or three days, all on board, the sick and dying as well as those in health, are tossed mercilessly to and fro, and rolled about on top of one another, the storm-tossed vessel seeming each moment as if in the next, it would be engulfed by the angry, roaring waves. . . .

Even those who escape sickness sometimes grow so bitterly impatient and cruel, that they curse themselves and the day of their birth, and then in wild despair commence to kill those around them. Want and sickness go hand in hand, and lead to trickery and deception of every kind. One blames another for having induced him to take the voyage. Husbands reproach their wives, wives their husbands, children their parents, parents their children, and friends their friends, while all denounce the cruel Newlanders whose trade it is to steal human beings.

Many heave deep drawn sighs, and exclaim mournfully: "O God!



O God! if I only had a piece of good bread or one drop of fresh water!" or cry out in the anguish of their souls: "Oh, if I were only at home lying in my pigsty!" The wailing and lamentations continue day and night, and, as one body after another is committed to a watery grave, those who induced their unfortunate companions to leave their old home in search of a new one are drawn to the verge of despair.

The sufferings of the poor women who are pregnant can scarcely be imagined. They rarely live through the voyage and many a mother with her tiny babe is thrown into the water almost ere life is extinct. During a severe storm on our vessel one poor creature, who owing to the trying circumstances, was unable to give birth to her child, was shoved through an opening in the ship and allowed to drop into the water, because it was not convenient to attend to her. . . .

It is little wonder that so many of the passengers are seized with sickness and disease, for, in addition to all their hardships and miseries, they have cooked food only three times a week and this (it is always a decidedly inferior quality, and served in very small quantities) is so filthy that the very sight of it is loathsome. Moreover, the drinking water is so black, thick and full of worms that it makes one shudder to look at it, and even those suffering the torture of thirst frequently find it almost impossible to swallow it.<sup>5</sup>

It is of course a human trait to magnify conditions wherever those faced are unusual or horrible. We may concede to this eyewitness as much in the way of exaggeration as we wish, nevertheless we cannot, even by so doing, escape the inhumanity of this traffic. In a modified form at least it represents the conditions under which some of our ancestors reached these shores. From the deep mists which enshroud the coming of many of them there emerges here and there the evidence of suffering and death. Joseph Ludwig, the father of Jacob and Joseph, Jr., died in passage, as did the wife of Henry Benner, David Rominger's second wife, and the father of Jacobina Dörfler. This is merely to mention the names of a few of the victims from our own early history.

But the profits of the Newlanders and the horrors of the passage by no means complete the story of exploitation. The captains and crews of the transports secured as well a share of such loot as was available. It was common practice with them to appropriate the goods of the dead as well as to plunder the living of their clothes and chattels. Chests were rifled; money was taken; those with means were compelled to pay the passage of the poorer ones, and on reaching port the more unfortunate of the immigrants were sold as redemptioners, regular sales being held on the ships. Here the citizens of the port would gather, pay the charges alleged as being due, and in this way secure the services of an immigrant for a number of years until the charges paid had been worked out in labor. Daniel Rupp in his notes to Dr. Benjamin

<sup>5</sup>Gottlob Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania in 1750*, trans. Carl T. Even (Phila.: J. J. McVey).



Rush's *Manners of the Germans in Pennsylvania* has outlined the practice followed in such sales:

The usual terms of sale depended somewhat on the age, strength and health of the persons sold. Boys and girls usually had to serve from five to ten years till they attained the age of twenty-one. Many parents were necessitated, as they had been wont at home to do with their cattle, to sell their own children. The children had to assume the passage, both their own and that of their parents, in order that the latter might be released from the ship. Children under five years of age could not be sold. They were disposed of gratuitously to such persons as offered to raise them, and let them go free when they attained the age of twenty-one.<sup>6</sup>

This method was quite commonly in vogue at Broad Bay in the case of the Colony of 1753. During the winter of that year, many children were put out to service on this basis in the settlements at Damariscotta and on the Georges.<sup>7</sup>

It may please us to believe that New England was not quite as callous in its treatment of the Palatinates as certain of the colonies in the South. This is in a measure true, but notwithstanding we were quite amply indifferent. Note, for example, the light thrown upon this problem by this excerpt from a letter of Colonel David Dunbar to Secretary Popple, dated Boston, August 29, 1730:

It is now the 29th, of August, three days ago there arrived here a ship belonging to this towne from Amsterdam with 230 pallatines, by their contract bound to Pensilvania, they were so crowded in ye ship which occasioned the death of some, and ye want of watre brought them in here, the Master complained to Mr. Belcher [the Governor] that the passengers forced him in, which the Governor told me was an act of piracy, the poor people being frightened with threats to be prosecuted accordingly by the Master and Owner, have been obliged to give up the obligations they had in writing to be put on shore at Philadelphia whither some of the familys and Acquaintance had been before them, and where exposed to sale like Negroes, and are purchasing by a company of Mr. Waldoes proprietors to be planted where the pine Swamps are in Shepscot river to ye Eastward of Kennebec; I begged Mr. Belcher to see that these poor creatures were not abused but he is gone to New Hampshire. God help them, they have a poor chance for justice — I am told that the Magistrates of this towne refused to let the pallatines be landed here, they are Yitt upon Island 4 miles from the towns where quarantine is performed, and are to be put upon the Same Vessel and sent to Philadelphia, it would be a fine opportunity to furnish such a number of people to Nova Scotia. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Again on October 21 of the same year Dunbar wrote the following from Boston: "The poor pallatines mentioned in my former letter to you are begging about Towne, it would move any

<sup>6</sup>(Philadelphia, 1789), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 82.

<sup>8</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc. Doc. Ser. XI, 36ff.

other people to see them, no dyeing Criminals look more piteously, they were bound to Pensilvania but brought in here as I formerly mentioned where they are likely to perish this winter. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

Dunbar's comments point to a pattern of treatment similar to that of Pennsylvania, but of course on a smaller scale. In the situation he discusses above, it is a Boston shipping firm engaged in the traffic, a crowded ship; there is suffering and death; Boston is reached. The owners would profit the more if the added expense of a longer voyage to Philadelphia could be avoided. Hence the accusation of piracy which so frightens the immigrants that they do not insist on the fulfillment of their contract. They are turned loose to beg and starve or to sell themselves as redemptioners to land speculators — among whom we find Mr. Waldo. In fact, his presence on the scene leads us to further speculation. Did this ship chartered for Pennsylvania reach Boston by accident or design? Were Mr. Waldo and his associates possibly diverting factors? Was Governor Belcher's indifference and his charge of piracy a part of a prearranged plan? In short, were Waldo and others in conspiracy with a Boston shipping firm to secure tenants for their land ventures? If so, it would be in line with a pattern later followed by Mr. Waldo, for when Martin Heyer and his fellow emigrants left Germany in 1748, their destination was Philadelphia, and they never even suspected that Broad Bay and Schenck's Point would be the scene of their ultimate landing.

The tale of the *Mayflower* has been retold in song and story as one of fortitude, courage, and endurance, and such it was. It is worthy of note, however, that the 102 Pilgrims were all landed after a voyage of sixty-five days. There was not a death from any cause, certainly none from starvation, and no evidence of the inhumanity of man to man. For suffering, sheer fortitude, and endurance this *Mayflower* voyage in comparison with those which brought these German migrants to our shores, is a pallid epic of misery indeed.

Whether some of the hypotheses of preceding paragraphs in reference to Mr. Waldo point in the direction of fact or not, we are clear in reference to the conditions under which many of our ancestors came to these shores. In fact, all who came to the Waldoborough area prior to 1750 experienced in a more or less limited way some of the cruelties and hardships here described. Around 1750 this condition in New England changed somewhat. The Governor and General Court were at this time formulating a policy whereunder the frontiers of Massachusetts Bay were to be settled by Germans who would serve as a buffer or first line of defense against the French and Indians. In order to secure Germans for such a purpose, it was felt that special inducements and safe-

<sup>9</sup>*Idem.*



guards would have to be provided to attract them in the numbers needed. Joseph Crellius or Crell, a German from Philadelphia, was made the agent of the Bay Colony. At the same time he also served as an undercover agent for Mr. Waldo and other land proprietors, and played a very considerable part in our local history in the years 1750 and 1752. Crell went about his work in a most energetic fashion and in a few months secured protective legislation in the General Court for all immigrants entering the Bay Colony, a feat which the humane citizenry of Philadelphia had been seeking for years, but which was never accomplished. Crell believed that he would be greatly strengthened in recruiting emigrants in Germany if the inhumanities practiced on such settlers in passage could be controlled and regulated by law, so far at least as migrations to Massachusetts were concerned. Accordingly on February 5, 1750, there passed the General Court "an Act to regulate the Importation of German and other Passengers coming to settle in this Province."<sup>10</sup>

This law in its letter placed under strict regulation the importation of emigrants contemplating settling on lands in the Province of Massachusetts Bay. In the interest of such settlers it humanized the Palatine traffic in the following ways:

1. It limited the number of the passengers to the size of the ship, and defined the amount of space allotted per capita.
2. It provided "good and wholesome meat and drink" and other "necessaries."
3. It protected the goods and money of passengers from unjust appropriation on the part of ship masters or crews.
4. The execution of the law was made mandatory on the part of the Commissioner of Import at the port of entry.
5. Fines for the violation of any feature of the law ranged from five pounds and costs to two hundred pounds.

This humane piece of legislation, while motivated by mercenary considerations, is in itself *prima-facie* evidence of the existence of the evils adduced elsewhere in this chapter. It had its effect, and from 1750 on less is heard of the characteristic brutalities of the earlier voyages across—at least to the Bay Colony. To incur risks in this respect was hereafter dangerous. It would have been especially so for Samuel Waldo, since he had powerful political enemies who would have made capital out of any inhumanity of his. The law, however, had its limitations. It did not and could not control the conditions existing in Europe from the time of recruiting to the time of embarking. It was loosely enforced and hence only partially effective. Nor did it regulate conditions once the passenger had landed and passed into the jurisdiction of the proprietor. Proprietary abuses continued un-

<sup>10</sup>Mass. Archives (Ms.), XV A, 52-55.



abated, and their cruelties in some instances projected themselves into the Broad Bay Colony until the last migrant from across the water had reached these shores in 1753.

With some change in the conditions of passage effected by this law, it will surely be of interest to know in a general way what life on shipboard was like for some of our ancestors who reached these shores under the new dispensation. This is revealed here in the form of a contract entered into between certain proprietors and the Germans of a given migration. This document pertains to a shipload of Rhinelanders who came to Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1751, a considerable number of whom in 1752 and in 1760 came to Broad Bay to make their permanent homes. Among them were John Stahl, John Hilt, George Smouse, David Vose, Jacob Burkhardt, and others. This was one of the colonies recruited in the Rhine Country by Joseph Crell. The form of the contract is as follows:

The said . . . and . . . [names of the proprietors] shall furnish us with a good tight and commodious ship that sails well, and cause us to be transported on board of said ship to our destination. Fixed bed-rooms or cabins are to be made in the ship six feet long and one and a half broad, for every whole freight. The said . . . and said . . . [proprietors] are to victual the ship with very good provisions, viz: Good bread, Syrup, Butter, Cheese, Bear,<sup>11</sup> Good Fish, Water and other necessities. The ship is to be purified twice a day with vinegar and juniper berries, and to cause fresh air to circulate freely through the ship, and every whole freight shall daily receive the following rations: Sunday, one pound of beef boiled with rice; Monday, Barley and Syrup; Tuesday, one pound of Flour of Wheat; Wednesday, one pound of bacon with Peas; Thursday, one pound of Beef boiled with Rice; Friday, one pound of Flour of Wheat and one pound of Butter; Saturday, one pound of Bacon, one pound of Cheese and six pounds of Bread for the whole week. Every day one quart of Bear (as long as it remains drinkable) and two quarts for every whole freight, whoever desires brandy shall receive the same every morning, and such as love Tobacco shall have one pound for their journey at their setting out. They shall have liberty in time of fair weather to dress their victuals for themselves and their children, and for that purpose to make use of the fire from six o'clock in the morning to six at night, and to be on deck. Such as are sick shall especially be entitled to have the use of the fire and water as they desire it. All sorts of spices and wine shall be put on board the ship to be used for their refreshment, in order to take the better care of the sick.<sup>12</sup>

This document should not be construed with entire seriousness, since it was simply a paper contract which in the actual immigration of the Broad Bay Germans was probably never entirely observed either in substance or spirit. At its best it simply points to some degree of amelioration in the conditions of passage.

<sup>11</sup>Beer.

<sup>12</sup>Taken from Wm. S. Pattee, *History of Old Braintree*, in the Mass. Archives (Quincy, 1878).

## VII

### THE GERMANS REACH BROAD BAY

*Wie wird das Bild der alten Tage  
Durch eure Träume glänzend web'n!  
Gleich einer stillen frommen Sage  
Wird es euch vor der Seele steh'n*

ANON

**I**N THE RESEARCHES OF THOSE who have interested themselves in the early history of Maine and of Lincoln County, the view persists that the colonization of the Waldoborough area by the Germans was started as early as 1739. The grounds for this belief are based on a number of sources, some of which have been long known to historians, while others confirming this conclusion have only recently been brought to light and are being presented in this chapter for the first time.

The older sources for a German settlement as early as 1739 seem to be twofold. The first was a letter written by the Lutheran pastor at Waldoborough, the Reverend John William Starman, to William Willis, the Portland historian. This was published in the *Collections of The Maine Historical Society*.<sup>1</sup> In this letter the Reverend Starman states: "A few German immigrants began the original plantation of Waldoborough; it is supposed that they came over in the summer or autumn of 1739. It was first the abode of only two or three families to which accessions were made in 1740." This same view is represented by William D. Williamson, who adds that they came on a vessel "which brought to New England that year letters of marque and reprisal<sup>2</sup> from the King of England against the subjects of Spain."<sup>3</sup> The evidence offered by the Reverend Starman should unquestionably carry weight, for he resided in the community from 1812 to his death in 1854. The span of his ministry in the town was coextensive with the lives of a goodly number of the older German settlers.

Conrad Heyer, for example, was a member of the Lutheran parish during Starman's entire ministry; and the reverend gentle-

<sup>1</sup>V, 403.

<sup>2</sup>Authorizing New England privateers to operate against Spanish shipping.

<sup>3</sup>*Am. Quarterly Register*, XIII (1840), 162.

man unquestionably knew him intimately. Likewise Jacob Ludwig who died in 1826 was an officer in the Lutheran congregation in the early years of Starman's ministry; and from him, too, the pastor must have become very familiar with the history of the earliest days. But neither Heyer nor Ludwig was among the very earliest German settlers, for Heyer was born at Broad Bay in 1749, and Ludwig came as a boy in his teens in 1753. There were, however, those of the earliest colonists who were still living when Mr. Starman came to Waldoborough, whose association with him as their pastor was unquestionably a particularly intimate one. In those days of no newspapers and a very limited communication with the outside world, the facts and doings of the past were in the minds of all a part of the living present, and Starman, as well as Heyer and Ludwig, must have been as familiar with the history of the earliest days as though they themselves had lived it. Hence despite the absence of documentary data, it is difficult, indeed, to disregard the testimony offered by the Reverend Starman. Furthermore, the conclusion offered by Judge Williamson receives collateral support from a communication of Governor Shirley to the General Court, reported in the *Boston Gazette* of September 24, 1739,<sup>4</sup> to the effect that a ship arrived in Boston from England in mid-September of that year bearing from the King "the Commissions of Marque and Reprisal" which bore the London date of July 20, 1739. That there were a few German families aboard this ship is strongly within the range of probability, for Samuel Waldo was in Europe at that time primarily in the interests of his projects in "Eastern parts." From the constant flow of German emigrants, all of whom stopped at English ports for clearance, he may well have induced a few families to effect contact with his agents in Boston relative to settling on his lands in the Province of Maine. That this matter was uppermost in his mind is clear from the following advertisement which he placed in the *Boston Gazette* of July 13, 1739.<sup>5</sup> "Samuel Waldo of Boston, Merchant, intending to take his departure for Great Britain with Captain Hall, gives notice that all desiring to settle in the Eastern Parts of this Province, should apply in his Absence to his Agents at his House in Queen Street."

The second of the older sources for the belief in a settlement by the Germans at Broad Bay prior to 1742 was Cyrus Eaton of Warren. Eaton was born at Framingham, Massachusetts, in 1784 and came to Warren in 1804. He was self educated, but despite this fact was an extremely careful and reliable scholar. In his life span of ninety years he was an assiduous fact-gatherer from any and all sources. He early came to know some of the first Broad

<sup>4</sup>Rare Book Collection, Harvard University Library.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*



Bayers; and from a period in his life when he was a teacher in Waldoborough, he was able to widen the circle of his friends among the early Germans and to gather data firsthand. He seems to have drawn much of his material from Joseph Ludwig, who came to Broad Bay in 1753. With such sources at his disposal Eaton states: "The same year, 1740, forty German families from Brunswick and Saxony, tempted by the imposing offers which the indefatigable Waldo had made and caused to be circulated in their language, after first landing at Braintree, Massachusetts, arrived at Broad Bay and laid the foundation of the present town of Waldoborough."<sup>6</sup> There is no necessary contradiction involved here with the Starman date of 1739, for it is a verifiable fact that some migrations split on reaching Boston, part remaining in the Boston district and others coming to Waldo's grant in eastern parts. It is known that the ship bearing the Commissions of Marque and Reprisal reached Boston in mid-September, 1739; and if it did bring a load of German immigrants, it is entirely probable that a few families came to Broad Bay in the autumn of that year, and that the others wintered in the German settlement at Germantown (Braintree), and then joined their fellow migrants at Broad Bay the following spring, when Waldo's agents could have made more detailed arrangements for their care and settlement. These would have been the "accessions" which the Reverend Starman reported "were made in 1740."

A substantial body of new material, presented here for the first time, supplements and strengthens the hypothesis that 1739-1740 was the period when Germans first settled in Waldoborough. Waldo, as has become abundantly clear, was a dogged and constant worker in the promotion of his projects. That the evidence for the 1739-1740 settlement is not more abundant may well have arisen from the fact that in these years he was disposed to screen his activities. It was while he was in England from 1738 to 1740, working and intriguing for the unseating of Governor Belcher, that Waldo renewed contact with a Swiss by the name of Sebastian Zuberbühler with whom he had had dealings several years before.

Zuberbühler was born at Linden in the Canton of Appenzel<sup>7</sup> which is in the northeast corner of Switzerland, just south of Lake Constance. In 1734 he was sent by his own countrymen to South Carolina to investigate the possibilities of locating a colony of Swiss in that district. Already in 1732 John Peter Purry of Neufchâtel, Switzerland, had founded Purrysburg on the Savannah River and had settled one hundred and seventy colonists there. Their report of conditions had been most favorable; and the next

<sup>6</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren* (Hallowell, 1851), pp. 60-61.

<sup>7</sup>Fridolini Hilti, *Reiss-Journal nacher Süid-Carolina* (Bern, 1739), p. 9.

year, 1733, close to two hundred Swiss Germans and Germans were sent out to the Savannah.

It is possible that Zuberbühler came in this transport in order to follow in Purry's footsteps as a land speculator. He had associated himself with a Herr Simon who had a ship and a ship's chandler business in Rotterdam, and with another Swiss, Tschiffeli by name, in order to settle a colony of Appenzeller Swiss on the Santee River close to the border of North Carolina. For this purpose they had acquired from the English proprietors a considerable area of land. In these ventures Sebastian's brother, the Reverend Bartholomew Zuberbühler, was also associated. Just how successful this project was is not known, for at this point Zuberbühler disappears from view for a number of years. For the greater part of this period Zuberbühler and Samuel Waldo had had contact with one another, as is made clear by a letter of Governor William Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle, dated at Boston, August 30, 1742. In this communication Shirley made it clear to the Duke that affairs in the settling of eastern parts were at a standstill, "which has prevented Mr. Zuberbühler from transporting 100 Protestant families *more* from the Swiss Cantons, as he had in 1735 contracted with Mr. Waldo to do."<sup>8</sup>

The meeting in London between Waldo and Zuberbühler was to draw thousands of men living in all parts of the United States into the causal sequence of Broad Bay and American history. To Waldo, Zuberbühler must have seemed the perfect instrument for his purposes. The Swiss knew both America and Europe, he was German, English, and perhaps French speaking, and for several years had had experience in recruiting emigrants on the continent and transporting them to the New World. These facts fitted perfectly into Waldo's plans; and the two men struck a bargain whereunder Samuel Waldo promised and obligated himself to convey to Sebastian Zuberbühler, "or his order at the charge of the said Waldo by good and sufficient Deeds in the Law, 12000 acres of land — to be laid out between Muscongus and Penebscot rivers . . . *adjoining to the settlement of the Germans.*"<sup>9</sup> The land here in question was a part of the Muscongus tract; and the instrument promising to make the conveyance of this acreage was drawn up in London and bears the significant date of February 19, 1740. It was not a formal conveyance of title, but merely an agreement under which Waldo obligated himself to convey title to 12,000 acres, probably at a time when both men would be in New England, where the surveying of bounds could be done which would be essential to making the conveyance a meaningful and binding

<sup>8</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., XI, 252. [*Italics mine.*]

<sup>9</sup>York Co. Reg. of Deeds (Alfred, Maine), Bk. 25, pp. 44-45. [*Italics mine.*]



legal agreement. It is extremely doubtful if the actual conveyance ever was made, since nowhere is it a matter of record. Zuberbühler, however, was still sufficiently hopeful of his ultimate title in 1745 that on March 25 of that year, as he was leaving Broad Bay for the Louisburg campaign, he conveyed 6,000 acres of this land to George Tilley of Boston, as part collateral of a loan of £96 made to him by Tilley. It is significant that the only claim Zuberbühler could make at this time to the grant was based solely on the London agreement of 1740.

The main significance of the London agreement is not that it reveals the character of some of Mr. Waldo's deals, but rather that it casts light on the first German settlement at Broad Bay. The 12,000 acres involved in Waldo's promise were to be laid out "adjoining to the settlement of the Germans." If these words are to be taken in their literal sense, they can only mean that there was already a settlement of Germans on the Medomak by February 19, 1740, probably the few families who had come in 1739 on the ship bringing the letters of Marque and Reprisal from the King of England against the subjects of Spain. Hence it is likely that this "settlement of the Germans" should be construed as including the balance of this migration that passed the winter of 1739-1740 at Braintree, and was scheduled to join the settlement at Broad Bay the following spring, for this seems to have been a certainty that was entering into Waldo's calculations at this time. Further migrations to Broad Bay were unquestionably a part of the plans being formulated by Waldo and Zuberbühler in London in the late winter of 1740, for Waldo was not a philanthropist haphazardly scattering his bounty on the waters. When Waldo made a promise, there was usually a *quid pro quo* involved, which in this situation meant that for 12,000 acres Zuberbühler had to return plenty in value for value received. From this time forward for a number of years, Zuberbühler was Waldo's agent in the program of colonizing the lands at Broad Bay with Germans. We know much of his activities in the year 1741, but where he was and what he was doing for the balance of the year 1740 after having completed his agreement with Waldo in February of that year is not known. We may be reasonably certain that as Waldo's agent he did not pass the spring, summer, and autumn of 1740 in idleness. We are venturing the conjecture that in the late winter of 1740 he returned to his home Canton of Appenzell, where his repute was high, and early the following spring recruited a migration of thirty-odd Swiss families which during the summer he transported and settled on Mr. Waldo's grant at Broad Bay.

In Waldoborough history there has been from the early days a persistent, long-lingering tradition or fable of a lost colony — a



tale of a traveller or hunter who in the 1740's wandered along the banks of the river and found cabin after cabin vacated and not much in them disturbed "as though the occupants had just stepped out for a short while." It is possible that that which has lingered so long as romance or tradition is also history, for it now seems very probable that there was such a colony. In all likelihood they found the winters too severe, or the soil too stony, or the hazards of Indian warfare more than they cared to endure. Whatever their reasons, they disappeared during the War of the Austrian Succession while General Waldo was with his troops at Louisburg. It is apparent that they dispatched on one of the cordwood coasters one or more of their number to Boston, who chartered a ship which returned to the Medomak, where the unhappy Swiss colony embarked for parts unknown.

William Shirley, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, writing in 1746 to the Duke of Newcastle, His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, and seeking either recognition or compensation for General Waldo, for the losses sustained by him in his personal affairs by reason of his long absence in the King's service at Louisburg, states:

... One instance of which [loss] is that after suffering otherwise in his eastern settlements, *no less than thirty-four Swiss families*, which he had transported on his lands at a great expense from the protestant Cantons, are now quitting them together, to the entire breaking up of one of his settlements occasioned chiefly by his attendance upon His Majesty's Service at Louisburg, which I engaged him to do upon my leaving it, for the sake of keeping the soldiers easy.<sup>10</sup>

This is weighty evidence indeed, for up until the time when he was appointed governor in June 1741, William Shirley had been Samuel Waldo's personal attorney, had represented Waldo's interests in America while the latter was in England, and on becoming governor had collaborated with Waldo in a common program of settling the eastern parts with Protestant Germans. Surely there was no one who knew Waldo's business better than Shirley, and no one more thoroughly familiar with conditions on the Maine frontier, the settlement of which was one of his pet policies. Even if Shirley and Waldo had not been close collaborators over the years, this evidence would still carry great weight; for in the summer of 1742 the Governor made a trip to the eastern parts as far as the settlement on the Georges River, and spent some time at Broad Bay.<sup>11</sup> In other words, he was on the spot; he saw and he knew, and reported on conditions to the General Court on September 3, 1742.

<sup>10</sup>*The Case of Samuel Waldo*, Ms. (Boston, Oct. 31, 1746), Huntington Library, Pasadena, Calif. [Italics mine.]

<sup>11</sup>*Boston Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1742, Harvard University Library.

Where the Swiss families went is a matter of conjecture, but it would seem reasonable to conclude that they joined their Swiss brethren in the Carolinas, where they had migrated before them under the guidance of this same Sebastian Zuberbühler. It cannot be denied that these events, though real, impart to the history of these early days a certain colorful romance of "old, unhappy, far-off things," only dimly seen in retrospect, of which the sharper details will remain shrouded from human ken forever.

History, which Alexis Carrel calls "the conjectural science," offers no certain answer. There are historians who mention two southern areas as the scenes of Broad Bay migrations, Orangeburg and Londonderry, both in South Carolina. A study of the Orangeburg area, made, to be sure, at a considerable distance, reveals no trace of any such migration, whereas Londonderry does offer clues. Professor R. H. Taylor writes: "Regarding the group of German settlers who migrated from Waldoboro, Maine to Londonderry, Abbeville District, S. C., I have found a few references. In Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, Vol. II, pp. 44-46, this group is mentioned — In Wittke, *We Who Built America*, a new book, the Waldoboro group is mentioned, p. 67."<sup>12</sup>

From this we may infer that there was a migration from Waldo's estates to the "Abbeville District." Whether it was made up of German Palatinates or German Swiss, we do not know. Perhaps some later historian will be able to make this a matter of on-the-spot investigation through contact with the descendants of these families still living in that area.

Waldo's colonizing projects at Broad Bay in these years were wholly in line with a larger policy of the Massachusetts government; and the aims of the Governor and of himself had much, indeed, in common. It was Waldo's plan to settle the western part of his Patent with Protestant Germans, and it was Shirley's policy to settle western Massachusetts and the more exposed portions of the Province of Maine west of the Penobscot likewise with Protestant colonists from Germany. The thought in Shirley's mind was that such settlements would serve as a buffer against the Indians, and that by increasing the number of inhabitants on the frontier, these outposts would be made more defensible and secure against the pressure of the French. It was Waldo, who, with his first colonies of Germans and Swiss-Germans, had taken the first step. Shirley was a close observer and an interested backer, since these first colonies could serve him as an experiment, and if they stuck, as a model for his own plan. So impressed was he by results that in 1742 he laid his own colonizing program before the General

<sup>12</sup>Letter in my possession, from Prof. R. H. Taylor, Furman University, Greenville, S. C., dated Feb. 2, 1940.



Court, which appointed a committee of its members to investigate, consider ways and means, and report.<sup>13</sup> This was as far as the matter went at this time; for the War of the Austrian Succession (1743-1748) blocked further moves in this direction; but on the return of peace, Shirley again moved to set his program in immediate operation.

Before the advent of the war, Waldo had carried his plans, as is already apparent, considerably further than Shirley; and in 1742 they were in full swing. In the case of the migration reaching Broad Bay in this year, we find ourselves on sound historical ground, where the evidence is ample and sufficiently conclusive to offer a rather detailed story of the origin and of the coming of one of the larger of the German migrations. In the day of slow transportation in which Waldo lived, he had found that promoting his colonizing schemes both in Europe and New England at the same time was rather a large undertaking for one man. A journey to Europe could take six weeks. Then, too, moving from place to place on the continent by coach was likewise slow; and the journey back to America might require another six weeks, depending on wind and weather. In the mid-eighteenth century one man just could not devote himself to interests in both places. By engaging the services of Sebastian Zuberbühler Waldo hoped to avoid the necessity of further European trips on his own part.

Early in 1741 Zuberbühler was back in Europe and had set up headquarters in Speyer at the Inn of the Golden Lion. Speyer was a strategic spot. It is situated on the south, or French side, of the Rhine below Mannheim and in the eighteenth century was in the Bishopric of Speyer between the Palatinate and Baden-Durlach, with Würtemberg just east. This is the general area from which so many of the Broad Bay founders came. From this point he could operate in all three of these territories, and throughout this region he distributed the first known of "Waldo's circulars" which was printed in Speyer in 1741.

From other sources examined,<sup>14</sup> the existence of such a document had become clear, and in October 1938 it was brought to the light of day. It is here presented for the first time, as a part of our history. It is an interesting and illuminating paper, since it lays down in detail the conditions under which some of the earliest Germans were led to embark on the great enterprise. Its formal and somewhat obsolete legal phraseology balks in spots at translation, and in such passages a freer rendering is necessary. Otherwise the document follows in a literal form:

<sup>13</sup>Mass. House of Representatives, *Journal*, 1742, Mass. State Archives (Boston, Mass.), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>*Court Protocols of Mass. of the year 1784*, Mass. State Archives (Boston, Mass.).



A short description of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, especially of the tract of land on Broad Bay belonging to the Imperial British Colonel, Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay, along with the principal conditions under which foreign protestants may settle there. Speyer, printed and available in the Götselchen Printing House, 1741.

The Province of Massachusetts Bay lies on the Atlantic Ocean and extends in general east, northeast and south southwest from the forty-first to the forty-third degree, north latitude, and is situated five hours west of the London meridian. The land consists of great strips or divisions, parts of which belong to the government, parts to the first colonists, and also to such hereditary lords as dwell in England to whom an hereditary title has been granted by the Crown, as is the case of Pennsylvania; hence the economy and the form of government rests on the same basis as in this latter colony; with this exception, that each of these provinces or districts may adopt its own regulations or laws, without having to depend on the General Assembly for them, an advantage which cannot be had elsewhere.

Boston, the Capitol of this Province, has been built upwards of a hundred and fifty years and is owned and occupied by a great number of prosperous English residents. The city lies about half way between Philadelphia and Halifax in Nova Scotia. — From this latter province it is about five hundred English or approximately one hundred German miles distant and is separated from it by a large bay which is known as the Bay of Fundy. The climate here, as one can well imagine, is very healthful and the soil extremely fruitful and yields all kinds of produce as in Germany, especially, however, hemp and flax in great perfection. It is the same with the wood which grows here which is for the most part oak, beech, ash and maple. Game also is most plentiful in these forests and the streams abound with fish. Everyone is allowed to fish and to hunt. Since the previously mentioned Imperial British Colonel, Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay, possesses there a large and fruitful grant of land yielding to none in its richness and quality, and is minded to set up there plantations and colonies, he invites all such Protestants of the Palatinate who are skillful and industrious artisans or farmers and who so wish, to emigrate to America and to settle there on his estates, under the following terms or conditions. All those so inclined may present themselves to the accredited Agent or Commissioner of the previously mentioned Colonel and Hereditary Lord, Samuel Waldo, Mr. Sebastian Zuberbühler, who is possessed of plenary power as well as the most gracious approval of his Serene Highness, the Elector. Mr. Zuberbühler may be found at the Inn of the Golden Lion in Speyer and will be ready to impart all desired data or information.

There follows the advantages accorded to the colonists along with the terms and conditions:

1. Such Protestants of the Palatinate as may be inclined to emigrate to these estates of the Colonel Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord, etc., will present themselves to the previously mentioned Commissioner, Mr. Sebastian Zuberbühler, where they will have to complete and sign the written articles and contracts. Then there is to be made a deposit of five imperial crowns for each adult, and the half for each person under fourteen years of age. This will serve as a guarantee that they are minded to fulfill loyally the stipulations of these articles and contracts.

2. On a day to be determined and set by the said Commissioner, Mr. Sebastian Zuberbühler, those desirous of emigrating and the contracting parties, will report in Rotterdam, where the before mentioned Colonel Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord, etc., will have in readiness a ship or several ships for the transportation of such numbers of Palatinates as may present themselves. Should such a ship or ships be not there and in readiness for sailing within one week after arrival of the Palatinates in Rotterdam, then the said Colonel Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord, etc., is to pay them for each day after the expiration of the said seven days thirty pounds sterling as demurrage; and should the ship or ships be retarded or delayed by the Palatinates, then the Palatinates are to pay the said Waldo, Hereditary Lord, etc., fifteen pounds sterling as demurrage for each day of delay.

3. Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., promises and obligates himself against the time of the arrival of the Palatine emigrants at Broad Bay in New England, to build and complete at his own expense, two houses for their domiciling — each house to be thirty-five feet square and two stories high and likewise a church; in the construction of these houses he promises to pay for each of the same one hundred pounds sterling, and for the church two hundred pounds sterling.

4. Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., promises and obligates himself at his own expense to settle in the colony and to pay an engineer or a surveyor a yearly salary of one hundred pounds sterling for three years; a physician or surgeon a yearly salary of one hundred pounds sterling for five years; a preacher a yearly salary of seventy pounds sterling and a schoolmaster a yearly salary of thirty pounds sterling, each for a period of ten years.

5. Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., promises and obligates himself to delimit and to lay out for the said Palatine emigrants or colonists a suitable area of land for a city, and therein to prepare and reserve for each family one quarter *morgen*<sup>15</sup> or acre of ground for a house and lot. At the same time he will set aside sixty thousand *morgen* or acres of land adjoining the said city, and each settler shall receive for himself and his heirs in perpetuity a tract of fifty *morgen* or acres against the payment of a price of two shillings and a half pence for each *morgen* or acre — The said price to be paid within three years of the date of the arrival of the colonists in Broad Bay.

6. Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., promises and obligates himself, for the housing maintenance of the said colonists, for a period of one year, to provide and deliver the following foodstuffs, namely; one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of beef, twenty thousand pounds of pork, sixty thousand pounds of wheat-flour, sixty thousand pounds of coarse or unbolted flour, four thousand bushels of Indian corn, four thousand bushels of salt, the one half of the above to be delivered on their arrival and the other half six months thereafter in the following manner: each person over ten years of age to receive one hundred and fifty pounds of beef, fifty pounds of pork, one hundred and fifty pounds of wheaten-flour, one hundred and fifty pounds of coarse or unbolted flour, ten bushels of Indian corn, and one bushel of salt: each person under ten years of age is to receive one half of the above.

7. Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., promises and obligates himself further to furnish and to deliver to each family the following things, one cow and calf, a pregnant sow, three axes, four hoes, a spade and a handsaw. At the same time each colonist is to have the privi-

<sup>15</sup>A German word meaning "morning," here as much land as one man may plough in a morning, i.e., an acre.



lege and the right in the forests of the said Samuel Waldo, Colonel and Hereditary Lord, etc., to cut as much wood as he may find necessary for his own needs, *or* for sale on the banks of the rivers and sea, where many vessels are ready to buy all such at four shillings a cord.

8. These and other advantageous circumstances and conditions may, it is to be assumed, influence here and there certain Palatine and German folk to emigrate to such a fruitful country, so conveniently located on the sea and its rivers, so highly privileged, and so well governed, where the occupants enjoy so many good rights, which belongs to such a powerful and gracious Lord and which is ruled with such paternal favour. He (the gracious Lord) makes and extends this offer to all those who are in a position to defray the costs of emigrating thither, without his ever hoping or expecting to receive the slightest pay or profit for himself, and where they according to their protestant faith may worship their God undisturbed in their own right and according to their own conscience and where they may be in a position to maintain and amply support themselves and others.

Signed at Speyer on this fourteenth day of July, A.D. 1741  
Samuel Waldo

Colonel and Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay in New England  
Sebastian Zuberbühler  
Commissioner with plenary powers.

This is a document which glows with the promises as well as the egotism of the proprietor. Its details should be carefully noted, for many of the important episodes of the following decades is implied within them.

In the course of the winter of 1741-42, Zuberbühler succeeded on the representations of this circular in securing a goodly number of colonists purposing to settle on Waldo's grant. In short, there were more than two hundred Palatinates and Würtembergers. They were Lutherans in considerable part and people in tolerable circumstances. They were in a measure moved to emigrate in consequence of the pressure exercised on them by a hostile Catholic-Reformed Church coalition. There were other factors behind their urge to leave the Old World, but it was this religious situation which tipped the scales and led them to break loose and seek a land where they could, according to Waldo's promise, practice their religion in peace.<sup>16</sup> With them they had a learned, if not a pious, preacher. It was true of all the Germans that they were little prone to emigrate unless a minister accompanied them. Hence most of the agents sought a clergyman as the nucleus around which they could assemble their recruits. The spiritual leader of this colony was the Rev. Philipp Gottfried Kast, *Doktor der Theologie*. It may be inferred from later developments that Doctor Kast had collaborated with Zuberbühler in recruiting the colony, and for his service had received a per capita commission, and that he had taken Zuberbühler's note in payment, since at the time of their

<sup>16</sup>B. G. Struve, *Bericht von der Pfälzischen Kirchenhistorie*, Kapitel XIII und XIV.



arrival at Broad Bay the latter owed him a considerable sum of money which was to become the subject of later litigation. There was also Doktor Jacob Friedrich Kurtz, *Doktor der Medezin*, as well as an engineer or surveyor whose name we do not know, and a schoolmaster, most probably John Ulmer, who was to become one of the outstanding figures in early Broad Bay history. Several of these colonists were well to do, but had sold their houses and lands to found this plantation in a new world, as it seemed to them, of freedom and unbounded promise.

It was stipulated that the migration should assemble at Mannheim, a city in the Rhenish Palatinate halfway between Worms and Speyer, on the east side of the Rhine and located on the Neckar River just above its confluence with the Rhine. Thither Zuberbühler led those from the Palatinate. They proceeded in small river boats from Speyer down the Rhine in March 1742. Shortly after their arrival at Mannheim, they were joined by the contingent from Württemberg which had proceeded in small boats down the Neckar from Heilbronn, possibly under the leadership of either Kast or Kurtz. Here the whole company transferred to larger boats for the trip down the Rhine to Rotterdam. The day of their departure from Mannheim is not known, but on the 22nd of April they reached Mühlheim just below Cologne. Here they were stopped by the intervention of the Dutch Government which demanded a guarantee that they would not be held up for any length of time in Holland without means of support. In other words, the Dutch were seeing to it that if there were delay in Rotterdam, they would not become charges of the city. This was a problem for Zuberbühler as he did not know whether Waldo had a ship waiting to receive them or not. So he hastened on alone to Rotterdam, where he ascertained that Waldo's shipping agents had not as yet been able to make any arrangements for the reception and transportation of the emigrants. Thereupon Zuberbühler set out for London to get information as to procedure from Waldo's agents in that city, Messrs. Sedgwick and Kilby. Because there were no ships available this firm refused to give him any idea of what he might expect. Hence the unfortunate colonists had to tarry for more than eight weeks at Mühlheim in the electorate of Cologne until relief came in the middle of June.

The time taken up by the trip from Mannheim to Cologne is uncertain.<sup>17</sup> Usually at that time a journey from Speyer or Heilbronn to Holland lasted from four to six weeks by reason of the fact that Germany was split up into several hundred independent or semi-independent political units, each maintaining its own cus-

<sup>17</sup>"Petition of the Palatine Colonists of Waldoburg to the Governor and Gen. Assembly of Mass.," Mass. Records (Boston, Office of the Secretary of State), XV A, 38.

toms offices and tariffs. These were a source of indefinite delays in travelling. Some idea of this nuisance is given us by Dr. Friedrich Hermann, Professor in Lübeck. In 1804 Hermann made a tour of America and recorded his impressions in a book entitled *Die Deutschen in Amerika*.<sup>18</sup> In this work he states that from Heilbronn to Rotterdam there were no less than thirty-six customs stations, at which the boats were visited by officials, concerning which he adds — “ein Geschäft wobei die Zollbeamten mehr auf eigene Bequemlichkeit, als auf die Schnellige Abfertigung der Schiffe Rücksicht nahmen.”<sup>19</sup> The costs of so long a journey plus the two months sojourn in Cologne greatly depleted the slender resources of some of the emigrants. The difficulties in this respect were exacerbated by the outbreak of war between England and Spain. The activities of Spanish privateers and pirates added greatly to the hazards of trade and had markedly increased the costs of foodstuffs, especially in the Netherlands. The outbreak of this war with its threat to shipping was probably also the reason why there were no ships immediately available.

We should note here an added touch of either thrift or cunning on the part of Waldo or his agent. For this we go back to the terms of the agreement, from which I quote: “Should such a ship or ships be not there and in readiness for sailing within one week after the arrival of the Palatinates in Rotterdam, then the said Colonel Samuel Waldo, Hereditary Lord, etc., is to pay them for each day after the expiration of the said seven days, thirty pounds sterling as demurrage.” In other words, for Zuberbühler to have given the Dutch Government the needed assurance and taken the emigrants on to Rotterdam would have cost Waldo a tidy sum of money, whereas by holding them in Cologne they were obligated to defray their own living costs. So after many difficulties, sufferings, and delays, during which Zuberbühler was compelled to make two trips to England, they finally reached Rotterdam on June 20, 1742. Even here their troubles were not at an end, for a ship was not at hand. The Spanish privateers made transportation precarious; and the Pennsylvania trade in emigrants, greatly on the increase and highly remunerative, made it difficult to procure a ship. Here in Rotterdam, however, after the expiration of the seven-day period, Waldo had to bear the living costs of his colonists — their first break on this unhappy journey.

In the meantime the best season of the year was passing. Spring was gone and summer was well on its way. Naturally impatience and discontent were rife. About thirty colonists, listening to the blandishments of competing shipping agents, abandoned the

<sup>18</sup>(Lübden, 1806).

<sup>19</sup>“A business in which the custom officials pay more attention to their own convenience than to the quick dispatch of the vessels.”



migration and proceeded to Pennsylvania. Others turned back home; some of the younger men enlisted as hirelings in the English army, so that the number of the colonists seems to have been reduced to a hundred and fifty or sixty. From the materials at hand, it can be inferred that Zuberbühler was a man of considerable honesty and rectitude and a finer humanitarian than most of the professionals of this period who were engaged in this traffic. To give a completer picture of the difficulties which beset him, there is offered at this point one of his letters to Waldo written from London apparently on the occasion of his second trip to that city for the purpose of securing transportation for his group:

Sir: It is impossible for you to conceive ye fatigues & troubles & extraordinary expenses I have gone to in this undertaking of wch I shall let you know further particulars when I see you — I have been obliged to come over to England from Germany twice to get yr Agents Messrs Sedgwick & Kilby to do their part and now that I have brought ye people down and things bean more than could be expected all Impediments considered as I shall give you a full Relation of with ye causes more at large — Thes (e) delays gave rise to suspicions among ye people being 120 full familys wch had agreed to go but have been prevented by many artifices also made use of from Merchts in Holland concerned (in) ye Pensilvania trade and who will be affected by ye success of this affair — & if these People now coming wch consists of above 200 ye greatest part young people fit for business are well received & used upon, their Report to their Friends in Germany who only send them for an essay of ye Country & usage: ye rest who are ye chief & Substantial persons all declare that they will follow next year on being satisfied of ye Solidity of ye undertaking. Thus ye whole burthen has been upon my shoulders, but as I consider that ye Intentions will be fully answered by this first small transport & that ye charges will be much lessened in ye article of provisions & they may be more easily accommodated in other respects & indeed it would have been ye more he(a)vy upon me had not Mr. Stanton encouraged & assisted me to ye thro: it being persuaded of ye good effects of it in ye end designed for yr advantage in making a flourishing settlement wch may be completed in a year more — The Minister & other officers who are men of great alliances Interests & Considerations are among these of ye first transport. Mr. Stanton & I will give you a full acct of ye money received wch is lessened by reason that ye 40 people who were to go passage free are come down among those few & their waiting for ships at charges ever since ye 20th of June wch you must imagine has greatly consumed ye Effects of ye poorer sort so that ye money paid will be but barely sufficient to Victual them — & there is but one ship ready to transport them wch is properly fitted up for ye purpose whose Owners demand £300 for ye run & £40 more for ye beddings Coppers & other necessaries of wch we can get one no cheaper — Therefore am obliged to give Bills drawn on ye for ye paymt of that Sum 30 days after ye landing of ye people in New England wch I give you notice of that you may prepare for ye payment. I hope to find you in good Health & with all success to ye Undertaking wch God grant, I am Sr yr Very Hble Servt.

S. Zouberbühler.

London ye 5th July 1742.



P.S. I set out for Holland in a few hours & expect we shall be ready to sail in 10 days or a fortnight after wch must regulat(e) yrself in sending out ye Pilot Ship to meet, as for ye Captain is a Stranger to those Ports & Coasts.

This letter provides a goodly number of historical facts and hints: the extreme difficulties under which Zuberbühler worked; the additional expense incurred; the original number of the families; the reduction of their number through the seductions of the Rotterdam shipping merchants; the justifiable suspicion among the emigrants; the final number in the colony of two hundred souls — mostly young people; the number of the poorer folk who were to go passage free; and the cost of the voyage across.

Finally a ship was chartered, and amid great rejoicing on the part of these poor souls they sailed from Rotterdam in August. The vessel was the *Lydia* commanded by Captain James Abercrombie. On August 14th they reached Deal on the east coast of England, about twenty miles north of Dover. Here the ship remained lying for four days and from here Zuberbühler wrote to Waldo as follows:

Deal  
August 17th, 1742

Sir:

I arrived here three days ago with about 140 full passengers all in perfect health, ye ships name is *Lydia*, ye Capt. James Abercrombie — he never was in New England, but intends however to go directly for St. Georg River, or Cascobay. I hope all things are got ready for their reception — I expect Mr. Kilby here to day. I wish you well ye Gentlm is just going so I can't write you more.

I am Sr your most humble servant  
S. Zouberbühler.

P.S. To morrow we shall set out & according ye wind is we shall go North about, ye people fight bravely, so there is no fear about ye Spaniards.

To Mr. Samuel Waldo Mercht. &c.  
Pr. Mr. Austin Bolton.

In his letter under date of July 5th Zuberbühler had indicated that the transport contained "above 200 passengers." From Deal on August 17th he wrote that there were on board the *Lydia* "about 140 full passengers." There had, then, been some shrinkage in the interim due to causes already noted. If, in Zuberbühler's awkward and inexact English, this term meant full-paid "freights," as they were commonly called, the forty who were to go passage free would swell the number of the migration to an approximate figure between one hundred and seventy-five and two hundred. As these were for the most part "young people fit for business," it would follow that the number of children in the transport would be somewhat below the number usual in such migrations. Further-

more, Zuberbühler's confusion in sometimes speaking of freights and at other times of families renders a numerical estimate difficult and uncertain.

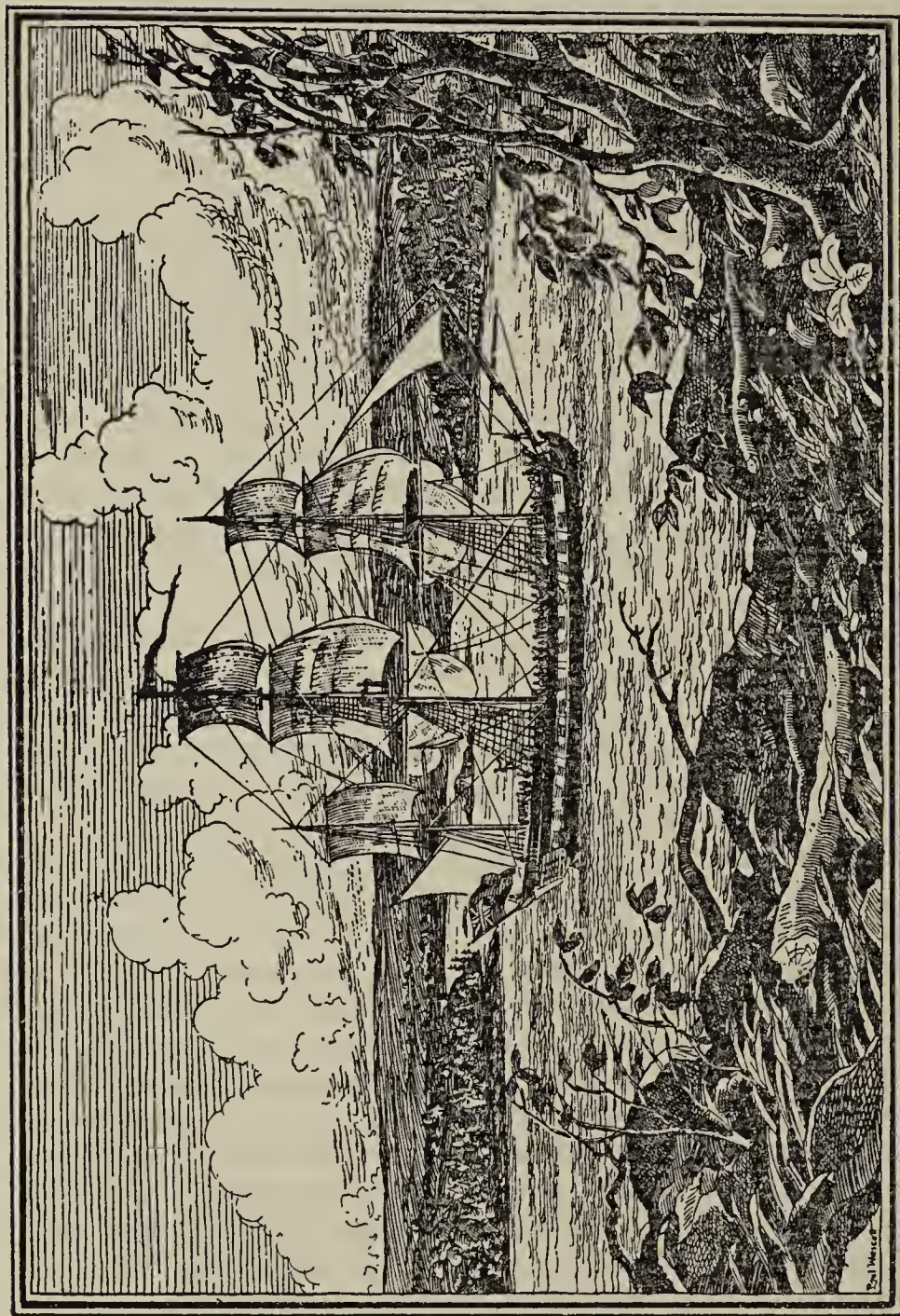
In almost every transport to America there were a number of Germans too poor to pay the cost of passage. As previously indicated, such, on their arrival in the colonies, commonly bound themselves out to work for a number of years to whomsoever would defray the costs of their passage. In this transport there were forty such free freights and no one at the receiving end to pay their costs of passage. In this case they could only have arrived at Broad Bay as redemptioners under contract to work for Waldo for a stipulated period of years. Of such an arrangement nothing is known, although it remains a possibility that the Colonel had planned to use them in the construction of the houses and church which he had obligated himself to erect. It is also probable that they were used in 1743-1744 for work on his mills and the forts and stockades. There were also certain members of this migration who arrived in debt to Zuberbühler. The considerable lapse of time between starting from their homes and embarking at Rotterdam had exhausted the reserve capital of some, and in order to live they had seemingly been compelled to borrow funds of Zuberbühler. In return they had given notes to him, all payable on September 4, 1747. Among such was Joachim and Conrad Heiler who gave notes for £7 14s. 3½d., David and Phillip Rominger, with a note of £7 12s. 5d., and Hans Georg Vogler and Philip Christoph Vogler with a note for £6 10s. 9d.<sup>20</sup>

On the 18th of August, then, in 1742, after four months of delay at Cologne and in Holland, and six months after they had left their homes, the *Lydia* headed out to sea. Little is known of the specific details of the trip across. War was on and in order to escape Spanish and possibly French cruisers, they sailed to the north of England and Scotland as we may infer from Zuberbühler's letter to Colonel Waldo. The Atlantic passage took, in all probability, between six and seven weeks. At this season of the year bad weather was undoubtedly encountered which extended the normal summer duration of such a voyage. The ship, however, was clearly not overcrowded. Hence we may infer that by comparison with the Pennsylvania traffic health was good. If the ship was well provisioned, the trip must have been made in reasonable comfort. Disease, deaths, and births undoubtedly occurred, but of such History is silent.

Sometime in the early days of October, the *Lydia* reached Marblehead, which was not Captain Abercrombie's intended land-fall. In the letter already quoted of Zuberbühler to Colonel Waldo

<sup>20</sup>York Co. Deeds, Bk. 25, pp. 44-45.





*Arrival of Ship LYDIA, Capt. James Abercrombie, at Broad Bay, Oct. 1742.*



from Deal (August 17, 1742) the agent observes near the end of the epistle: "I expect Mr. Kilby here today." It is probable that Kilby brought last-minute instructions, which he had received at London from Waldo, to touch at Marblehead; for it was Waldo's plan, as will be seen, for the *Lydia* to take on additional settlers there for conveyance to his settlement on the Georges River. There were other plans, too. At Marblehead the Germans could be and were to be given something like a state reception. From this point their first letters would be sent back to relatives and friends in the Fatherland. If the reception was favorable and the reports were good, according to Zuberbühler, those waiting on the other side for such a word could be easily induced to come the next season. So the ship made Marblehead and lay there at anchor for a few precious days. I say "precious days" because winter was steadily creeping forward. So here these unsuspecting victims of dire times ahead awaited their reception. In a few days it came — Governor Shirley and his staff, Colonel Waldo, a number of the honorable members of the General Court and the Governor's interpreter, one A. Keller by name. Colonel Waldo even brought his daughters with him. The souls of these humble Germans, unused to such honor from above, must have thrilled again and again at this show of favor from the *Obrigkeit*. Their illusionment, however, was destined to be brief. But for the moment every effort was made to give the new arrivals a favorable impression. They were dined, wined, and entertained. The letters were sent back to the old home. Then the *Lydia* headed for "eastern parts" with Zuberbühler and Waldo himself on board, while Governor Shirley and the honorable members of the General Court returned to Boston.

In late October the colonists reached St. Georges Bay, where a number of Scotch settlers taken on at Marblehead were landed at the Georges River Settlement. Here Colonel Waldo transferred himself to another vessel, Boston bound. Anchors were then weighed and the *Lydia* entered the mouth of the Medomak and made her way up to Broad Bay, for a reception of a somewhat different order. Here there was no town, no church; no buildings stood ready for their accommodation. But there was wilderness on every hand, with the banks of the river possibly touched here and there with the tones of a late autumn glory. On the east side of the bay and river, cabins with little clearings by the shore, and on the west side and on the Neck a few more cabins and rough clearings met their gaze, relieving in a measure, perhaps, the feeling of awe and dread inspired by the lonely and interminable forests.

## VIII

### THE FIRST YEAR AT BROAD BAY

*O sprecht! Warum zogt ihr von dannen?  
Das Neckarthal hat Wein und Korn;  
Der Schwarzwald steht voll finst'rer Tannen;  
Im Spessart klingt des Alpers Horn.*

ANON

THE *Lydia* IN ALL PROBABILITY made her way up into Broad Bay no farther than Schenck's or Trowbridge's Points, for here the channel makes in reasonably close to the shore, and here she could logically anchor and put her cargo of freight and humans ashore in small boats. Since the whole river was uncharted and perhaps unmarked, it seems hardly reasonable that the upper reaches of shallower water would have been essayed by a ship of her size. Furthermore it should be remembered that there was no concentration of population on the river at so early a date, and Trowbridge's Point was central to all the cabins scattered along the banks, and even at this time was used as a landing place for all sailing vessels coming to Broad Bay. Indeed, it became and remained the "town landing" until the development of the village at the head of tide in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The scene that unrolled before the eyes of the Germans as the *Lydia* slowly sounded her way through "the Narrows" and up the bay, could hardly have been in line with their expectations. It was late October. Before them, along the bay and river, crude little log cabins hugged close to the banks; behind these were a few acres of cleared land, in some places still studded with stumps and formidable boulders. Beyond was an unending wilderness of evergreen broken by the fading colors of the deciduous trees. There was no sign of a "city" or village and no trace of the two large "long houses" for their winter shelter, or of the church as called for in the articles of agreement. In short, the prospect must have been not only disappointing but disquieting; and in the hearts of some there must have been a consciousness of cruel deception, as well as a vague sense of betrayal, as they gazed for the first time in their lives on the vast, untenanted wilderness.

This first impression of their new home raises the old, uncritically accepted view of General Waldo's perfidy — a view which an unbiased examination of the facts must to a very considerable degree reject; for in a large measure he, as well as his settlers, was the victim of circumstances which rather sadly messed up his plans for the successful planting of this colony. Unquestionably Waldo was somewhat unscrupulous in his business dealings, a hard bargainer, and self seeking, but so were most of the prominent business leaders of his period. It was in no sense his practice, however, to act counter to his own self-interest. At this time the major object of his life was to develop these lands in eastern parts, and it would hardly have been in keeping with his purpose to incur the very considerable expense of recruiting and transporting these settlers from Europe and then leave them to starve and die on the lands he so dearly wished to populate. Such a policy would not have been consonant with the quality of self-interest so clearly characteristic of him, and certainly Colonel Waldo was not a man given to committing absurdities.

The actual conditions faced by the Germans at Broad Bay in the winter of 1742-1743 were not as harsh as has long been depicted by popular tradition. To be sure, there was much discomfort, some suffering, and a few deaths — none of which can be categorically charged to Colonel Waldo's indifference or neglect. Rather should we give the Colonel his just, historical due by viewing conditions in the light of motives and circumstances operating at that time in this specific situation. Waldo had only recently ended a long sojourn in England, where he had successfully finished a fight to oust from the governorship of Massachusetts Bay his enemy, Jonathan Belcher. During this costly political battle and his long absence from business affairs, his fortune had been substantially reduced. In consequence he had been compelled to borrow money from his cousin, Cornelius, and to mortgage his Boston home. He was in reality close to bankruptcy, but was not a man to end his career in so abject a fashion. With his accustomed vigor he recouped his failing finances in a ruthless fashion characteristic of the business practices of the period, by bringing about in 1743 a foreclosure action against his former partner, Colonel Thomas Westbrook, and thereby acquiring all of Westbrook's properties.<sup>1</sup> This was an event which led the chronicle-minded Parson Thomas Smith of Falmouth to make the following entry in his famous *Journal* under date of June 14, 1743: "Mr. Waldo came to town with an execution against Col. Westbrook for £10,500 and charges."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Dict. of Am. Biog.*, XIX, 333.

<sup>2</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821).



A still more important congeries of facts throwing light on the colony at Broad Bay and its condition that first winter must be traced back to *their* inception in the European scene. The Germans had left their homes in the Palatinate and Würtemberg in March 1742, consequently Waldo had good reason to believe that they would reach Broad Bay by early July at the latest, but here, as we have seen, fate again intervened, for war broke out in Europe. The Spanish privateers made English merchant shipping a precarious affair. Apart from the usual discrimination against shipping Germans to New England on the part of the Rotterdam shipping houses, the war made it more difficult to secure vessels. Despite this fact Waldo apparently continued to wait with the thought that if the colonists arrived by midsummer he could provide the lumber and have the houses and church built by the Germans themselves. This was shrewd and reasonable, since it would save him the cost of importing labor as well as that of wages and food. As the summer advanced he continued to delay and take chances, largely because of his lack of cash or credit. This proved to be a gross misjudgment, and for the colonists a tragic error — an error of judgment, however, rather than deliberate intent on the part of Mr. Waldo.

These facts and conditions make it reasonably clear why, when the Germans arrived at Broad Bay late in October 1742, so few arrangements had been made for their accommodation. The *Lydia* undoubtedly had taken aboard at Marblehead a substantial store of food, as well as the axes, hoes, spades, handsaws, and other tools specified in the original contract; for without these, of course, few settlers could have survived the winter. It has always been generally assumed that such tools and equipment were brought by the colonists from Germany, but such was not the case. The long journeys overland and by small river boats precluded this, and besides it was not allowed by the Rotterdam shipping firms which made their profits in this trade by packing in a maximum of human cargo and a minimum of personal belongings. Whether in the Pennsylvania or New England traffic, each adult was allowed a single wooden chest which contained his clothing, a little bedding, small personal articles, in some cases a few pieces of gold or silver, a copy of family marriages, births, and deaths copied from the Church Register in the Old Country, a Bible, a Prayer or Hymn Book, a copy of Arndt's *Das Wahre Christentum*, the Augsburg Confession of Faith, and Luther's Catechism if they were Lutherans, and the Heidelberg Catechism if they were of the Reformed Church. The chest of the immigrant, Feyler, who came in this colony is still in the possession of the Feyler family at Broad Bay,<sup>3</sup> and it

<sup>3</sup>In possession of Mrs. Carrie Feyler Hart, Waldoboro, Me. Deceased 1952.

may be regarded as typical. It is four feet and nine inches in length; two feet in depth and twenty-three inches in width. It is made of semi-hard boards, mortised at the four corners — boards seven-eighths to one inch in thickness. The cover is secured on the back by two handmade hinges which are each a part of a handmade iron strap running around the chest and ending on the front side, a couple of inches below the cover, in an eye. Directly above this in the cover is a rough eye bolt. The chest was made fast by a lashing passed between these two eyes and secured. This or chests similar in size and construction were standard equipment for all the German migrants to the New World.

Once ashore along the waterfront Mr. Zuberbühler and the engineer assumed the roles of guidance and leadership. It was a chore of no small order to organize and direct the energy and activity of upwards of two hundred people toward the detailed and complicated task of establishing themselves in a wilderness with so little time separating them from cold weather. The first act of settlement must have been to set up shelters for their stores, and to erect crude, open-air fireplaces for the preparation of food. It is possible that during the night the newcomers were sheltered in the sheds, lean-tos, and in some cases the cabins of those who were already mercifully settled in their own homes. Then there were doubtless those who spent the first nights around campfires in the open, until rough, temporary structures were built for sleeping and protection against the weather. What these were we can only conjecture — possibly shelters of interwoven brush, or conical huts of branches laid up with turf, such as the charcoal burners used in England, or holes dug in the river banks with timbered-over ceilings. All such structures had been used as their first homes by the earliest settlers in Massachusetts, and certainly it was an architectural pattern well known to the English-speaking settlers already located at Broad Bay. The weather during these fall days was mercifully mild. Parson Smith was a faithful weather recorder, and the entries in his useful *Journal* indicate an unusually late autumn. Under October 18, 1742, we learn of "some unusually hot days about this time," and another most revealing comment on December 23: "Wonderful weather for about ten days past; *there has been no cold weather yet.*"<sup>4</sup> These entries provide the assurance that after their landing the colonists had a full eight weeks of tolerable weather before winter set in in earnest around them. There is also good reason to believe that in this period Mr. Waldo was busy in their interests; for there is a letter written to him by a Joseph Plaisted, dated York, October 19, 1742,<sup>5</sup> in which a report is given

<sup>4</sup>Italics mine.

<sup>5</sup>*Documentary History of the State of Maine*, XI, 258.



on certain problems connected with the raising of money, on the prices of certain food supplies, and on the strong possibility of Plaisted being able "to git five or six yoke of oxen." It is somewhat difficult to avoid the conclusion that coming just at this time, these activities were in the interests of the new Broad Bay settlers.

Amid the uncertainties faced, Providence was at least beneficent in vouchsafing to these strangers a chance to construct log cabins before the advent of harsh weather. Mr. Zuberbühler, the engineer, and possibly Mr. Waldo took the lead in assigning lots to each family. These were in the main on the east bank of the river, in an area stretching roughly from the present farm of Foster Jameson up along the river to the district above the first falls. These lots were contiguous save here and there where a lot was pre-empted by an older settler. It is probable that the lots were already surveyed and staked out, but if such were not the case it is reasonably certain that at this time the engineer would have done little more than survey the shore frontage, mark the bounds with numbered stakes and then from these stakes run the lines back into the woods for a short distance, in order to give each settler in the briefest time an area on which he could cut his logs and build his cabin. Most of the lots were laid out with a frontage on the river of twenty-five rods from which the lines were run back into the country on a due east course for a sufficient distance to embrace one hundred acres. This method of apportioning land was the one almost universally employed in locating settlers on all Maine rivers; but it was not in line with the plan of the original contract, under which the settlers would have been concentrated on quarter-acre lots in a compact village settlement with their farm lands set aside in lots scattered through the surrounding country, as was and is the case today in the more thickly populated areas of Germany.

Taken as a whole, the evidence is reasonably conclusive that the abodes of the Broad Bay Germans this first winter were log cabins. Contrary to general belief log cabins were not an original American type of dwelling. They were introduced into the New World by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware and did not appear on the New England frontier until the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> They were, however, a well-established architectural type by the time the first Germans arrived at Broad Bay. The settlements on the Georges, along the sound, and the few scattered dwellings on the Medomak were of this type, so the Germans had models ready at hand. Their first cabins, however, were crude, constructed as they were in a race with winter. The material was ready at hand, and as they felled the trees for their dwellings they were preparing their land for crops the next spring. About a month is required for

<sup>6</sup>Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (1930).



the construction of a log cabin, but the Germans, being new at such a task, required somewhat more time despite the goodly number of carpenters in this migration.

These cabins of the first winter were one- or two-room structures with a floor of clay or flat field stones, and with the chinks between the logs filled in with clay in which dried grass was used for a binder. There was no time to build chimneys, nor was the material available. In lieu of these a rough stone fireplace was erected near the end or corner of the room and the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof. There was no dearth of firewood, but the character of the log structures was not such that a maximum of warmth could be utilized. The long and providential Indian summer was a period of strenuous effort which enabled the colonists to make a fair provision against the advent of winter and Colonel Waldo to get supplies to the settlement before the river was closed by ice. We catch a glimpse of the awkward activity of these Germans, operating under conditions frighteningly strange to them, from a letter of complaint written by one of their English neighbors to Colonel Waldo, of which a relevant portion is here cited:

Broad Bay, December 9, 1742

. . . This is to lett know my Missfortunes since you wass with us last. Ye Ingenieares man Hass Kilt a Steere of mine and Settled with ye Ingenear about Itt. He fell a tree on him and Brooke his back. They Killed and Kept him for nine Days, and sent ye 4 Quarters and hide to my house with a Gard of men, thru them in and went thire way, nobody a tome but my wife. I would Doo nothing to him until I sent you —. If there is not Method taken with them they may kill All Ye Creaters wee have.<sup>7</sup>

(Signed) James Littell

From this letter a number of interesting inferences may be derived: the Germans were clearly organized and operating under the leadership of the engineer; a considerable friction and ill-will already existed between them and the older English, Scotch-Irish settlers of 1736; and Colonel Waldo was on the scene in person during these strenuous days of preparation, which was entirely to his credit and indicative of his concern and interest. Furthermore it is clear evidentially<sup>8</sup> that he lived up to contract in the matter of food supplies before the ice closed the river for the winter. Mr. Zuberbühler remained with the colony until well into December,<sup>9</sup> and doubtless left on one of the last supply or cordwood coasters before the closing of the river.

Such preparations, under conditions faced, were good insurance against the advent of cold weather, but could not have been

<sup>7</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Society, Doc. Ser. XI, 258.

<sup>8</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 35ff.

<sup>9</sup>Letter, Mrs. Zuberbühler to Col. Waldo, Dec. 6, 1742, Mass. Records, XV A, 30.

adequate against exposure sickness. A serious drawback was to be found in the fact that few of the Germans at this time possessed firearms, which made it impossible to draw fully on wild life for a supply of fresh meat, but there was fish and shellfish a plenty, which could be drawn upon richly to supplement the food. Despite all this there was suffering, disease, and death. Among the victims, probably of exposure, was the unnamed engineer or surveyor who left a widow and some small children. His death was unquestionably a grave loss to the little community, which in its extreme isolation could ill afford the loss of a trained leader, and especially so in the midst of winter when the problem of survival was most acute.

At the turn of the year winter must have set in in earnest. Parson Smith's Journal for 1743 makes no mention of weather until March 1, when he gives us a summary of the two preceding months in the following words. "This has been a close[d] winter: the snow being constantly so deep in the woods that the teams could not stir, though there was not so much near us, and in Boston there was hardly any." If there was not much snow at Falmouth or south of Falmouth in the Boston area, and yet much snow, the reference can only be to the region farther north and east along the coast. This region would clearly embrace Broad Bay. The darkness of the traditional picture of conditions is belied by the fact that in a group of over one hundred and fifty souls there were so few deaths throughout the winter. Had there been many Dr. Kast would undoubtedly have played up that fact in his letter of May 25, 1743, of grievance to the General Court in which he states that "some have found their graves there." The engineer, however, is the only specific case mentioned. The Reverend Doctor was clearly the kind of man who would have made more of this phase of the first Broad Bay winter had the facts warranted it.

With the advent of the first spring, cold, raw days continued. The ice was slow in leaving the river. Provisions in consequence may have run short. Unquestionably there was discomfort and want. It bore most heavily on those who were accustomed by comparison to a far greater degree of comfort and security — more particularly on the two professional gentlemen of the colony, habituated to an easy living derived without physical pain or labor from an ordered and organized society. Doctors Kast and Kurtz had apparently had enough; and in the name of the whole settlement, the former drew up his bill of grievances and his petition for relief and release under date of May 25 and forwarded it to the Governor and General Court in Boston. Its form and diction are strongly suggestive of a correct legal touch foreign to the Doctor's training and brief experience with the English language. The sup-

position cannot be far from wrong that he made a trip to Boston in the spring and there with the aid of some of Waldo's enemies in the legal profession had the document drawn up. This hypothesis receives added confirmation from the fact that there are no other signatures attached save his own and that of the arrant scoundrel, Doctor Kurtz. There were plenty of those at Broad Bay who could write their names and the weight of unanimity could have made this document a convincing declaration of wrongs. It is here offered in full with such light as it casts on conditions in the colony in the spring of 1743:

Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England  
To His Excellency William Shirley Esqr., Captain General & Governor  
in chief and the Honourable His Majestys Council & the Honourable  
House of Representatives in General Court Assembled at Boston, May  
25th, 1743.

The Subscribers for themselves and their Palatine Brothers shew. — That your Petitioners are Natives of Germany, where most of them enjoyed houses and lands which they sold in order to settle in New England upon the following conditions enumerated in a certain paper signed by Samuel Waldo Esqr. and Sebastian Zuberbühler printed in High Dutch and dispersed in Germany, which conditions were, That Samuel Waldo Esqr. should provide a Vessel or Vessels at Rotterdam for the Transportation of a number of Palatines to New England, and in case said Vessel or Vessels should not be ready to sail in Eight days from the time of the Palatines coming to Rotterdam then said Waldo was to pay them thirty pounds Sterling pr. day Demurage after the Expiration of said Eight days and in case the Vessel or Vessels were retarded by the Palatines, then they were to pay said Waldo fifteen pounds Sterling per day demurage.

That Mr. Waldo should against their arrival at Broad Bay in New England build and finish at his own Expense for their Reception two houses of thirty five feet square two Stories high and also a Church, on each of which houses he was to lay out one hundred pounds Sterling, and on the Church two hundred pounds Sterling.

That Mr. Waldo should pay at his own Cost, an Engineer one hundred pounds Sterling per annum for the term of three years, a Doctor one hundred pounds Sterling per annum for the term five years, a Minister seventy pounds Sterling pr annum, a Schoolmaster thirty pounds Sterling per annum, each for the term of ten years.

That Mr. Waldo should have a convenient Spot of Land plotted out for a Town in which each Family should have Lotted out one quarter of an acre for a house Lott. That Sixty Thousand Acres of Land contiguous to said Town should be laid out and appropriated for settling Palatines.

That Mr. Waldo should provide the following stock for their support, viz: One hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Beef, Twenty thousand pounds of Pork, Sixty thousand pounds of Flower, Sixty thousand pounds of coarse Flower, Four thousand Bushels of Indian Corn, Four thousand Bushels of Salt, one half to be delivered on their arrival the other half in six Months after, which was to be delivered in the following manner, viz't: To each person above the age of ten years one hundred and fifty pounds of Beef, fifty pounds of Pork, one hundred



and fifty pounds of Flower, one-hundred and fifty pounds of coarse Flower, Ten Bushels of Indian Corn, one Bushel of Salt. To each person under the age of ten years half the above Quantity.

That Mr. Waldo should supply each Family with a Cow and Calf, a Sow, three Axes, four Hoes, one Hand Saw, and have laid out to each person fifty Acres of land. These are the articles stipulated by Mr. Waldo. Those on the part of Sebastian Zuberbühler were, that the Palatines should pay Mr. Waldo a quit rent of Two pence half penny Sterling per Acre forever. Invited and encouraged by these Advantages your Petitioners and their Countrymen left their native Land, and after having encountered many Difficulties with an unreasonable delay of Eight weeks and three days to their great Impoverishment in the Elector of Cologne's Territories by means of Sebastian Zuberbühler who either could not or would not get Security for your Petitioners not being left in the State of Holland, they Embarked for New England, where they arrived at Marblehead in October, from whence they Sailed to the Eastward an Inhospitable Shore and a waste Wilderness, where there were a few Necessarys and not one Accommodation of Life. Notwithstanding what was boasted to be done in the Contract between Waldo and Zuberbühler there not being so much as anything done towards building either of the houses to Shelter your Unhappy Petitioners from the Injuries of the weather at the most inclement Season of the year, the Winter; by which means some have found their Graves there, amongst whom is our Engineer who has left a Disconsolate Widow with a Family of helpless Children.

Wherefore your Petitioners beg leave to lay their deplorable case before Your Excellency and Honours, which they are Encouraged to do, when they consider that the Fathers of this Land were Protestant Strangers as are your Petitioners. And as your Petitioners have suffered Uncommon hardships loss and damages as aforesaid and have been Inhumanly treated by the said Mr. Waldo, who has failed in every part of his Contract with us by which means we have lost our Substance and are reduced to the utmost penury and want, Therefore your Complainants Strangers in this land destitute of all Friends, most humbly pray your Excellency and Honours, to whom they address themselves, as you are their Fathers in the State, that you'll be pleased to take their most deplorable and distressed Circumstances into your Just and wise Consideration and of your great Goodness Charity and Compassion Extend Relief to them by sending a Vessel at the Province[s] Charge to bring them from the Eastern parts, not being able to defray the Charges themselves, that so they may be Employed in such Business as they are capable of for the support of themselves their wives and children. And that your Excellency and honours would be pleased to condescend that a Committee of this honourable Court may be appointed to Enquire into the premisses and make Report thereon.<sup>10</sup>

And your Complainants as in duty bound shall ever pray

Ph: Gottfr: Kast: Dr. Th.

for himself and his Palatine Brethren.

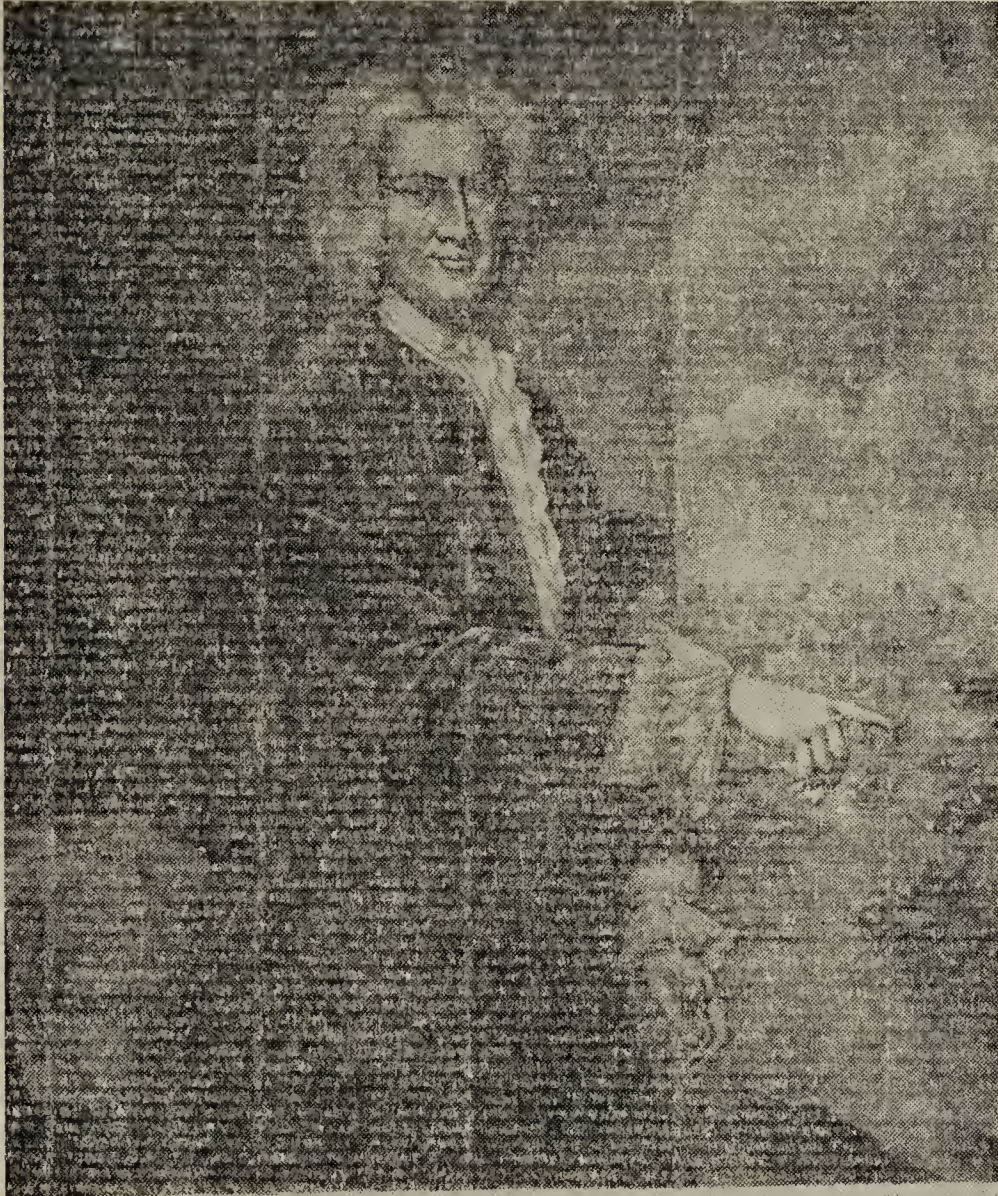
Testirt: Jacob Friedrich Kurtz. MD.

This document is a fair résumé of the terms of the Waldo contract. On the question of the violation of the agreement by Colonel Waldo it is vague. To be sure, it states that he "has failed in every

<sup>10</sup>Mass. Records (Ms), XV A, 33ff.



part of his contract," yet this is a blanket charge substantiated by only one specific point, namely, Waldo's failure to erect the build-



*The Hon. Henry Walpole Esq. Secretary of State for the Southern Department of the British Empire. A portrait of Henry Walpole, Secretary of State for the Southern Department of the British Empire, seated and wearing a long coat and cravat. The image is grainy and appears to be a reproduction of an old painting or engraving.*

ings for their accommodation. The allotment of land had been made on a different basis than that stipulated in the agreement, but one in line with current procedure in all settlements, and the acreage assigned to each family had been doubled. Tools and food had been



provided, but not the livestock, since no provision could have been made so late in the season which would have enabled animal life to survive the winter in the settlement. All things considered, that which was expedient had been done. The conclusion is inescapable that Kast and Kurtz were actuated by lower motives, and that to a considerable degree their protest was the product of their personal spleen, disappointment, and frustration, exacerbated perhaps by the fact that at that time Waldo had not met the terms of the contract in the matter of payment of their salaries, a detail hardly germane to the settlers' needs in the hurried preparations for the winter of 1742-1743, before the ice blocked them off from all communications with the world outside.

It is difficult to escape a considerable degree of distrust of these two gentlemen. Neither stands out in our history enveloped by the moral clarity which we commonly associate with their professions. The activities of Doctor Kast abroad and later at Broad Bay were hardly in keeping with the ethics of his profession. It developed in the spring of 1743 that he held a note of Mr. Zuberbühler's for over a thousand gulden. This debt, if such there were, could only have been incurred in one way, and that through the fact that while the migration was being recruited in the Palatinate Kast worked for Zuberbühler in the dubious role of a recruiting agent who was to receive a stipulated sum per capita for every recruit signed up. If such were the case it was clearly a prostitution of his high profession for gain, for a clergyman acting in such a capacity would have inspired such a degree of confidence in the gullible peasantry as to amount to base deception. Of this fact Kast as a man of intelligence and education could not have been ignorant. As concerns the note, Zuberbühler denied the authenticity of the obligation and affirmed that Doctor Kast owed him several hundred gulden, possibly for money advanced during Kast's recruiting activities. Doctor Kurtz was chosen by both parties as a referee. In this way the note (*Schuldschein*) came into his hands. He is said in the interest of Zuberbühler to have altered the note so that Kast would be swindled out of a large part of his claim. This affair was taken to the courts and Kurtz, finding that his forgery was going to be established, did not await the verdict but fled.<sup>11</sup>

The second situation in which Doctor Kast appeared in an unfortunate light was his abandonment of the colony at Broad Bay in 1743. If conditions were as he represented them, his flock, beyond its need of food, clothing, and shelter, needed spiritual leadership, encouragement, and consolation. For the shepherd to forsake his flock in the hour of testing and trial was a gross betrayal of the Master he was trained to serve. He seems to have been fabricated of

<sup>11</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pioneer*, XIV (Cincinnati, Ohio).



coarser material than many of those simpler and more heroic souls who looked to him for hope and light.

Doctor Kurtz was a man of even coarser caliber. After fleeing the trial in Boston, he left a dirty trail through the colonies and back into the Old World.<sup>12</sup> He is said to have swindled or stolen from a Boston merchant, Baumgarten by name, a considerable quantity of goods. Thereafter he left New England and went to New York. There he made the acquaintance of a large landowner, ingratiated himself into the gentleman's confidence, and led him to believe that he could sell his lands to German immigrants in Pennsylvania. Kurtz, now Curtius, received from the proprietor the power of attorney in order to act for him, and later the deed of the grant. It is alleged that he then erased the name of the proprietor, substituted his own, and on this basis sold and gave deeds to the Germans in Pennsylvania making purchases. This brought him into conflict with the law and led him to flee the country and to return to Europe. While in Pennsylvania he is reported to have cut up a goodly number of dirty capers. In one of them he seduced the wife of a man named Schütz and fled with her. In retaliation Schütz published charges in Christopher Sauer's newspaper.<sup>13</sup> While in Philadelphia Kurtz entered Broad Bay history once more, and again at a later date in connection with a shipping house in Rotterdam.

In the meantime, the General Court had taken the Kast petition under consideration and appointed a committee of its members to investigate and hold hearings. Colonel Waldo submitted a reply to the petition with supplementary papers on June 9. This the Council, dominated by Waldo's friend, Governor Shirley, found adequate and voted that the petition be dismissed. On June 14th, the House refused to concur in this decision. Rather did it enlarge its committee and decide to review all the papers in the case and hear the testimony of the parties involved. Thereupon the Council appointed three of its members to join the House committee: Doctors Kast and Kurtz appeared and testified. Colonel Waldo was not present at the hearing as he was not in town. As tentative findings the committee reported that we "are of the opinion the Complainant with his Bretheren have been and are great sufferers and if not soon relieved may stand in need of the compassion of this Government." Further consideration was deferred to the next sitting of the Court when Waldo and Zuberbühler could be heard.

In mid-September hearings were again resumed and the following report was submitted to the General Court:

<sup>12</sup>Letter of Dr. Heinrich E. Luther (in French) to Lieut. Gov. Spencer Phips, Frankfurt am Main, May 30, 1751. Mass. Records, XV A, 67-80.

<sup>13</sup>Germantown *Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1744.

The committee to whom was referred the further consideration of the Petition of Dr. Kast in behalf of himself and his Palatine Bretheren together with the answer of Saml. Waldo Esqr. and Mr. Sebastian Zuberbühler, have heard the Parties and Report. That the Palatines first broke their Contract before they left Holland in not paying their passage money as pr. agreement etc., then Sebastian Zuberbühler broke his Contract with them in not providing shipping in due time to bring 'em — and although Mr. Waldo did conceed to fulfill his part of the Contract from their arrival in New England abating part of the officers' wages which notwithstanding he has not in all respects done, he has shown forth heretofore and now declares is Ready to do it whenever it will suit with their Convenience. And whereas it is suggested by the Palatines that they stand charged with Considerable sums of money for their passage etc, by Mr. Sebastian Zuberbühler, the Committee are of opinion that some suitable person or persons be appointed by this Court in behalf of said Palatines to settle those accts. And in asmuch as Mr. Waldo is not obliged to find sd. Palatines with Provisions any longer than to the ye last of October next, they will be left in starving Condition. Therefore it is humbly proposed that this Court grant a sum of money to be laid out in Provisions and Clothing to help 'em thro the winter — By order of the Committee.<sup>14</sup>

John Osborne

This report was read in Council and sent to the House of Representatives where it failed of adoption, due in all probability to the money item involved; for it seems to have been correctly reasoned that the colony, being sustained by Mr. Waldo through the summer, would have a full season to plant, to harvest crops, and to make a sufficient provision for its own sustenance. The Council did not concur in the action of the House and ordered that consideration of the report be deferred to the first Thursday of the next sitting of the Court. The House, however, failed to concur in this action and adhered to its original vote. This impasse blocked any final action on the matter.

This report illuminates and brightens certain dark spots in the history of Old Broad Bay, and to a very considerable degree exonerates Colonel Waldo of sins charged to his memory now for over two centuries. It is true that the long houses of the contract had not been built on the arrival of these colonists of 1742 on the Medomak, and for reasons previously suggested. It is also true that Waldo seemingly did all in his power to provide individual cabins for the settlers for the first winter. The salaries of "the officers," in which Doctors Kast and Kurtz seemingly had more than a professional interest, were not paid until the spring of 1743, but technically this was no violation of contract, since under the terms of that document Waldo was free to pay them at any time within the year. What is most important and significant is the fact that Colonel Waldo did meet the terms of the contract in providing his

<sup>14</sup>Mass. Recs., XV A, 35ff.

settlers with food, essential tools, and livestock. In short, it may be said that after the arrival of the Germans on the Medomak, Waldo did everything for them that was possible, practical, and expedient within the time limits set by an oncoming winter.

With the advent of the spring of 1743, the settlers at Broad Bay found the conditions of life considerably ameliorated. When the ice left the river, a vast reservoir of food supplies, fish, and shellfish was opened to them. Land had been cleared the preceding fall and winter, making space for rye, vegetables, and other foodstuffs. The large supply of cordwood which had accumulated as land was cleared during the fall and winter was readily salable at 7s. a cord on the Boston market, which provided them with a fund of cash for the purchase in Boston of firearms, clothing, and other forms of merchandise to supplement their necessities. There was plenty of wood and apart from the sales of cordwood, some of it went into lumber, some into rails for fences, and the otherwise unusable portions of it went into a fuel supply for their own consumption. In clearing their land the Germans did not belt or girdle the trees, simply leaving them to perish in the ground, as did the English and Irish settlers; but they quite generally cut them down and chopped or sawed them into logs or rail lengths of eleven feet or into cordwood lengths of four feet. In destroying underbrush and bushes, they generally grubbed them out of the ground, for by so doing a field was as fit for cultivation the second year after it was cleared as it was ten or twenty years afterward.<sup>15</sup> The accumulated leaf mold of the centuries rendered fertilizer superfluous for these early crops. Later there came manure from their own stables, as well as herring and rockweed from the river.

In the spring of 1743 Colonel Waldo was again active in promoting his settlement at Broad Bay, and as early as April of that year he had two sawmills under construction at "Madomock." This we learn from a letter to a Mr. Robert Cowen who was contemplating settling in the area. In this letter Mr. Waldo notes: "And I am to inform you that I have two Saw-Mills at St. Georges River, and two others now building at Madomock which may supply them with boards for their buildings. . . . There are from many parts of this Province several Persons about going there, and I hope in a short time to have a Thousand Families on the spot, and a good Trade there carried on."<sup>16</sup>

It was also at this time that Colonel Waldo, realizing that his Broad Bay Germans were as much isolated from their world by their foreign speech as by geographic distances, appointed Mr.

<sup>15</sup>Daniel Rupp, "Notes" to Benjamin Rush, *Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1789).

<sup>16</sup>Letter to Mr. Robert Cowen, Boston, April 23, 1743, Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 6, p. 48.



Robert McIntyer of St. George as his local agent in charge of German affairs and of prospective settlers on the Medomak. This fact again has been preserved in a chance letter. In May 1743 a Mr. Abijah Wadsworth, with a party of prospective settlers, came to Broad Bay to look over lands for possible occupation. In his letter of instructions to Wadsworth, Waldo observes: "Mr. Jesse White of Marshfield is to transport the party down to Broad Bay, from whence it is only six miles overland to St. Georges River and *a tolerable good road all the way*. At your arrival at Broad Bay you may apply yourself to Mr. Robert McIntyer, my Agent, who will be anything in his power assistant to you."<sup>17</sup> Apart from providing an illustration of Colonel Waldo's interest and concern in the colony at Broad Bay, these two letters make clear that the peopling of the Waldo grant was not merely a matter of periodic mass migrations, but a constant influx from other sections of New England, and also from Nova Scotia, especially in those years when the Indians were relatively quiet.

Waldo's two sawmills at the falls of the Medomak were undoubtedly in operation by early summer, providing a supply of excellent lumber to the settlers at Broad Bay for the improvement and erection of better houses. Many new cabins were constructed and some of the old ones rebuilt. The new cabins were constructed on cellars, usually across the north end of the structure, as in some of the very old houses in present-day Waldoboro. Some of the early cellars were rocked up, while others were simply small holes in the ground. The new cabins were larger, more carefully built and varied somewhat in size, finish, and convenience, depending on the skill and means of the builder. In the new or rebuilt homes there were planks for the floors and roofs. The cellars were accessible through a trapdoor in the floor, while a ladder led to the loft. The fireplaces, too, were improved after the model of the English cabins on the Medomak and the Georges. In these very early cabins the fireplace was usually in a corner of the room. It was constructed by erecting the back and one jamb of stone cemented with clay or lime, with a post of wood at the opposite angle supporting a manteltree and cross timber of the same material. Everything above this was constructed of cat-and-clay, that is, clefts of wood laid up cob-house fashion, with interstices filled and sides plastered with clay mortar.<sup>18</sup> Such a structure eliminated the hole in the roof, and in consequence the cabins were immeasurably warmer.

There were cattle on the Medomak when the Germans arrived, as well as from the very first on the Georges. These along

<sup>17</sup>Boston, May 27, 1743, Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 6, p. 47. [Italics mine.]

<sup>18</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, p. 55.

with swine were a part of the early equipment of the settlement. Some had been provided by Colonel Waldo under the terms of his contract, and others were acquired on their own by those settlers who had the wits or the means. Those building new houses preserved the old for their cattle and for the storage of fodder. The weather through these months was typical of a present-day Maine summer. Parson Smith's observations on it are as follows: "May 1st. an uncommon dry time. May 7. Refreshing rains. June 1. Indian corn wants heat. June 20. A very dry time. People fear a drought. June 22. It rained plentifully. Aug. 1. Fine growing season. Oct. 31. Wonderful weather, moderate and dry. Nov. 7. There has been no rain for many weeks, so that not a mill goes in this part of the country." On the whole, this record reveals a good growing season from May to October, which made it possible for the settlers to secure maximum crops from their limited cleared areas.

That the growing season was a good one becomes clear from a report from "eastern Parts" printed in the *Boston News Letter*, August 11, 1743. "There has been an early harvest of Indian Corn, and as plentiful a crop as has been known for many years."<sup>19</sup> The greatest obstacle to securing tillable land was not the forest but the great quantities of rocks and boulders strewn in profusion over the face of the land. The simplest way of disposing of these was to use them in erecting stone walls along the boundaries of the farms. It was a heartbreaking and a backbreaking task, but it went on for years and years, keeping pace with the clearing of the land. The first stone wall was started soon after the first cabin was erected on the Medomak, and this practice went on for decade after decade until all the cleared land and many of the pastures in the town were surrounded by these walls of boulders and field stones — grim monuments down to the present day of the patience, fortitude, and energy of these founding fathers.

This was the first summer — a period of striking root and of effecting a rude adjustment to conditions still only partially known. There was great effort and much of it was co-operative. Zuberbühler apparently was in the settlement continuously and Colonel Waldo was also there at times, directing activity and settling problems that only the proprietor could solve. There were, of course, marryings, begettings, births, and deaths. In fact, this had been the normal order of things at Broad Bay since 1736. The myth of Conrad Heyer (born in April 1749) being the first white child to be born on the Medomak has long been a generally accepted tradition, but certainly an acceptance that involves an amazing naïveté. These were rugged times; men and women were human; children were

<sup>19</sup>Italics mine.



an economic necessity; and the virtues of birth control were unknown and unpracticed. The name of one child at least is known to us from the 1736 era, Peter Cannaugh. The first birth in the settlement that is a matter of historical record was that of Philippine Elizabeth Rominger, a daughter of Phillip Rominger. She was probably born in her father's cabin on the waterfront of his farm, which was a frontage of twenty-five rods on Lot. No. 14, the lot next above the northern line of the C. H. Lilly farm, now the residence of Ralph Hoffses. Her birth occurred September 29, 1743, and she most certainly was but one of many.<sup>20</sup> Among other early births known to us was that of Phillip, a son of David Rominger, and also a daughter of the same family, who remained at Broad Bay after her father migrated to North Carolina in 1769. Another recorded birth was that of Gottliebe, later the wife of Johann Anton Kastner, born in 1746.<sup>21</sup> There certainly were babies at Broad Bay, in reality a goodly number of them, before Conrad Heyer, the traditional "first white child," made his appearance on the scene in April 1749.

Of the one hundred fifty and more German migrants who came to Broad Bay in 1742, the question is quite naturally raised what were their names and just where did they settle? A complete list is not available nor can it be worked out, but from evidence in the offices of the Registers of Deeds of Lincoln and York counties, from Massachusetts State Archives, and from the archives of the Moravian Church in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, we can be reasonably certain of some of these families and of the lots or farms on which they first settled. In locating them on numbered lots, the fact should be kept in mind that the area on the east side of the river from below the Farnsworth Point northward to the south boundary of Foster Jameson's farm had been settled in 1736-1738 by the Scotch-Irish colony in which were scattered a few Anglo-Saxon or English settlers.

Lots No. 1 and 2 made up the present Foster Jameson farm, but there are no data to show who first occupied them. Lot No. 3, the present Carrie Feyler Hart place, was assigned to Gottfried Feyler. This place enjoys the distinction of being the only one in the town that has been occupied continuously by some member of the same family since 1742. Lot No. 4, the old Parker Feyler farm, now owned by Jonas Koskela, was assigned to John Ulmer, Sr., the first schoolmaster at Broad Bay. Lot No. 5, the James Castner farm, was occupied by John Ulmer, Jr. Lot No. 6, the old Moses Burkett farm now owned by Mr. John Eliot, was assigned to Johann "Shotes," most probably an anglicized form for Schurz.

<sup>20</sup>Friedland Catalogue, 1805, Moravian Records (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>21</sup>Burial Record, Moravian Church Book (Bethabara, N. C.).



It is not known who settled on Lot No. 7, which included originally a part of the Burkett farm and is now the home of Frank E. Ewell. Lot No. 8, for many years the residence of Capt. Albion F. Stahl, was occupied by Lorenz Seitz (Sides), his wife, a son, Johann Michael, and a daughter, Katharina. Lot No. 9, the present Davis Dairy Farm, was assigned to Hans Georg Vogler, with whom lived a grown-up son, Philip Christoph. Lot No. 10, the Castner Homestead Farm now owned by Merle Castner, was allotted to Johann Martin Schmidt. Lot No. 11, the old Ben Mink or Walter Boggs place, was occupied by a Michael Wallis. Lot No. 12, next north, embracing the old Dexter Feyler farm and now including the residences of Fred Boggs, Reginald Spence and Moses McNally, was originally the farm assigned to Melchior Schneider and his wife, Jacobina. Living with the Schneiders was Jacobina's mother, Frau Doerfler, whose husband died in the passage across the water, and the thirteen Schneider children. Lot No. 13, embracing the farms of Ralph Hoffses and Jasper J. Stahl, was allotted to David Rominger. The lot next north, No. 14, whose bounds are most clearly visible in the old Asa R. Reed field, now owned by Ralph Dean, was occupied by Phillip Rominger, a younger brother of David. The next farm, that of Harold Levensaler, Lot No. 15, was assigned to John Ulmer's brother, Jacob.

In all these lots the original bounds are most clearly marked in the present day by the stonewalls which still stand on those portions of the original farms east of Friendship Road. Lot No. 16, extending from Harold Levensaler's north line to Raymond Jones' south line, was occupied possibly by Kazimir Loesch (Lash) in 1742, and certainly by him in the early 1750's. Lot No. 17, starting with Henry Hilton's south line, was occupied at an early date, if not in 1742, by Georg Demuth. Lot No. 18, the old James Walter place, was assigned to Matthias Römele (Remilly), one of the leading men in the early colony. Lot No. 19, the Capt. Pollard place, was occupied by Johann Werner (Vannah). Lot No. 20, now the residence of the Gay sisters, whose northern bound was the F. M. Eveleth farm, was allotted to George Kuhn. The next two lots, Nos. 21 and 22, extending from the south bound of the Eveleth farm to the south bound of the old Mary Hutchins field, were allotted to Johann Martin Reiser (Razor), possibly as early as 1740. The part of the river front of these lots, now known as Storer's Wharf, bore for many years the name of Reiser's or Razor's Point. Farther than this point the data available will not carry us. There were others in the colony, including the Doctors Kast and Kurtz, the unnamed surveyor, and possibly Matthias Seidensberger (Seidensparker) on Lot No. 26 above the First Falls, who occupied lots north of Reiser's north boundary, up the river

as far as the Great Falls of the Medomak, but an attempt to identify them and the lots to which they were assigned would be the merest guesswork.

Through the spring, summer and autumn of 1743 the colony was in a fair way of making a successful and happy settlement. This period, however, proved to be only a brief interlude of promise. More clouds were gathering. The Indians did not take kindly to the usurpation of their age-old lands on the Medomak, used by them as a hunting and fishing area and for summer encampments. They insisted that the settlement was in contravention of their agreement with Waldo in 1738 with reference to conditions on the Georges River. Waldo took the position that the land was not on the Georges. The Indians affirmed that it was contrary to the treaty, but allowed their feeling to be allayed temporarily at least with gifts. Their protest, however, indicated a deep-seated dissatisfaction, and another Anglo-French war brewing in Europe must have been an ominous sign to those familiar with previous wars in New England.

In the coming struggle it was to stand to the credit and security of our founding fathers that from their first contact, their treatment of the savages differed markedly from that of the English. To them the Indians were fellow humans, and their dealings with them in the beginning were invariably characterized by kindness, consideration, and justice. This fact did not pass unnoticed and unrecognized in the hearts of the Indians, and it unquestionably put off for a number of years such onslaughts as were visited far earlier on neighboring settlements as the war clouds in Europe darkened. In March 1744 France, by a formal declaration, joined Spain in the war on England. This was the signal for the French in conjunction with their Indian allies to start the Fifth Indian War in New England, which in due time altered markedly the course of life in the settlement at Broad Bay.

## IX

### BROAD BAY GOES TO WAR

*Then was war in the gates.*

JUDGES V, 8

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER it was made clear that the discomforts and sufferings of the Germany colony at Broad Bay, in its initial adjustment, did not proceed from a callous and indifferent proprietor but rather from a lack of foresight on the part of Waldo and Zuberbühler, and from a train of circumstances over which neither could exercise much control. This impression of the man, Waldo, finds strong confirmation in the fact that there was nothing in the treatment of his settlers on the Georges to lend color to the charges of inhumanness traditionally levelled at him on the Medomak. There was in the two settlements a very fundamental difference. The group on the Georges was made up largely of settlers with a long experience in frontier conditions, masters in the know-how of adaptation, familiar with the habits and ways of Indian life; whereas on the Medomak the Germans were totally unskilled and inept in all those modes of living best suited to effect a conquest of the wilderness. Their almost complete isolation from all sources of aid was another tragic phase of their first experiences. A rough path through the forest connected them with the settlement on the Georges eight miles away as the crow flies, and that was all. They were separated from the larger settlements to the south and west by leagues of pathless forests and by unbridged streams and rivers. Their only contact with the outside world was by water, and this avenue was closed by ice from December to April. In short, their woe — and woe there was — had its root in unfriendly circumstances rather than in human indifference.

When all has been said that can be said in justice to Samuel Waldo, the fact remains that from its very beginning an unhappy destiny seems to have marked this little colony on the Medomak for its own. It had left Europe after interminable and costly delays in the midst of the War of the Austrian Succession. From the time of its landing at Broad Bay to the following spring, Nature and untoward circumstances had exacted their toll of misery, suffering,



and death. As their local skies brightened in the course of the year 1743, shadows were falling athwart the ocean; for France was growing more menacing in the war between England and Spain; and her ancient allies in New England, the Indians, were stirring and becoming restive. It was thus that the tiny settlement was faced with a new horror that it little understood how to meet; for the Indians had an art of war peculiar to themselves; and woe it was to those who had no understanding of their subtle and savage tactics. The Germans could only learn of defense and Indian warfare from their English neighbors on the Medomak and at other points in the Waldoborough and Georges areas; but even here, in the matter of this essential service that their neighbors might render, they were hampered by the lack of a common speech.

It was indeed fortunate for Broad Bay that the government in Boston was keenly alert to the danger, and in the person of Governor Shirley had an executive of long Indian experience who was vitally interested in maintaining the inviolability of the eastern settlements and in keeping the settlers in their frontier homes. As early as March 1743, over a year before France actually declared war, we may believe from a letter of Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle (March 19, 1743) that the Governor had raised "ten companies of snow-shoe men" in the frontier parts of the Province.<sup>1</sup> These companies consisted of fifty men each and were equipped "with a good gun and ammunition, a hatchet and an extra pair of shoes or moccasins." It was their duty to scout around the fringes of the settled areas and to converge on the shortest warning and take up the pursuit of any party of marauding Indians, "who frequently in time of war make sudden Incursions, whilst there is a deep snow upon the ground, and retreat as suddenly into the Woods after having done what mischief they can; in which case it is necessary that the soldiers who go in quest of 'em should make use of snow shoes and Moggasons to travel thro the snow." Additional measures for the defense of the frontier outposts were also taken. At about this time the General Court appropriated the sum of £1280 for putting the eastern forts in a state of defense. This was the first step in a general program to erect a line of blockhouses around the frontier, the forts to be located in such a manner as to provide refuges for the settlers and headquarters for the scouts who were continuously on the march around the frontier to prevent any sudden surprise incursions of the savages. The money appropriated was apportioned to fourteen places and was used for constructing stockades, blockhouses, breastworks, and

<sup>1</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, ed. by Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), I, 115.

walls of hewn timber, and for fortifying the more exposed dwelling houses. In this apportionment in our immediate area Sheepscot received £100; Damariscotta, £67; Pemaquid, £134; Broad Bay, £75; St. Georges River, £100. This sum, though entirely inadequate, provided encouragement and restored confidence on the frontier, and the settlers bestowed upon these works a great amount of labor, and the groundwork at least was laid for attaining a very considerable security at a later date.

This was only the beginning. In early September 1743, Governor Shirley addressed the General Court as follows: "I shall order an estimate of the whole charge of completing what further remains to be done for finishing the fortifications in the separate parts of the Province . . . as shall appear to be necessary . . . especially with the present crisis of affairs in Europe."<sup>2</sup> On December 15 of the same year the General Court raised "£20,000 for putting the Province in a better posture of defense," and "a committee was fully authorized and empowered to receive the same, and to lay out in the most prudent manner, in erecting in each of the settlements, for their security during the war, a garrison or garrisons of stockades or square timber around some Dwelling-house or houses, or otherwise as will be most for the security of the whole Inhabitants of each place."<sup>3</sup> The older histories are one in stating that nothing was done to provide protection at Broad Bay. This was in no sense the case, for there was activity along such lines in 1743, and by 1744 Samuel Waldo had charge of the province troops on the frontier and the chief direction there in building "a number of forts in order to prevent the incursions of the French and their Indians."<sup>4</sup>

This show of defense impressed the neighboring Indians, and as France had not yet declared war the year 1743 passed with no molestation of the settlers on the part of the savages. The Germans at Broad Bay were, under their contract with Mr. Waldo, provided throughout the summer up to October with their food requirements and were able to reserve large quantities of their salt meat for winter use, since the land and tide areas along with their own crops supplied them entirely with needed nourishment. In consequence the winter of 1743-1744 was a period of reasonable security against hunger, cold, and the attack of the savages. The weather, too, was most favorable. Parson Smith in his *Journal* found no grounds for comment on unusual weather conditions through January, February, and March of 1744. His first observation is on April 29, when his comments began to run as follows:

<sup>2</sup>Boston *News Letter*, Sept. 15, 1743.

<sup>3</sup>Boston *News Letter*.

<sup>4</sup>*The Case for Samuel Waldo*, m.c., Huntington Library, Pasadena, Calif.



A forward spring; a great mercy on account of the scarcity of hay. No person ever saw such an April in this eastern country, so dry and warm and pleasant. May 1. A fine season as ever was known. May 31. No person in the land ever saw such a spring, so hot and intermixed with seasonable showers. We have ripe strawberries and everything more than a fortnight forwarder than usual. July 15. A wonderful year for grass and hay both English and salt. October — I reckon this month has been September. . . .

And so it was that Providence again showed a kindly face to the Germans at Broad Bay, vouchsafing to them an early season and a year that was propitious for crops.

The war menace did not abate, nor was there any let-up in the preparations for impending trouble. On Saturday, June 2, 1744, Governor Shirley received a letter from His Majesty's minister, the Duke of Newcastle, enclosing His Majesty's and the French king's declaration of war.<sup>6</sup> By this time measures for defense were far advanced at Broad Bay. A stockade or blockhouse had been built at the head of tide, in all probability on the bluff above the river on the present site of the dwelling of Alfred Storer. The church which Waldo had been under contract to build had been erected in 1743 on the shore of the Rodney Creamer farm, adjacent to the ferry which crossed the river from this point to Merle Castner's shore. Additional work on this structure in 1744 had converted it into a blockhouse. This work most probably consisted of the building of a stockade of upright logs or timbers forming an enclosure at the center of which was the church. At this point defense on the west side of the river came to an end, and in this connection it should be recalled that the lower west side and the two necks were still at this time largely unsettled areas. The fort at the First Falls served, of course, the upper west and east sides. The latter districts were more completely settled and required more defense. Accordingly, Mr. Zuberbühler's cabin, being larger, stouter, and more commodious than the usual log residence, was surrounded by a sturdy timber stockade. This was located on the same site as the later middle garrison on "Garrison Hill," an elevation above the river in the field now owned by Merle Castner, being the land next north of the old Castner Homestead Farm. On the lower east side, Captain Lane's cabin at Schenck's Point was in a similar way made available for defense purposes. These were the four garrisons located in the area then settled to provide points where people might gather for refuge and join one another in warding off attacks.

Three days after Shirley's receipt of the declarations of war he issued impress warrants to the colonels of the several regiments

<sup>6</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821).

<sup>7</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley, I*, 139-140.



for the raising and posting of men around the entire Maine frontier. Fifty men were assigned to the garrisons between Brunswick and Damariscotta, and to Colonel Arthur Noble he dispatched orders under date of June 5, 1774, instructing him to assign soldiers to Broad Bay and the Georges area as follows:<sup>7</sup>

At Madomock or Broad Bay, at Martin's at ye Falls	10 men
At ye new Block House, on ye River, being the Dutch Church	10 men
At Mr. Zuberbühler's Garrison	10 men
At Capt. Lane's at the Point of Broad Bay	10 men
	<hr/>
	40
At the Garrison at Georges	40 men

Broad Bay and Georges received the largest increments as was fitting, since these two settlements were the real frontiers facing the eastern Indians, the Penobscot, the Cape Sable and the St. Johns, and hence destined to absorb the first shocks from that quarter. The northern frontier of these two outposts, as well as the whole northern line of settlement from the St. Georges to the New Hampshire boundary, was exposed to those tigers from the north, the St. Francis Indians, who were smarting under great wrongs and lusting after a great revenge.

At the time the declaration of war had reached Boston, on June 2, 1744, the assembly was then sitting, and further action was taken immediately in the interest of "Eastern Parts." Five hundred men were voted to be raised for the protection of the frontiers. Three hundred of these were for eastern parts, and the garrisons in this area were reinforced by seventy-three regular fresh recruits. "Within a few days afterwards these soldiers were reinforced with a second supply of Five Hundred men more." Three hundred of these were formed into scouts, and about ninety-six barrels of gunpowder were sent to the several settlements to be sold to the inhabitants "at an advance on prime costs sufficient only to include charges."

As Governor Shirley wrote to the Lords of Trade:

These preparations have had the effect not only to keep the bordering Indians quiet; But has produced the most strong Professions of Peace from 'em and made them really Sollicitous to prevent a Rupture with us at present; and this has very much encouraged our people upon the Exposed parts of our Frontiers to stand their ground, and saved some young Settlements, where the Inhabitants had begun to draw off their Families, Cattle and Effects, from being entirely broken up.<sup>8</sup>

Shirley went further in taking steps for the protection of the eastern frontiers. He renewed his treaty with those dreaded foes

<sup>7</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., X1, 296-97.

<sup>8</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, I, 139-40.

of the Maine Indians, the Mohawks and the Six Nations. At his instigation two of the sagamores of these tribes bore a belt of wampum to the Eastern Indians and insisted "upon their observing a strict neutrality between the French and the English, letting them know that by the terms of their Alliance with us the Albany Mohawks would be obliged, if the Eastern Indians broke the peace with us, to take part in our Quarrel. . . . This has struck no small terror into the Eastern Indians."<sup>9</sup>

In consequence of this regional alertness there were no attacks in the Maine area in the summer or autumn of 1744, and during this period the two regiments in the two eastern provinces were brought to their full strength, consisting of two thousand, eight hundred and fifty-five men. One regiment was commanded by Colonel William Pepperell of Kittery and the other by Colonel Samuel Waldo.<sup>10</sup> On December 2nd, as an arrangement to provide security during the winter of 1744, one hundred effective men, versed in woodcraft, were to be enlisted out of Colonel Pepperell's regiment and formed into light guard groups stationed at suitable distances from each other, and at convenient places between Berwick and St. Georges, whence they were severally to scout through the woods as far as the next station. Each party was put under a sergeant, and all under two able, efficient officers on captain's pay. The distribution of these scouts in our area was as follows:

Fourteen men in Wiscasset to scout as far as Captain Vaughan's block-house in Damariscotta.

Fourteen men at his block-house to scout to Broad Bay.

Fourteen men at Broad Bay to scout to the block-house at St. Georges river.<sup>11</sup>

The men at St. Georges had the assignment of scouring the woods beyond as far as the Penobscot River for traces of roving Indians. With this arrangement there were men in the woods all the time and with the garrisons manned, the settlements were rather effectually secured against surprise attacks. Moreover, the neighboring Indians were still quiet; and there was little danger that the St. Francis Indians or those from Cape Sable or St. Johns would cross the wilderness in the depth of winter to attack the settlements. On October 17, 1744, Governor Shirley had published a declaration of war against these two latter tribes who had joined with the French in assailing His Majesty's garrison at Annapolis Royal. This same declaration forbade all the Indians westward of a line, "beginning at three miles eastward of the Passamaquoddy

<sup>9</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, I, 139-40.

<sup>10</sup>William D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, I, 214.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

River, and running north to the St. Lawrence, to have any correspondence with those Indian Rebels." Furthermore to all volunteers who would enter the war at their own charge and expense a premium in the "new tenor bills was offered of £100 for the scalp of a male Indian twelve years old and upwards; £50 for that of a younger one or of a woman; and an additional sum of £5 in either case for a captive."

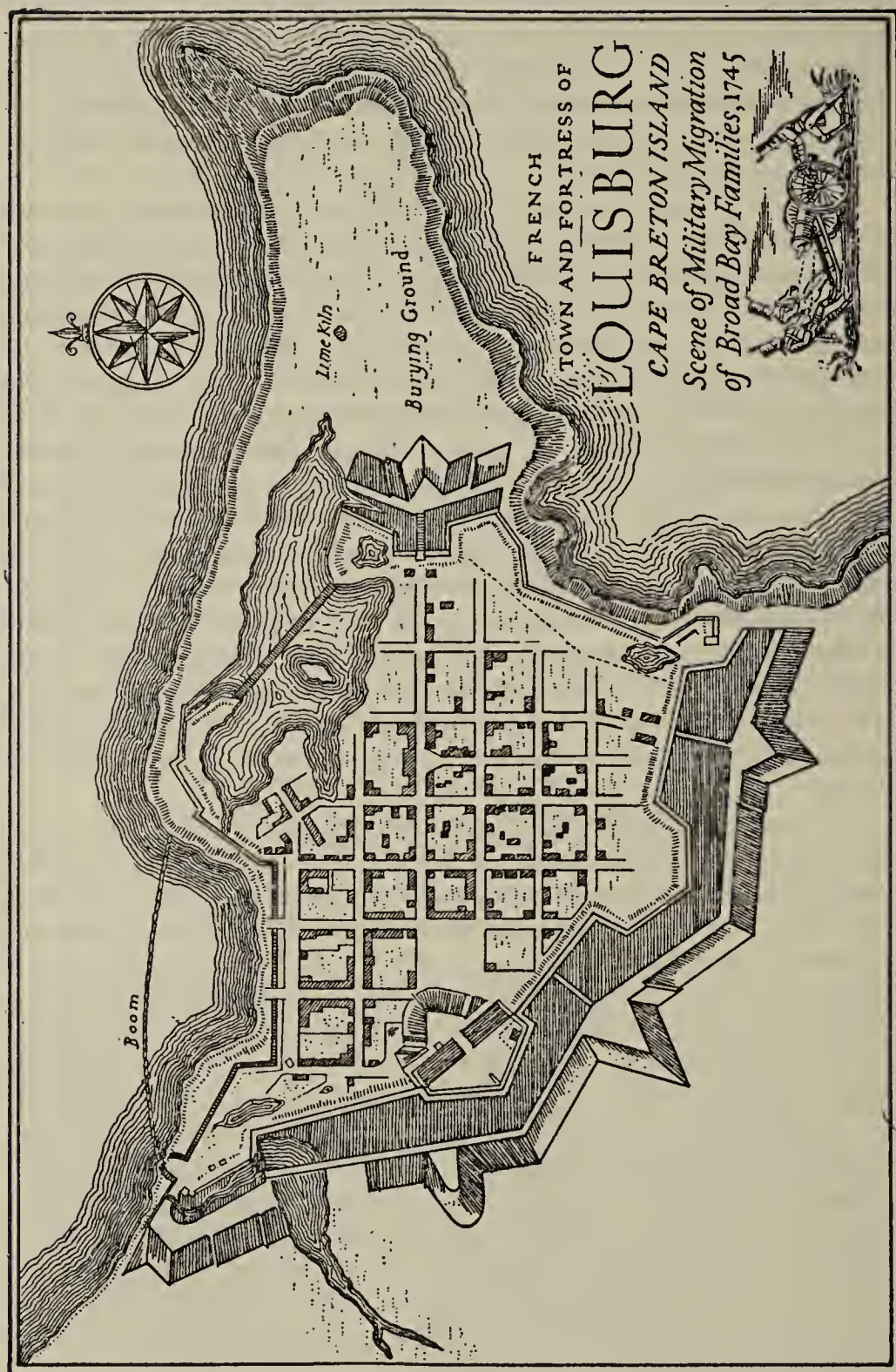
Throughout 1744 the colony at Broad Bay had a quiet and favorable year for taking root more deeply on the Medomak, albeit the uncertainty of Indian attack was ever present. The Germans were able to go into the first winter of the war with the feeling that preparations for defense were entirely adequate. It was not destined to be a quiet winter, however, for there were rumors afloat of big events impending. It was said that there would be an expedition made up entirely of provincial troops for an attack on the great French fortress of Louisburg at Cape Breton. This fort, of high strategic importance, was situated on Cape Breton Island; and in 1745 it was the major French stronghold in the New World. It was admirably located for intercepting England's overseas communication with her colonies on the New England Coast, or serving as a base to fall upon them in any attack for their harrying, weakening, or destruction. It also served as a protection for French fisheries on the Atlantic Coast and was a standing threat to New England fishermen in the rich, northern waters.

France had designed it for her strongest fortress in America; and it was, indeed, an elaborate feat of French engineering. The construction work was begun in 1720 and completed in 1733 at a cost of not less than \$6,000,000. At that time this was an enormous expense, which led the King and his Council to ask whether its streets were "paved with gold, or the walls composed of louis d'ors." A walk around the enclosing works measured two miles and on the landward side at the base of the wall was a ditch or moat eighty feet wide. In the works themselves were embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon. To the fortress itself there were further defensive adjuncts: an island at the mouth of the harbor was strongly fortified, while on the main opposite to the Island Battery was another work known as the Royal Battery, mounting twenty-eight forty-two pounders and two eighteen pounders. The garrison in 1745 numbered two thousand regulars and militia, while the town within the walls of the fort contained a population of about four thousand.<sup>12</sup>

The audacious move to attack this fortress came in the nature of a popular demand; at least this is the position taken by

<sup>12</sup>H. S. Burrage, *Maine at Louisburg* (Augusta, 1910).





the historians. Possibly it would be nearer the truth to say that it *seemed* to come in the nature of a popular demand, for actually the plan was conceived and first set forth by none other than Colonel Waldo. This was in 1740. Mr. Waldo was in England when war was declared between Great Britain and Spain. It was then that, "a rupture of relations with France being gravely apprehended," Mr. Waldo laid before the Duke of Newcastle, "one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State," a plan for the reduction of Louisburg as "soon as war with that crown should happen."

Late in 1741 Waldo left England and coming via New York reached Boston on January 19, 1742, where forthwith he laid the plan before Shirley and it received his approval.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter the plan slept until France had broken the peace, and Shirley had placed his frontiers in a state to meet the Indian onslaughts. Then rather suddenly, but most likely by prearrangement, the plan became a matter of popular demand. Pamphlets supporting the move were printed and circulated, and citizens' committees petitioned the General Court. The strength of the fortress, the difficulty of the undertaking, and the remote possibility of its success were little understood. Francis Parkman spoke of the movement as "a wildly audacious project" which he attributed to "some heated brains." There was some ground for such characterization; for the Province in four previous wars had suffered such extremities at the hands of the Indians, invariably abetted and aided by the French, that the feeling was well nigh universal that France must be driven from Canada. So it seemed almost in answer to popular response that on January 9, 1745, Governor Shirley raised with the General Court the question of an attack on Louisburg to be made by provincial troops unassisted by British regulars.

On January 14th in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle the question was laid before His Majesty's ministers, largely as a matter of information since the plan had previously been approved by the government. On January 25th the General Court took favorable action and noted that "each volunteer be allowed 25s. per month, that there be delivered each man a blanket, that one month's pay be advanced, and that they be entitled to all the Plunder."<sup>14</sup> The expedition was immensely popular. Under date of February 22nd, Parson Smith of Falmouth commented in his *Journal* as follows: "All the talk is about the expedition to Louisburg. There is a marvelous zeal and concurrence through the whole country with respect to it. Such as the like was never seen in this part of the world." The weather, too, facilitated operations through the winter months

<sup>13</sup>*The Case of Samuel Waldo.*

<sup>14</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley, I, 160, 161, 170.*



of February and March, as Parson Smith observed: "February. A very moderate, pleasant month with little snow or foul weather," and again on March 30th, "This month has been like February; a nonesuch wonderful pleasant and like April."

Under such favorable weather, preparations were able to proceed apace. Speed was the essence of things, for the attack was planned as a surprise and hence it had to be staged before word could reach the French. Enlistments were started at once, and in this and all related fields of activity there was no one more zealously and usefully engaged than Colonel Waldo. In fact, he burned up energy at such a rate that we may pause to speculate on the matter of his motives. Waldo being the man he was, it may be alleged with reasonable certainty that there were other moving causes as well as pure patriotism. Such could have been a desire to dispel for all time the ever-present French and Indian threat to the settlements on his grant, or an interest in attaining high military rank, or the prospect of a prestige accruing from military glory, or of being knighted and receiving a title from the Crown. Whatever his motives, known of course for the most part to himself, Mr. Waldo scoured the coast settlements all the way from Salem to the Georges, enlisting men, organizing the levies, and getting them equipped and into training. He enlisted on this tour eight hundred and fifty men, filling his own regiment and raising several companies which he turned over to other regiments. In his own settlements his success was most marked. Cyrus Eaton states in reference to the settlers at Broad Bay that "they all enlisted under Waldo, and, removing their families to Louisburg, remained there three years."<sup>15</sup> This should cause no surprise if it but be recalled that Broad Bay was feudal in tradition and that this tradition had something of the force of unwritten law. Under such tradition lands were held by the vassal in fief, in some cases at Broad Bay for so many peppercorns per annum forever, and in addition the vassal owed service at court and *military service* to the Liege Lord. Hence Broad Bay, in going all out, was but reacting in terms of an ancient social pattern.

Eaton's statement, construed in terms of what actually did happen at Broad Bay, is somewhat too sweeping; for not all the Germans did go to Louisburg nor was the settlement completely abandoned. Those who were not allowed to join the expedition by Waldo were organized for the defense of the home front. It is undeniably true, however, that Broad Bay did have a large share in the expedition, larger perhaps than any other New England community. Joseph Burns, one of the local English settlers, commanded a transport which conveyed troops from Boston to Cape

<sup>15</sup>*Annals of Warren*, 1st ed. (Hallowell, 1851), p. 67.



Breton; a very large proportion of the Germans enlisted in Waldo's regiment; many took their entire families with them, which was not an unusual practice in eighteenth-century warfare; and although the period of enlistment was for four months, there were those who remained at Louisburg until 1748.

The muster roll of Colonel Waldo's regiment is perhaps non-existent, or at least it has never been located. H. S. Burrage, a former State Historian, in his lifetime searched for it in vain. At the solicitation of the Massachusetts Legislature and of our own State Department, British and Canadian archives have been made fully accessible, but with no results. Of the many men enlisting from Broad Bay, Burrage was never to discover but one name. Our own research has revealed in unexpected quarters a few additional names soundly documented. They follow: David Rominger participated in the expedition, serving as a soldier from 1745 to 1748.<sup>16</sup> Lorenz Seitz (Sides) was a member of the expedition and took his family with him. It was at Cape Breton that his daughter, Katharina, was married to Philip Christoph Vogler who was enlisted in the war for a period of between three and four years.<sup>17</sup> A well-established tradition also links John Ulmer with the Louisburg expedition.<sup>18</sup> Sebastian Zuberbühler also went to the war as an officer in Waldo's regiment, and due to his fluency in the two languages probably commanded a contingent of Broad Bay Germans. He rose in rank in the field and on January 10, 1746, was commissioned a captain. The date of his commission strongly suggests that many of the Broad Bayers remained there in service long after the fortress had been reduced.<sup>19</sup>

The actual extent to which Broad Bay was represented in the Louisburg campaign may be inferred by the enlistments in 1744 in Waldo's regiment, made up entirely of men from the Province of Maine. They embraced the levies from Scarborough eastward to the end of the settled area of the coastline:

Scarborough	160 men	New Marblehead	40 men
Falmouth	500 men	Georges & Broad Bay	270 men
North Yarmouth	150 men	Pemaquid	50 men
Brunswick	50 men	Sheepscot	50 men
W. Narragansett No. 1	20 men	Total	<u>1290 men</u>

Waldo personally recruited 17 companies of fifty men each.<sup>20</sup> It is rather significant to note that in number of enlistments Broad Bay and Georges stood next after Falmouth (Portland). Unques-

<sup>16</sup>Moravian Archives, Burial Rec. No. 59 (Bethabara, N. C.).

<sup>17</sup>*Vogler Memoir* Moravian Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.); also contains the Seitz data.

<sup>18</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XIV Jahrgang. (Cincinnati, 1884-85.)

<sup>19</sup>*New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register* (Oct. 1870), pp. 361-380.

<sup>20</sup>*Ober-Post Amts Zeitung*, Frankfort am Main, No. 12, Jan. 20, 1753.

tionably these two hundred and seventy men included a large percentage of the "fencibles" in both settlements, and these participated in the Louisburg campaign. Both settlements were undeniably "thinned," though not stripped. From those remaining at Broad Bay, William Burns, of the 1736 colony, organized a company of militia for the defense of the scattered settlement. Apparently no muster roll of this company has been preserved, and we are completely in the dark as to the identity of the personnel. The fact should be stressed, however, that there was no abandonment of the settlement and that those remaining for its defense continued at their normal tasks under the ever-present threat of attack from roving savages.

From this point in the record, Broad Bay history will shift for a time to Cape Breton Island and to the role played by our ancestors in the investment of its great fortress. The three regiments engaging in the expedition were known as Pepperell's, Moulton's, and Waldo's. William Pepperell had the over-all command of the forces and held the rank of lieutenant general. Roger Wolcott of Connecticut was second in command with the rank of major general, but inasmuch as he did not accompany the expedition "by reason of age and indisposition," Samuel Waldo, then a representative of Falmouth in the General Court, and Colonel of the Eastern Yorkshire regiment, became second in command with the rank of brigadier general. He was also the colonel of his regiment and a captain of one of the companies. The actual command of Waldo's regiment was held by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble of Georgetown (Bath) who, with his brother James, was co-proprietor of a large tract of land in Nobleborough. Colonel Noble was a competent and gallant officer and was killed in an engagement with the French and Indians at Minas, Canada, in February 1747.

On February 13, 1745, Governor Shirley issued an order directing that the levies from eastern parts were to rendezvous at Falmouth, "there to be billeted at twenty shilling per week old tenor, and to be constantly exercised that they may be fit for service . . . and that Persons be appointed well skilled in the Military Exercises for instructing them." . . . On February 17th, these orders were modified and the levies directed to assemble in Boston.<sup>21</sup> Parkman in his *Half Century of Conflict*, following a statement made by Pepperell, asserts that "a full third of the Massachusetts contingent . . . came from the hardy population of Maine."<sup>22</sup> In Boston the forces were equipped and trained until March 19, when Pepperell received orders from Shirley for the expedition to em-

<sup>21</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, p. 185.

<sup>22</sup>II, 99.



bark; and on the afternoon of March 24th it sailed from Boston. Due to unfavorable weather the transport anchored three days, March 26th to 29th, at Sheepscoot, before proceeding to Cape Breton, where it arrived in the early days of April. Here it met its initial setback, for the shores and harbors were icebound and the plan of a surprise attack had to be abandoned. For three weeks the expedition was held back by the ice. In the meantime a British squadron of four vessels under Commodore Peter Warren reinforced the provincial fleet under Tyng and assisted in the siege.

It is difficult to give a detailed and consecutive account of the part played in the siege by the men of Broad Bay; and any effort to do this must be based on inference, induction, and tradition. A fairly full account of this campaign is to be found in Burrage's book, *Maine at Louisburg*; but here I have chosen to follow a contemporary record<sup>23</sup> of these events, and Waldo's own narrative in the Huntington Library manuscript, along with its annexes by Shirley and Sir William Pepperell.

The number of the land forces did not exceed thirty-six hundred, all undisciplined colonial troops. The landing was effected on April 30th at Chapeau Longe Bay, about four miles from the fortress. General Waldo landed with the first detachment and was followed by his entire regiment, in the face of an opposing enemy. This of course means that the Broad Bayers were among the first ashore, and had a hand in establishing a beachhead and in clearing the woods of enemy forces. That same afternoon a detail of four hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Vaughan, proceeded to make a reconnaissance west and northwest of the town. Passing to the westward of the town and skirting the Royal Battery at a safe distance, he, by a stroke of good fortune was able to seize and burn the storehouses containing stores of military and naval supplies as well as wines and liquors. The smoke from the burning buildings so blinded and alarmed the French commander of the Royal Battery that he spiked the guns and abandoned the post, which was occupied the next day by forces from Waldo's regiment.

Another episode of the siege, one with a tragic ending and probably involving Broad Bayers, was an attack on the Island Battery. This stood at the entrance to the harbor and prevented Warren's ships from coming in. One of the attempts to capture it was assigned to Colonel Noble of Waldo's regiment. According to Waldo's order, Noble's detachment was to be drawn from several regiments. The assault was made on the night of May 26th. The boats carrying the attacking party, however, were discovered as they drew near the island, and a destructive fire was opened on

<sup>23</sup>*American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Boston, 1745, pp. 308-313.



them at once. Some of the boats, nevertheless, reached the island, and their crews were hastily drawn up for a dash upon the works. They got to the point of placing scaling ladders against the walls of the battery, but could get no farther. The survivors surrendered. The loss in this attack was seventy-three killed and drowned, and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoner.

The siege was largely a matter "of sweat, toil and tears." There were no pack animals, and their lack was supplied by human muscles. The heavy guns were dragged four miles from the beachhead over rough country to within range of the fort. Powder, shot, shells, and provisions were lugged by the men on their backs to the advanced works, and likewise the guns from the captured Royal Battery and the forty-two-pound balls necessary to service them. Inasmuch as this work was under the direction of General Waldo, and since he paid bounties from his own pocket for this unorthodox service, we surmise it was a chore in which some of his sturdy pack animals from Broad Bay participated; for in their brief sojourn on these shores they had been thoroughly disciplined by impossible tasks. Inch by inch and at the price of an almost superhuman effort, the stronghold was weakened. On June 15th, its Commander, Duchambon, asked for an armistice; and on the 17th the provincials entered Louisburg through the southwest gate. The impossible had been accomplished. Pepperell, on entering the town and viewing the magnitude and strength of the defenses, exclaimed: "The Almighty of a truth has been with us!" Joy on the part of the troops at this ending of their seven weeks of arduous toil and suffering was unrestrained, for not until they were within the walls could they have fully realized the herculean character of their feat. Voltaire ranked among the "great events of this period the capture of such a fortress by the husbandmen of New England,"<sup>24</sup> while Parkman held it to be the result of "mere audacity and hardihood, backed by the rarest good luck."

The fall of the fortress was timely; for disease was beginning to take its toll and the crude hospitals improvised near the camp were filling up. Elsewhere all was joy. On both sides of the sea elation and patriotic enthusiasm ran high. In Old England and New England bells rang and cannons thundered. In the colonies sermons were preached and days of thanksgiving decreed, while in London the Tower guns were fired and the city illuminated. Parson Smith under date of July 6th, made the following entry in his *Journal*:

We had news today that Cape Breton was taken the 27th of last month. There is great rejoicing throughout the country. We fired our

<sup>24</sup>*Le Siècle de Louis XV.*

cannon five times, and spent the afternoon at the fort rejoicing. 7th, Sunday. All our people of the Neck were again all day rejoicing, and extravagantly blew off a vast quantity of gunpowder.

To hold Louisburg after its capture, it was necessary to garrison it heavily. Realizing that the eastern settlements were living constantly under the threat of extinction, Governor Shirley advised Pepperell to release at once some of those men recruited in "the most exposed Eastern parts."<sup>25</sup> This referred to the men from Georges and Broad Bay. Some had been released after the surrender; those convalescing from illness were sent home when able to travel; and others were released in July on Shirley's order. On Sept. 2, 1745, the Governor wrote to the Governor of New Hampshire stating that "Massachusetts sent 3300 men to Louisburg of whom 1238 are returned home; 95 are killed, and 57 died natural deaths." This meant that there were in excess of two thousand left in garrison at the fortress from Massachusetts alone, and this, of course, included those from the Province of Maine. The enlistment of the force had been for a period of four months. Thereafter they were held there in a state of involuntary, and we may add, mutinous, service, awaiting the arrival of a regular British force to take over the garrison duty. In the meanwhile disease was taking its toll. From the last of November 1745 to January 28, 1746, there were five hundred and sixty-one burials at Louisburg. Pepperell's force was reduced to less than a thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The provincial garrison was not relieved by the two British regiments from Gibraltar until the end of March 1746, after which most of the provincials returned to their homes in New England. Where the Broad Bayers were all this time and what they were doing is a question that can be answered only in a general way. Some were unquestionably killed in action; some died of disease, and sleep in unmarked graves on Cape Breton; others returned to Broad Bay shortly after the capitulation; and some others remained working at repairing the fortress under the direction of the British until 1748. General Waldo and a substantial part of his regiment were at Louisburg seventeen months in all, and some of his men stayed even longer.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the General and his regiment did not land in Boston until June 26, 1746.

The scene now shifts back to Broad Bay. In the interim what had happened there, and by what conditions was Waldo faced on his return? It has been previously pointed out that Waldo, if he did not strip, at least thinned his settlement of men by enlistment in the Louisburg Expedition. This thinning left Broad Bay and

<sup>25</sup>Letter to Wm. Pepperell, July 29, 1746, *Shirley Correspondence*.

<sup>26</sup>*Ober-Post Amts Zeitung*, Frankfort am Main, No. 12, Jan. 20, 1753.



Georges, the most advanced frontiers, very weakly defended, and invited Indian attack, a condition clearly foreseen by the government. Accordingly a Committee of Defense and Safety was appointed, and a force of four hundred and fifty men, including the garrison soldiers, was put into service. All were to be on pay until the following November (1745). They were posted at the forts and garrison houses between which they were to scout in ranging parties along the whole frontier from Berwick to the Georges River. The government's object was to defend the inhabitants in their holdings, for it was Shirley's conviction that their departure or retreat would be an event ruinous to them and to the eastern provinces. After the fall of Louisburg, Captain Saunders in the Province Sloop was dispatched to the Penobscot to carry there the news of the fall in the hope it would have a deterring effect on the Indians of that region closest to the eastern frontier. The contrary was the case, for it aroused a strong sympathy for old friends, which led the Penobscots to abandon their neutrality and join their old French allies. The Governor promptly declared war on all eastern Indians and forthwith placed large bounties on their scalps. This break in the peace by the Penobscots, at this time the strongest of the Indian tribes in New England, greatly increased the threat to the eastern frontier.

During the summer of 1745 the settlements were constantly harried by small roving bands of savages. Around mid-July they converged in this district and on the 19th made a futile assault on the fort at Georges, after which they burned a garrison house, the sawmill at Mill River, and a few dwelling houses, and killed a great number of cattle and took one man captive. These quick incursions, the slaughter of any person isolating himself from his group for however brief a time, the noiseless tracking of victims through the woods, all added to the slow toll taken by fear, suffering, and tragedy; but little detail of these "unhappy trifles" found its way into the record of these times, merely a brief reference here and there, as in the following letter from the Commander of the fort at Georges to Governor Shirley:

The man mentioned in my last letter, they killed and scalpt. We brought him in and buried him, and I hear that a Dutch man at Broad Bay was killed and scalpt by the Indians about the same time they were here (July 19). It is now more than ten days since we saw them. Where they are I know not, but suppose they are preparing for more mischief, and expect soon to see them here.<sup>27</sup>

With the advent of the winter of 1745-1746, four hundred and twelve additional men were organized into two snowshoe companies and ordered to scout throughout the winter along the

<sup>27</sup>*Shirley Correspondence*, p. 261.



frontier east of the Androscoggin in order to hold the Indians off, and to learn, if possible, their purposes, their routes, and their places of rendezvous and rest. There were, during this period, raids on frontier settlements, but Broad Bay remained unmolested. As we have mentioned, the Germans in their contacts with the neighboring savages had been invariably considerate, just, and kind, and since in the winter season the forays were carried on by local Indians, rather than by the fierce savages from St. Francis who seldom crossed the wide wilderness in the winter cold and snows, the humanity of the Germans was remembered and rewarded. It should also be recalled that during the summer and autumn of 1745 the settlement was considerably strengthened by the return of some of the soldiers from Louisburg, which gave an added feeling of safety as well as an actually greater security. The Province Sloop under Captain Saunders came into the Medomak from time to time to deliver stores and provisions for the garrison to which many of the Broad Bayers were attached; and on this basis many would draw pay and stores in support of themselves and families. This reduced the pressure of the population regarding food, which could be raised only when those cultivating it worked under guard.

The following spring (1746), the garrison at Georges was strengthened and four hundred and sixty men were detailed to scout the frontier as in the previous year. They had, indeed, a busy time of it, for this was that period in the war when the Indians were most active, and the eastern bands were reinforced by the fiercer and more revengeful strain from St. Francis, formerly of the Androscoggin and Kennebec. On April 19th their attacks began; they swarmed in the forests and for weeks hovered on the outskirts of Wiscasset, Sheepscot, Damariscotta, Pemaquid, Broad Bay, and Georges. They were not bold fighters, but their method of warfare was unique. Their aim was to destroy without damage to themselves. If discovered they would invariably disappear unless the odds were entirely against their enemies. From ambush they were skillful and deadly; and they loved the cover of the bush, of a rail fence or stonewall. When caught in the open, they were never quiet for a moment, but would move swiftly like shadows from the shelter of one tree, stump, or boulder to that of another. Always subtle, at times they were highly creative and would perpetrate one ruse after another with devilish ingenuity and swiftness. Again they would be dull witted, slow and clumsy in organizing themselves in the face of the unexpected. Their planned and concerted attacks were usually made just before dawn, when their victims were drugged with sleep and in no condition to effect a quick individual or collective defense.

The major Indian attack on Broad Bay came around May 18, 1746. Parson Smith noted in his *Journal* under date of May 21:

"News came to us this morning that the Indians had burnt all the houses at Broad Bay." The extent of the destruction after the lapse of over two centuries is difficult to determine, for the known facts are often at variance with the narrative of the historians. The most extreme accounts are offered by the German-American writers. An example of such is the account of Franz Löher who states that the Indians "burned the cabins, killed the occupants or dragged them all away as prisoners to Canada. Some died under torture, while others escaped and were lost in the wilds of Canada."<sup>28</sup> Williamson puts the date as May 21st and adds that the "attack was made by *a large body* of Indians, who reduced the habitations of the people to ashes; killing some and carrying others into captivity."<sup>29</sup> Cyrus Eaton recorded the following. "On May 21, they fell upon Broad Bay and destroyed *what remained of it*, burning the houses, killing some of the inhabitants and carrying others into captivity. It subsequently lay waste till the close of the war."<sup>30</sup> This episode as reported has long been accepted uncritically in all its detail as fact; but like all historical judgments, which gain in truth by revisions from time to time, this account requires some modification in the interest of greater accuracy — especially so, since the original source was the story of contemporaries. Transmitted over the decades by word of mouth, it became tradition which lost nothing in detail and volume as it was handed on from decade to decade up to the time of its incorporation into written history.

It is an indubitable fact that such an attack did occur, and that the Indians were in some force. The assault was made on May 18th, and Waldo himself tells us that the raiders were made up of "the Norridgewocks, Penobscots and other Tribes of Eastern Indians."<sup>31</sup> This latter phrase means of course those of St. John and Cape Sable, while the Norridgewocks is a loose term applied to the Indians of the Upper Kennebec who at this time had coalesced with the St. Francis on the St. Lawrence. Hence it may be assumed with reasonable certainty that the St. Francis Indians were involved in this attack — perhaps its instigators who overcame the reluctance of the more local groups to molest a people who had been their gentle friends. From Waldo's brief account, it is clear that the loss in property damage was heavy, the loss in life much slighter; for he states that they "killed some and drove off others."<sup>32</sup> William Pepperell likewise in his account does not lay stress on the loss of life, but in the main on the property damage. He states

<sup>28</sup>*Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati and Leipzig, 1847), pp. 71-75.

<sup>29</sup>*Hist. of Maine*, pp. 215-220. [Italics mine.]

<sup>30</sup>*Annals of Warren*, p. 69. [Italics mine.]

<sup>31</sup>*The Case of Samuel Waldo*.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*



that the Indians "burned his settlements [Waldo's] eastward of Sagadahoc, in particular the town of Leverett [Broad Bay] which at great expense of his private fortune was in exceeding flourishing circumstances, but are now almost entirely laid waste."<sup>33</sup> During the Indian wars it was the practice of the Broad Bayers to till their lands in large groups under the guard of militia; as soon as one field was finished the groups would pass on to the next, the armed guard, of course, proceeding with them. The nights were passed not in their own cabins but in the garrisons with their families. In such a manner they were able to achieve a reasonable security of life if not of property.

Judging from what data exists, it can be inferred that events took place on May 18th as follows: It is highly probable that this attack was a just-before-dawn affair, but in force. The Indians, in groups of two or three, moved through the settlement on both sides of the river, plundering, killing the cattle wherever they could find them, and setting fire to the empty cabins. Larger groups converged on the lower garrisons at Lane's Point and at Mr. Zuberbühler's stockaded cabin on Garrison Hill. These posts were heavily garrisoned due to the fact that at this time the weight of population was on the east side of the river. Here in both cases the initial assault of the Indians was repulsed, whereupon they withdrew a bit, and from behind walls, stumps, boulders, and bushes, kept up a desultory fire, thus keeping the garrisons immobilized in the stockades while the work of destruction went on in other quarters. The fort on the west side on the shore of the old Rodney Creamer farm was the most weakly held; for at this time the west side was but thinly settled; and the garrison was located at the outer fringe of the settlement. Consequently those on this side who were closer to the Mill Garrison would take refuge there at night. It was at this point that the Indians had their real success, for the stockade was captured and burned along with the "Duch Church" which was its central inside unit. Here most of the slaughter took place; and here most of the captives were taken who, as tradition has it, were carried away to Canada and sold to the French. With this destruction there was not another church in the colony until one was built at Meetinghouse Cove at the end of the French and Indian War.

With the work of destruction completed at this point, and with most of the cabins burning or in ashes, the Indians joined those already engaged in the assault on the Mill Garrison, the strongest fort in the settlement. Here they were easily repulsed, but were in such force that the garrison could do naught to prevent them from destroying the dam and burning the mill on the opposite

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*



bank of the river. When their work of destruction was ended, they disappeared in the forest with their plunder, their scalps, and their captives, as noiselessly as they had swept into the settlement in the early dawn. I freely concede that this account of the destruction of Broad Bay is in greater detail than will be found, I believe, anywhere else in written history; and the reader will be misled unless he realizes that to a considerable degree it is based on inference. Its major merit is to be found in the fact that it is consistent with all the data known in reference to this unhappy far-off event.

This catastrophe in the life of the settlement naturally had immediate repercussions. The people were both demoralized and terrified. The available garrison space could no longer take care of them all, and in consequence some took refuge in the fort at Georges, others in Burton's stone blockhouse at Cushing, and still others fled by water to the fort at Pemaquid, or left on coasters for Boston. The more resolute ones remained in the garrison at Broad Bay in order to start anew the building of their houses as soon as conditions of warfare would warrant it. Contrary to the verdict of the earlier historians, the settlement was never abandoned, even though roving bands of Indians were in and out along the frontier the whole summer, perpetrating an occasional atrocity in the Broad Bay district. To one of these Governor Shirley gave a passing reference in a letter to Pepperell at Louisburg under date of July 29, 1746. "The Indians — have killed one man belonging to Broad Bay and another at Georges Fort, both of them as they were at some distance from our settlements and alone."<sup>34</sup>

There were other atrocities of this character. Among the Indians were roving bands of the Wewenocs, Arasagunticooks, and Norridgewocks, who, driven from their old coastal homes, had removed to St. Francis. They realized they could not expel the whites and consequently carried on a war of revenge, loosing their vengeance on particular individuals or families, taking captives or scalps for the premium offered by the French in Canada, or raiding and destroying for the sake of plunder. In a spirit of wanton destruction they systematically slew all the cattle, oftentimes taking only the tongues for food.

By midsummer 1746 General Waldo was back in New England, only to find that a force was being raised in the colonies as far south as Virginia for a midwinter expedition against Crown Point, and that he was slated to command this force. Smallpox among the levies and other obstacles, however, compelled the abandonment of the plan; and in the spring of 1747 one hundred and sixty-eight of the men were detached to relieve the scouts who had had the winter duty in this area. Through the spring and sum-

<sup>34</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley.*

mer of this year the savages hovered along the borders inflicting damage where possible. In September 1747, John Vass, Jr., son of the John and Elizabeth of the colony of 1736, was killed in a clash with the Indians while in a company of militia under Captain Jabez Bradbury.<sup>35</sup> Throughout the summer the Province Sloop ranged along the coast supplying in part the food needs of the settlers. On September 1st sixty Indians and French appeared before Fort Frederick at Pemaquid at daybreak; but as the fort was of stone, they made little headway with gunfire. The same party attacked the fort at St. Georges and sought to mine in under it at a distance of ten rods from the river bank, but rains and a cave-in forced them to abandon their plan.

The following winter was unusually severe. Since work in the fields had been restricted by savage warfare through the summer, food became scarce and prices excessively high. Hardships again returned to Broad Bay, but the settlers were now equipped to supplement their small supply of vegetables and cereals with game from the forest and fish of all kinds from the waters of the bay, on a scale that they had not been able to achieve in their first winter. Thus it was that they got by without acute suffering.

In the spring of 1748 there were only a few scattered burnings and killings, some at Brunswick and others along the trails as far as Saco; but with the withdrawal of the Indians, another foe struck no less cruelly. An early and extreme drought greatly heightened the distress that had arisen from the winter scarcity of food. The new crops were destroyed and the fields charred by the dryness and the heat. A cheering break did come, however, when the news reached Falmouth on July 2nd that the preliminaries of peace were being negotiated in Europe. On the 7th of October the definitive treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Europe began a brief peace.

On the Maine frontier, however, wars did not end abruptly. They simply petered out when the last Indian had taken his personal revenge, or himself fallen victim to his own lust for vengeance. Against such threats, troops to the numbers of three hundred and twenty-three scouted the frontier throughout the winter; but there were no outbreaks. The St. Francis Indians had returned to Canada and the eastern Indians had had enough. The advent of spring found very few of the more local savages lurking in this area. The settlers felt reasonably free to leave the garrisons by day for their own homesites, where the work of building new cabins and preparing the land for seedtime began again.

In this war there are few details of the Indian outrages at Broad Bay that have remained a matter of record. The reason for

<sup>35</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XXIII, 390.



this is rather obvious. Elsewhere the white man was articulate; he could tell what he knew and had seen. With the German his language was a barrier and what he suffered became only in rare cases a part of written history. There was, however, one last unhappy outbreak in this war that is seemingly well authenticated. It may or may not have been a matter of individual savage vengeance. There was in the colony of 1742 a German by the name of Schmidt who had taken to himself an Irish wife, the widow of Dennis Cannaugh, and along with her, her son Peter, both of the colony of 1736. After Broad Bay was laid waste the family had taken refuge in Colonel Burton's stone blockhouse at Cushing. Against the remonstrances of Burton and others, Schmidt set out with his family, probably in the spring of 1748, for his old habitation at Broad Bay. Apparently a few Indians picked up his trail in the forest, followed it, and attacked his cabin. By hurling brands on the roof which was covered with spruce bark, they were able to set it on fire. All such brands as took effect Schmidt was able from the inside to thrust off and thus avert the intended mischief.

Unable to succeed in this manner, the savages had recourse to stratagem. They cowered down in silence, entirely out of sight. Schmidt, finding that the attack had apparently ceased, raised his head through the roof hole to look around, and received a ball in the neck. The Indians then rushed the cabin, burst the door, dispatched and scalped the man and woman and then disappeared. The boy, Peter, who was lame and had been hiding in the cellar, was not discovered and afterward escaped to safety.<sup>36</sup>

In the spring of 1749 several Penobscot chiefs visited the fort on the Georges and affirmed to Captain Bradbury that they and their people were tired of war and that, if taken to Boston, they would make peace with the Governor. Accordingly a passage thither was arranged in the Province Sloop and on arrival the chiefs were favorably received. In consequence of this preliminary, a treaty was signed at Falmouth on October 16, 1749, based largely on Dummer's treaty, discussed in an earlier chapter. This brought an end to the Fifth Indian War in New England and the first for the Germans at Broad Bay. In the course of the spring of 1749, most of the surviving settlers were back on their lands; new areas were cleared; the old meadows placed under tillage, and another generation of new and more spacious cabins rose along the river-fronts.

The war had brought disappointment and loss to Samuel Waldo, and its aftermath of grave injustice to him ended in a cooling off of the close partnership he long enjoyed with Governor Shirley. After the reduction of Louisburg had been completed

<sup>36</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Society, VII, 326-327.



and the personal services of its leaders had been weighed and rewarded by the Crown, Governor Shirley emerged with the permanent rank of the colonel of a regiment with its pay and perquisites; Commodore Peter Warren received a title and a commission as a rear admiral, and William Pepperell was made a baronet of the realm. In addition, the two latter men received bonuses of one thousand pounds each, "to defray their extraordinary expences during their Residence at Louisburg."<sup>37</sup> There was no one who had worked harder for the success of this venture, who had enlisted more men, who had used his own monies more generously, who had played a more meritorious part as a leader in the field, and who had suffered more grievously in the damage done to his "estates" on the eastern frontier, than Samuel Waldo. Yet for his great services Samuel Waldo received less than nothing.

When the rewards were conferred and disbursed Waldo's first reaction was one of shock, of disappointment and repressed anger; for he was a proud man and his ambition was inordinate. He had unquestionably, among other things, hoped for a title. This had long been in his mind as we know from the fact that among the Germans on the continent, his own official papers styled him as "The Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay." He fully expected that the time would come when there would be a titled aristocracy in the American colonies just as there was in England. Indeed, he would not have been the first American to hold such a title, but he would have been pleased to have been the first "Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay." To this end he received some support from Shirley, who in writing in 1745 to Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle, respectfully urged that Waldo receive the colonelcy of a regiment on half pay and a permanent commission in such, as soon as a vacancy should occur. In this letter there was also the subtle suggestion of a more intangible reward such as was conferred on Pepperell. Shirley outlined in detail the character of Waldo's service which he termed as having been "very eminent," and then he added: "He has also impaired his health as well as his private fortune to a great degree, and should he sink himself by his good services without any mark of His Majesty's gracious acceptance of them?"<sup>38</sup>

This subtle suggestion was known to Waldo as evoking no immediate reaction from the Crown; and when he returned to Boston in June 1746, he was ready to undertake the leadership of an expedition against Crown Point, in the hope, perhaps, that glory won in such an enterprise, which would be his alone, might lead to a certain coveted reward. As we have already seen, this expedi-

<sup>37</sup>*The Case of Samuel Waldo.*

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

tion came to naught due to the ravages of smallpox among the levies. Thereafter General Waldo set himself to rectify another great, unnecessary, and unwarranted injustice that had been done him. From the time he had received his commission as captain, colonel and brigadier general in February, 1745, he had received no reimbursement for his personal expenses in raising levies for the expedition, nor for the monies laid out in rewarding soldiers during the siege for services beyond the line of duty. Also compensation was due him for costs incurred in providing his men with "refreshment" while in garrison following the siege, for money laid out by him in hiring labor to repair the fort, as guaranteed by Pepperell and Warren and for pay as a commissioned officer for his five hundred and eight days of service in this campaign. Waldo was putting it mildly when he stated that he was "disappointed therein by Sir Peter Warren and Sir William Pepperell not drawing on the Paymaster General for that purpose as they intended to do, had they not been prevented by suggestions of the interfering with the Demand of the Massachusetts Bay, which had paid money on account for supporting of ye Place after the Conquest."<sup>39</sup>

When Waldo returned to Boston in June 1746, the Province offered limited payments to the officers in his regiment,

which the pressing necessities of most of the officers obliged them to accept [perhaps half pay for inactive duty] and the said Province in this manner closed its account and transmitted it to England as the foundation of their claim in an application to Parliament for a reimbursement, wherein they read no charge to Mr. Waldo either for pay during the temporary establishment [4 month period of enlistment] or that he had so dearly earned during the Detention upon the absolute necessity of continuing in garrison for the security of the place.<sup>40</sup>

This was a sordid episode, which savored not only of fraud but also of malice, for it is difficult to believe that such a procedure could have been followed apart from the intrigue and manipulation of Waldo's enemies in the Massachusetts Bay government; and there were such who would have resorted to anything to effect his ruin. In the face of these circumstances and realizing that no redress would be made locally, the General prepared his case in full detail for presentation to the Crown. Therein is evidence of the still lingering hope that he might receive a title, and the suggestion is subtly offered in the following words: "Mr. Waldo takes leave to observe that while the principal persons who claimed merit from the reduction of Cape Breton received marks of his Majesty's Royal Favour, particularly Governor Shirley and Wm.

<sup>39</sup>*The Case of Samuel Waldo.*

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

Pepperell [created a baronet] — He, Mr. Waldo has received — no consideration or reward in any manner whatever.”<sup>41</sup> Apart from this gently hinted hope, the General placed before His Majesty’s ministers a statement of the monies due him. These he computed as one thousand pounds for “real expenses,” seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, his pay as brigadier general for five hundred and eight days, and five hundred and seventy-eight pounds, his pay as “Colonel and Captain” for four hundred and eighty-two days. The amount due him totalled two thousand, three hundred and forty pounds.

As soon as peace had secured his eastern settlement and eased his tenants on these lands into a state of contentment, Mr. Waldo left for Europe to press his claims and to handle other business there. This was probably in the autumn of 1748, for there is a letter from Nath. Sparhawk of Kittery to Samuel Waldo in London under date of March 8, 1749, expressing hope “for your success with Mr. Secretary [Duke of Newcastle], and your being rewarded for your public services, which is most just and reasonable.”<sup>42</sup>

In the face of such a gross injustice, it was inevitable that there should have come about a decided cooling in Waldo’s partnership with Governor Shirley; for the latter almost certainly could have averted the piece of trickery and fraud which had deprived the General of the pay due to his rank and commission. From him Waldo could at least have expected justice and fair play; and since it was not forthcoming, the General may in consequence have committed certain financial indiscretions which Shirley in his capacity of Governor could not overlook. This whole episode is obscure. The only light on it is furnished by a letter of Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle under date of January 23, 1749, and it should be read with the thought in mind that the Governor was not above overstatement nor was he any novice at intrigue. Then, too, Waldo, a master of undercover operations, was in London, and Shirley knew, perhaps from a sense of personal guilt, that he had reason to fear him:

I can at present recollect no other person, thro’ whom Your Grace may have been lately troubled with any malevolent insinuations against me except Mr. Waldo, whom I had entrusted with the payment of one of the late regiments raised in my government for the expedition against Canada, which I had put under his command; and have with great reluctance been obliged to prosecute for several breaches of trust, which he appears to me to have committed with respect to the Crown, the soldiers and myself, in an action at law; which is now depending by appeal before the King in Council. Before this troublesome affair, which

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., XII, 45.



a just regard for my own character forced me into, this person on whom I had heaped all the obligations in my power, was perfectly attached to my interest, and nothing but a disappointment in his exorbitant views, and forgetfulness of past favors have instigated him to attempt to do me any ill offices.<sup>43</sup>

The fact that Mr. Waldo's case was before the King and Council would indicate it to have been of a civil and not a criminal character, for otherwise it would have come before the Lord Chief Justice for a decision. Exactly how this case was settled probably only the British Archives could disclose; but we may, with reasonable safety, infer that the decision recognized fully Mr. Waldo's just claims, otherwise the loss of so much money would have had a shattering effect on the somewhat delicate fabric of the Waldo financial setup and would probably have rendered him insolvent. The fact that there was no curtailment or interruption in his ambitious colonial schemes may be taken as *prima-facie* evidence that he got his coin, though he did not get his title.

In this break neither Governor Shirley nor General Waldo were out of line with a pattern common to the gentry of these times, for these colonial tycoons were primarily exploiters, somewhat along the cut-throat design, economic buccaneers who had gone off to the New World in search of wealth, and sometimes they were but little less scrupulous than pirates in the manner they acquired it. They were in many cases men of violent passions and their feuds were unbelievably bitter. Some there were who would not hesitate for a moment to knife an enemy even though in so doing they knowingly were knifing themselves. This particular feud is carried over into our history. It altered radically the methods by which Waldo continued to people his estates with Germans and secured the sizable accretions of the years 1748, 1751, and 1752. Since open cooperation with Shirley in colonizing schemes could no longer be the order of things, Waldo went underground, an area in which he was much at home; and for the next four years, in his own peculiar undercover fashion, he diverted shiploads of emigrants chartered for other sections to his own district — pillaged some of the Governor's migrations to Boston and over these years kept up a pretty constant seepage of other people's Germans to his estates. The General was a stubborn man, a determined man; and in a fight, he followed no rules. At no point or time in his life was he successfully balked for long — save in his quest of a title.

<sup>43</sup>*Correspondence of Wm. Shirley*, I, 495.

X

BROAD BAY RENEWED

*. . . . There is a dark  
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles  
Discordant elements, makes them cling together  
In one society . . . .*

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

THE PEACE FOLLOWING THE FIFTH INDIAN WAR was destined to be only an uneasy and fitful lull, preceding the final act in the century-long struggle between the French and British for mastery on the North American continent. Such a fact was, of course, utterly unforeseeable at this period by plain and simple people; and the settlers returned trustfully with new hope to the tasks of rebuilding their cabins, extending their cleared areas, and replenishing their stock.

The river was still the only link binding the scattered settlement together, for there was no village and no cluster of cabins at any point. The cabins all stood by the river banks only a little farther back from it than before, and paths through the meadows and bush from cabin to cabin were the only land links connecting them. Cordwood, staves, and lumber, in the main for the Boston market, were the sole surplus that was exportable and convertible into money. The mills at the First Falls, erected and operated by Martin and Ector in 1743,<sup>1</sup> had been destroyed by the Indians in 1746, and the fate of these first operators remains unknown; but it is clear that neither returned to rebuild the mills at Broad Bay. They were rebuilt late in 1749, however, for Thomas Henderson from the Georges reports in a letter of December 28, 1749, to General Waldo to the effect that "the Mills in Broad Bay is going and has cut several thousand of boards." From this same letter we learn that "the settlements at St. Georges and Madamock is most partly taken up and the settlers are on the land — so the next settlement is to be above St. Georges Falls."<sup>2</sup> This reference to the set-

<sup>1</sup>Mass. Archives, XV A, 45-47.

<sup>2</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd ser., XII, 35.

tlements being "taken up" is a reference, of course, to land already cleared, for at this time the settled area at Broad Bay extended hardly above the First Falls. Potatoes were already an agricultural vogue among the Scotch-Irish on the Georges and were introduced at this time to become a staple article of cultivation and diet at Broad Bay.

On the eastern frontiers during these years, activities proceeded at a high rate; and new settlers were coming in small groups and taking up land constantly. Mr. Waldo and Governor Shirley were both in Europe. The Waldo interests at Broad Bay were under the promotional charge of Thomas Henderson of Georges, while the General's son-in-law, Isaac Winslow, handled his interests in Boston. In Shirley's long absence the Lieutenant Governor, Spencer Phips, headed the government of the Bay Colony, and the old Shirley policy of populating the exposed frontiers with German Protestants was reactivated and vigorously promoted.

Due to his break with the Governor, General Waldo could have no hand in such a policy or in any way be its beneficiary; but he was not to be denied. In consequence the German migrations to Broad Bay from 1748 to 1753 represent the undercover achievements of Samuel Waldo. During these years he remained for the most part in Europe, from which point he met and induced or bribed the recruiting Commissioner of the Province to act in part in his interest, while his agents in Boston, in conjunction with the Kennebec Proprietors, manipulated affairs in such a manner that substantial groups of those Germans imported by the Province on their arrival in Boston were sluiced off to his eastern estates. Undercover activity in these years makes the continued colonizing of Broad Bay a complicated maze to untangle since most of the agreements reached were verbal and secret. In many cases, the historian can only observe what actually happened and from these facts move back behind them by inference.

The incursions of fresh German immigrants to Broad Bay between the years 1748 and 1753 are so closely connected with the activity of one Joseph Crellius, or Crell, as he was known in Philadelphia, that we should, in order to understand the growth in the settlement at Broad Bay, bring attention to this man, his activity, and his relationship with Samuel Waldo. Joseph Crell was a German, a native of the old Duchy of Franconia, who migrated to Pennsylvania in 1740. His correspondence furnishes the evidence that he was a man of some education who had established a retail store on Arch Street in Philadelphia, and who, in the fifth decade of the century, began to concern himself somewhat with the transportation of Germans from the Rhine country to Pennsylvania. In 1743 he was publishing the second German newspaper in the



colonies — *Das Hochdeutsche Pennsylvanische Journal*, "at ten shillings a year or two shillings a sixpence for a quarter of a year."

Of his early immigrant business little is known save that from time to time he would make trips to Europe, recruit a migration of Germans in the Rhine country, charter a ship at Rotterdam, and return with them to Pennsylvania. It was in Philadelphia that he met Doctor Jacob Friedrich Kurtz, the same Kurtz who abandoned the Broad Bay settlement in 1743 and whose subsequent deviously dirty trail had led him as far south as Philadelphia. From Kurtz Crell learned of Samuel Waldo, of his interest in augmenting his settlement at Broad Bay, and of the plans of the Massachusetts Bay government for directing German immigration to New England. On the basis of this information, Crell effected contact with General Waldo — where or when is not known, but apparently through the medium of an agent. At this time no agreement was reached between the two for a migration direct to Broad Bay, and it is possible that Crell had sailed for Europe before any agreement could be reached. There may have been correspondence directed to Waldo from Europe; for when Crell arrived in the Delaware in August 1748 with a shipload of immigrants, he received word from Waldo relative to the latter's willingness to receive them on terms satisfactory to Crell.<sup>3</sup> There is no record that this migration ever landed at Philadelphia, but it seems probable that it must have done so, for Rattermann gives the number reaching Broad Bay as being between twenty and thirty families.<sup>4</sup> Since this was a business that was carried on entirely for profit, no ship engaged in the traffic would have crossed the ocean with a cargo so small. Those who desired to land in Philadelphia were probably allowed to do so, and those wishing to come to Broad Bay stayed on board. There would have been, moreover, a compelling inducement for this; for the migrations to Pennsylvania had been going on on a large scale since 1680 and as a consequence the area of eastern Pennsylvania was so well populated that land could be secured only by purchase, whereas lots at Broad Bay would be given away.

The captain of this migration was an Irishman, Patrick Ouchterlong by name, and the ship may have been the *Forest*, for such was the name of the vessel of which he held command in 1752 in the Pennsylvania traffic.<sup>5</sup> On landing in Philadelphia to release part of its human cargo, the vessel no doubt took on some additional food and water, then sailed northward. Seemingly she touched at Boston to receive explicit instructions from Waldo and perhaps to take on a pilot familiar with Maine coastal waters. The

<sup>3</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 45-47.

<sup>4</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XIV, 141 (Cincinnati, 1884-85).

<sup>5</sup>Daniel Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*, etc. (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co., 1927), p. 286.

*Forest* reached Broad Bay sometime in early September, and the colony was placed ashore on the lower river. Tradition assigns Schenck's Point as the spot and in this case tradition is not greatly in error.

There were undoubtedly those in this migration who, on reaching Broad Bay, would have sold or bound themselves out as indentured servants to settlers already on the river as a means of paying their passage money. This was the practice commonly followed in this traffic to Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, where the local residents would pay the passage of the poorer immigrants in debt to the ship, and the latter would indenture or bind themselves to the purchaser to work for a period of years until the passage money had been worked up in labor. Such procedure, of course, could not obtain at Broad Bay where nobody had any money. This fact was noted by the Captain, and a comment of his made at a later date (1752), apart from its significance at that time, throws a bit of light on the settlement in 1748. The Captain is quoted by Crell as follows: "Oughterlong, the Captain of the Broad Bay Ship, himself told the people [at Rotterdam, 1752] that he knew the place [Broad Bay] very well, that the land was very good, but in need of population, that they [the people living there] were not in a position to pay the transportation costs [*Fracht-gelder*]." <sup>6</sup> There can be little question but that the costs of transportation and full miscellaneous expenses of this migration to the Medomak were met by Samuel Waldo.

Judge Groton of Waldoborough and Bath, writing a century later, placed the number in this migration at about fifty people. This does not necessarily contradict Rattermann's twenty to thirty families, for these people were young, some unmarried; and there were few children among them. As indicated they could not have reached Broad Bay later than September, and not in November, as stated by Samuel L. Miller. <sup>7</sup> There is little known of the family names represented in this migration, and only a few stand out with historical certainty: the Martin Heyers, the Wilhelm Schnaudels (Snowdeal) and Christoph Neubert. <sup>8</sup> The conditions faced by this group on landing were not comparable to those facing the colony of 1742. Their arrival in September afforded ample time for assignment to their lands, the location of which is somewhat obscure. Apparently they were scattered through the settlement on lots left vacant by those families which had been wiped out during the late Indian war or had abandoned life on the Medomak for more hospitable zones. Furthermore, there was time for these new settlers to secure the provisions, the livestock, and the

<sup>6</sup>Joseph Crell: Letter to Hofrath Luther, Mass. Records, XV A, 143-145.

<sup>7</sup>*History of Waldoborough* (Wiscasset, 1910).

<sup>8</sup>Newbert Genealogy, in preparation by Mrs. Ida Mallett of Warren, Maine.



usual tools provided by the proprietor. Another great advantage was to have at hand the experience of a settled community to rely upon. Models for use in constructing their cabins were there for the copying, and ways for securing fish and game could be learned from experienced neighbors. The river did not close up with ice until January 3rd, hence there was communication with Boston and other coastal points. The cordwood, stave, and lumber market in Boston and at Louisburg was ample to absorb the wood as the land was cleared for agricultural purposes. Good Parson Smith of Falmouth, our Maine weather gauge, reported conditions as mild and lovely up to the end of December. From this point his record is not so pleasant:

Dec. 30th Severe snow storm. Dec. 31st cold and the year ends stingingly. Jan 3rd, a very cold month, and the river froze over on the 3rd day and was so on the 19th. Feb. a cold month. March 11th. An uncommon spring-like day, but most of the month very cold. March 30th. Snow gone. April 3rd. The ground is fit for plowing. April 21st. Planted Potatoes.<sup>9</sup>

From the Parson's report it is clear that the newcomers on the Medomak were favored with mild weather in which to effect their first toehold, but that after the turn of the year the rigors of a severe winter broke upon them. Unquestionably there was discomfort, but there is no record of undue suffering or widespread deaths. Tradition has it that Martin Heyer died of exposure. If such be the case, it is the only known death; and if it arose from exposure, that could mean that he might have been caught in a storm, or working in the woods contracted chills and died of a respiratory trouble. From this one circumstance it is hardly possible to infer a prevalent condition as has been so generally done. Life, to be sure, was not easy, but it was not nearly as difficult as the older settlers had found it in their first winter. With spring, a brief interlude of happier times began. It was an early and an open one which rendered it possible to resume the preparation of the soil for crops and by export to dispose of the accumulated surplus of wood for money. Ahead of them there seemed to be a full season for striking a firm root in their new home.

On April 10th of this first spring Conrad Heyer was born, reputedly in a log cabin somewhere on Schenck's Point. In some respects he was one of the most remarkable men of these early days. An ardent Lutheran, he was a cantor in the church from its beginning and through the years of its decline until its end. He served as a soldier throughout the American Revolution, and at the end of the war settled in the northern part of the town on the Kenneth

<sup>9</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821).

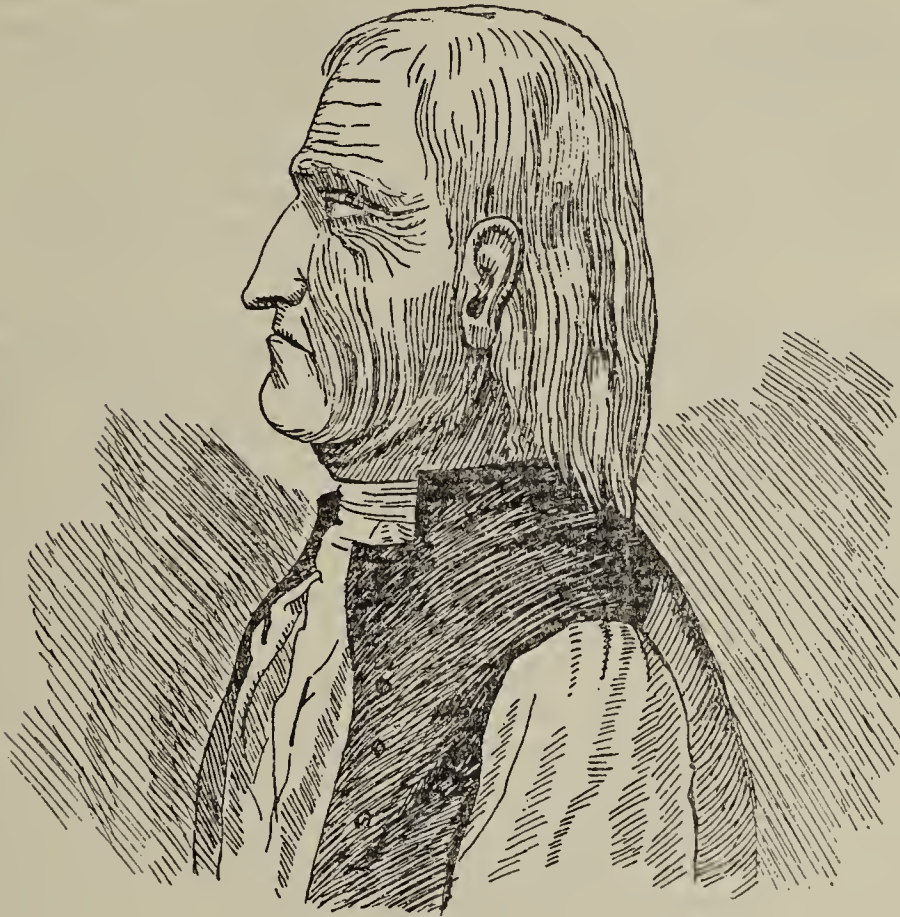


Teague place, where he died at the age of one hundred and seven. He possessed a physical constitution like that of seasoned oak, was able to read without glasses beyond the century mark, and could hear remarkably well to the end. His life spanned the colonial beginnings of the town, the Revolution and the War of 1812. He lived through the great days of shipbuilding, through the administrations of fifteen presidents down to the rumblings that presaged the division of the Union. I have known people who could remember him. Today his descendants are legion; his blood binds a quarter of the town in ties of kinship; and he remains to this hour the most vivid of the town's personalities, a part of its folklore, the Patriarch of Waldoborough.

The year 1749 proved one of blighted promise for the old as well as the newcomers at Broad Bay. Troubles seldom come singly but rather in battalions, and the first to strike at the colonists was a scourge of grasshoppers that really hit in force, threatening the hopeful young crops of the settlers with annihilation. This proved to be a long and desperate struggle against fearful odds, for poison and insecticides as instruments of combat were, of course, at this time unknown; the only allies of the Germans were the birds of the air and their own poultry; and the only weapons were their own hands and those of the oft-times numerous progeny. The methodical Parson Smith of Falmouth made a few notes on this epic struggle between man and insects. "June 24th. The grasshoppers do more spoil than the drought. June 29. They have eaten up entirely an acre of potatoes. July 3. I reckon my poultry (about 100) eat 10,000 grasshoppers every day. July 13. As many grasshoppers as ever, but they are a new growth. July 24. The ground begins to look green, but there are many grasshoppers yet." This plague had hit in the very middle of the growing season, literally a destruction that "wasted at noonday," and it proved to be a body blow to the precarious Broad Bay economy, the effects of which were to be felt in gnawing hunger the following winter.

The second stroke of fell circumstance was financial in nature. The war which had just ended had been a burdensome experience for the peoples of Massachusetts Bay. The colony had borne one half of the cost of carrying on the war, and this had effected a ruinous depreciation in the currency. Active steps had to be taken to check the progress of inflation which had reached a point where one ounce of silver would purchase fifty shillings of the old and twelve shillings six pence of the new tenor bills. The Government decided to redeem the entire outstanding currency and substitute a specie currency. To effect such an end the General Court imposed a direct tax upon the Province of £75,000 sterling, allowing it to be paid in current bills at the rate of forty-five

shillings old tenor, or eleven shillings three pence new tenor for every Spanish milled dollar, thereafter to be called six shillings lawful money, or four shillings six pence sterling. Down to the Revolution, accounts were kept in both the old tenor and lawful money.



## CONRAD HEYER

· Born April 10, 1749 ·

From a pencil sketch  
taken in 1850.

This inflation and the accompanying tax levy reduced or wiped out the little stocks of money held by the Broad Bayers and added acutely to the problems of their living. A repercussion of the untoward events is found in a letter of Isaac Winslow to Samuel Waldo in England under date of December 7, 1749. "I hear from Georges that the Mill at Madamock is going but that ye Millmen refuse supplying the Inhabitants at Broad Bay with lumber which



they are in great want of — I have wrote to Capt. Fairfield and Mr. Henderson [at Georges] to supply them with what may be necessary to defend them from the cold.”<sup>10</sup> In this same letter inquiry was made as to what had happened to the boards which were sawed from “the logs left by Capt. Martyn.”<sup>11</sup> Mr. Winslow also makes mention of Mr. Zuberbühler as being at Louisburg and as having sold lumber there for Mr. Waldo, and voices the suspicion that the General’s affairs there in Mr. Zuberbühler’s hands “are subject to bad management.” From the foregoing we may infer the tightness of the financial situation in the colony. Their money was gone or worthless and even their credit so far overdrawn that they were unable to secure needed lumber from the local mill.

The year 1750 brought new troubles and a new terror to the Germans on the Medomak. The Indians again became threatening and this time it stemmed from an outrage committed by white men at Wiscasset where one savage was killed and two others badly wounded. The Indians were deeply stirred by this violation of the peace, and acts of retaliation followed on the part of the western and St. Francis Indians, in which luckily the Penobscots, Broad Bay’s nearest savage neighbors, took no part. The Government was quick to avert general trouble by arresting three white men and placing them on trial in Boston; but even there, far from the frontier, a verdict of guilt could not be secured. The feeling of distrust and hatred of the Indians was so deep rooted that no jury could be empanelled that would do them justice.

As an outcome of this episode, about one hundred Indians attacked Fort Richmond on the Kennebec on September 11, 1750. A man by the name of Pomeroy was shot at Frankfort (Dresden), and scattered outrages followed at Swan’s Island and on the lower Kennebec.<sup>12</sup> All this filled Broad Bay and other settlements with alarm, since following the peace the frontier had been stripped of its garrisons, and only fifteen men were left in the fort at Georges and six at Pemaquid. At this juncture the acting governor, Phips, on September 29th ordered Colonel Cushing to station ten men in the Mill Garrison at Broad Bay and forty more “to cover the Inhabitants while getting in their crops and preparing their habitations against the winter.”<sup>13</sup> Once again Broad Bay housed its meager store of roots and cereals under the protective guns of the militia.

In the spring of 1751 small roving bands of the dreaded St. Francis Indians appeared on the frontier, satisfying themselves here and there with a few acts of private vengeance. They ap-

<sup>10</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser. 2nd ser., XII, 27-29.

<sup>11</sup>The first mill operator at Broad Bay, 1743-1746.

<sup>12</sup>H. M. Sylvester, *Indian Wars in New England* (Boston, 1910).

<sup>13</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XII, 96.



peared at Georges and created a big scare, eliciting from Thomas Henderson a letter to Governor Phips under date of April 11, 1751, for which we should be grateful since it furnishes us with the only insight we have into conditions in the settlement in the early spring of this year. Henderson writes:

I am now going to Broad Bay and to all the inhabitants [there] to give the necessary warning. The case is very shocking [at Broad Bay], there is about one hundred families in this settlement that with much Difickualty for *want of provisions* was endeavoring to plant for a fatter? season, which no doubt (were they not Interrupted) would turn to good account. But if they are forced to garrison as I believe will be the case by to-morrow noon, they *have nothing to live upon, not one day, having cheerfully lived on clams this month Past.*<sup>14</sup>

The letter ends with an urgent plea for aid. The Indians, however, did not molest Broad Bay and in the late spring returned to Canada. The sagamores of the nearer tribes on the Penobscot and St. Johns met with government officials at St. Georges on August 3, 1751, and gave every assurance of pacific intentions. The Governor on his part took every measure to satisfy the Indians and thus maintain the peace. Two trading houses were opened, one at Fort Richmond and the other at St. Georges; and both were generously stocked with the goods which the Indians desired in trade. Through such measures confidence was restored in the settlements and some degree of faith in a lasting peace returned.

The scene of our history now shifts from Broad Bay to Boston, where the plan for settling the Bay Colony's frontiers with Protestant Germans had again been raised by the acting governor, in a speech to the Assembly on November 23, 1748. This had given to Mr. Joseph Crellius, then in Philadelphia, the opening for which he had been waiting. He transmitted to Lieutenant Governor Phips a letter in which he set forth his experience and qualifications for executing such a policy, stressing strongly the fact that in Pennsylvania land could now only be secured by purchase, and in consequence it would be easier "to direct them from Holland to the Northern Colonies if so be any Encouragement given." He concluded with a proffer of his services:

If therefore ye Goverment should incline to send a person with the needful Instructions abroad for the purpose aforesaid, and I was made so happy as to be deyned with the Honour of serving yr. Colony in the premises I will endeavor faithfully to discharge my commission.

I beg leave to subscribe myself, Sir your Hon'rs most obedient humble servant.

Joseph Crellius

From Arch Street, Philadelphia, Dec. 19, 1748

<sup>14</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XXI, 137. [Italics mine.]

This application of Crell received the endorsement of none other than Benjamin Franklin<sup>15</sup> and was highly acceptable to the Provincial Government. Work was started at once on the preliminaries which involved the details of the project, the revision of existing laws relative to the treatment of Germans while in passage across the Atlantic, and the setting aside of four townships — two in northwestern Massachusetts, and two in Maine. Each township contained a one hundred and eighty-five acre lot for each of its one hundred and twenty prospective settlers, a school lot, two church lots, and a two-hundred acre lot to be allotted to Mr. Crell for his services. It was stipulated that the townships must be settled in three years from the conclusion of the contract, and that each settler was to occupy the land himself or through a tenant for a period of seven years. It was at this time that Crell also bent all effort to, and succeeded in obtaining, the passage of the already mentioned law designed to regulate and relieve the intolerable conditions under which Germans were transported across the Atlantic.\*

Though the law provided for humane control of conditions from the time of embarking to the time of landing, it did not presume to extend this control to recruiting in the field, nor to the transporting of emigrants from Germany to the port of departure, nor to the treatment or disposition of emigrants after being landed in Boston.

In the late summer of 1750 Crell sailed for Europe as Commissioner for New England, bearing with him a letter of introduction from the Governor to Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther in Frankfort am Main, one of the most esteemed and trusted Germans in the Rhine country. At Frankfort, Luther had a large printing house and a foundry for the manufacture of type and printing machinery. His connections were excellent; his character unimpeachable; he was a thorough-going humanitarian and had been for a number of years Aulic Counsellor to His Serene Highness, the Duke of Würtemberg. He assisted in all the migrations to Broad Bay after the year 1748. For years he had worked to correct the intolerable abuses existing in the emigrant traffic from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania and other points in the American colonies. In the New England program, under strict legal control, he thought he saw the possibility of dissipating misrepresentation, of curbing fraud and cruelty — in short, of dealing a death blow to the system as carried on by procurers in the field and by the great shipping houses at Rotterdam.

<sup>15</sup>H. Luther to Benjamin Franklin, Frankfort, May 24, 1765, Mass. Records, XV A, 273-276.

\*See pages 90-91.

Luther received Crell in his own home and set up an office for him there. All the time the latter was in Frankfort, in the years 1750-1752, he lived in Luther's house, ate at his table, and used his home as his headquarters without charge.<sup>16</sup> Without delay the Counsellor placed behind the Commissioner the weight of his great influence throughout the Rhine country. He printed the necessary circulars, pamphlets, and announcements, and appointed trusted agents in various German cities to set up bureaus and to start recruiting emigrants. These agents were in all respects men of character and repute. Included among them was Johannes C. Leucht, a printer of Heilbronn, and associated with him was the innkeeper of the same town, Johann Ludwig Martin. At Speyer was the printer, Goethel, editor of the *Speyerische Zeitung*; at Mannheim the printer and councillor Boyer, editor of the *Mannheim Neuigkeits-Blatt*, and the merchant, Johann Horst, worked in support of the New England project. At Kitzingen, Professor Jacob Hobbholn gave his services, while at Anspach and Erlangen the book and newspaper printer, Martin Gross (a son of John Martin, ancestor of the Gross family in Waldoboro) worked for the same cause along with Maschenbauer in Augsburg, who was the editor of the *Augsburger Zeitung*.<sup>17</sup>

Despite such honest and reputable support, Crell soon found himself in difficulties; for the whole nature of the Province project aroused the opposition of those procurers in the field who in most cases were agents of the great shipping houses in Rotterdam. A commission such as Crell's, backed by Luther, based on a program of reforms and prosecuted along allegedly humanitarian lines, threatened, by eliminating the abuses, to reduce the profits. It became, in short, a question of selfish and vested interests fighting to maintain their life and profits, and Crell was particularly susceptible to attack, for he had been in this same field before as a recruiter, and as such had resorted to unsavory practices all too well known to his competitors. These they freely advertised and publicized in an effort to discredit him and to destroy his influence among the people. A particularly troublesome and resourceful competitor was John Dick, a rich merchant and shipowner of Rotterdam, who was commissioner for Nova Scotia. Dick, however, did not stand alone in this conflict, for the recruiters of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas also made Crell the object of their open and undercover intrigue and defamation. So strong, bitter, and vocal was this opposition that it is doubtful if Crell would have made any headway with his commission had he not been ably and

<sup>16</sup>Letter, Luther to Phips, Sept. 14, 1752, Mass. Records, XV A, 92, 148-196.

<sup>17</sup>Letters of these agents to Luther in Frankfort am Main, scattered through Mass. Records, XV A, 67-80.



generously supported by Luther's influence and reputation, and by those sterling men appointed by the latter at numerous centers throughout the district.

In the spring (May) of 1751, Crell and his aides had recruited a shipload of immigrants which he brought from the mouth of the Ruhr down the Rhine to Rotterdam in two transports. Here his troubles began all over again, for the big shipping houses in Rotterdam were all hostile to the New England project. Hence Crell was unable to charter a ship and was on the point of taking a selected group to England<sup>18</sup> and securing a ship there when he fell in with the ubiquitous rogue, Dr. Friedrich Kurtz, now established as a ship broker in Rotterdam. Through the mediation of Kurtz, Crell was able to charter a ship from the well-known firm of John Stedman and Company which had been long active in the Pennsylvania trade. Much valuable time was lost in Rotterdam, and it was not until the end of June 1751 that the emigrants sailed in the ship *Priscilla* commanded by Captain Brown. The *Priscilla* was a sizable vessel, close to three hundred tons burden. On an earlier trip to Philadelphia, where she arrived September 11, 1749, she had carried two hundred and ninety-nine passengers.<sup>19</sup> There was nothing like that number in this migration, however, since conditions were strictly controlled by law and the amount of space allowed each emigrant was definitely specified.

The *Priscilla* first touched at Cowes, England, where Crell had business with Samuel Waldo, who had been in Europe since 1749. It is highly probable that in this meeting the main lines of strategy were laid out for handling a part of this migration after it landed in Boston. The Commissioner also sought to secure certain rulings from the Lords of Trade relative to Mr. Dick's activities in the Palatinate. Here he was assisted by General Waldo with the end in view of facilitating Crell's recruiting work in Germany the following year. In this they seemed to gain their end, but the events of 1752 were soon to prove that their success was not a very enduring one.

These negotiations were long drawn out and the delay was costly. The *Priscilla* did not sail for New England until the end of July. The long interim period had reduced the provisions taken aboard at Rotterdam. According to Milford H. Schoff, after the *Priscilla* was well out to sea, the passengers' meals were stopped.<sup>20</sup> The concurrent evidence strongly supports this fact, which, we may add, was a practice very common indeed in this traffic. Since food was an item covered by the passage money, immediate protest was made to Captain Brown. He explained that the provisions

<sup>18</sup>Letter, Luther to Gov. Phips, May 30, 1751, Mass. Records, XV A.

<sup>19</sup>Rupp, *Thirty Thousand Names*, etc., p. 196.

<sup>20</sup>*An Account of German Immigration into Colonial New England* (Phila., 1910).

placed aboard by Crell were depleted, and there was nothing available except the ship's stores which they could purchase of the Captain or do without. In the face of this situation Crell pleaded illness, remained in his cabin, and refused to see anyone. Accordingly those who had money were compelled to purchase food of the Captain, and those without resources were forced to go into debt to the ship — a debt that could be discharged to the ship only by their agreeing that the Captain might auction them off as indentured servants on their arrival at port. All this causes one to pause and wonder. Was it a part of the Crell-Waldo strategy, and did it stop with them, or did it also embrace certain other "Gentlemen Proprietors of Land within the Province"?

The story of this migration is an extremely complicated one. The mass of evidence is large from which the narrative here presented has been abstracted and simplified; yet, there is much in it that does not meet the eye, and which can be reduced to the level of high probability only by working significant fragments of evidence into a mosaic of consistent theory. There are many threads in the tangled mass of relevant documents, one of which at this point prompts to a digression leading up to the fact that Old Broad Bay was to some degree a French as well as a German settlement, and that this French element came in this migration of 1751 from the Comté de Montbéliard, an eighteenth-century part of the old Holy Roman Empire. It is a known fact that Crell recruited in this area<sup>21</sup> populated by descendants of French Huguenots of whom great numbers had settled in Germany after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and against whom there had been renewed persecution in the years of 1750-1751. With what success Crell had worked among these people has heretofore never been known.

Very recently there have come to light French documents and letters in the Bibliothèque de Besançon, France, which make it clear that Crell did draw migrants from this area, that they crossed the ocean with the Germans on the *Priscilla*, that it was an exceptionally long voyage against headwinds, and that they landed in Boston, November 9, 1751. These French Huguenots were accorded an unusually cordial reception and were shown around and made to see the wealth, comfort, and fertility of the country. Thereafter they were induced to write glowing letters to the folks back home for the purpose of making them eager to migrate the next year. In all this there is, of course, the visible hand of Joseph Crell, which is even more visible in forged documents to which were affixed the signatures of a number of these French Protestants.<sup>22</sup> The majority of this French contingent eventually settled

<sup>21</sup>Letter, Luther to Spencer Phips, Mass. Records (Ms.) XV A.

<sup>22</sup>Bernard Fâÿ, *Franco-American Rev.*, I, No. 3, 276-283; of especial interest is the *Acte de Déclaration du transport de l'année dernière*.

at Frankfort (now Dresden) on the Kennebec, but a number of these families elected to come to Broad Bay. Of interest in Waldo-borough history are the following heads of families: Georges Henri Dennuth (Demuth) of Wisenbachen, Jean Henri Dennuth of Bir Kenbaue, Jean Jacques Burckhord (Burkett) of Eichfelden, Pierre Bracht (Prock) of Altzen, Jean George Renner (Rinner) of Haltschut, Casimir Lorsch (Lash) of Hofheim. There were also other family heads difficult to cite at this late date. This group was unquestionably bilingual and hence easily merged into the settlement on the Medomak and lost its racial identity long, long ago.

With this digression completed, the main sequence of events affecting this migration is here resumed, and it should be recalled that this migration left the Ruhr in late May, sailed from Rotterdam in late June, from Cowes on July 31, 1751. It finally arrived in Boston on October 28th. One hundred and fifty days had elapsed since they left their homes — a trip unnecessarily lengthened by many delays. The trip across the Atlantic alone took ninety days during which they faced strong headwinds much of the time. This was a passage almost without precedent in respect to length. It is a matter of unquestionable certainty, as previously indicated, that their provisions were entirely inadequate for such a trip. A great many of the immigrants arrived in Boston in debt to the ship, having been compelled to draw on the ship's stores for food to keep from starving, and hence subject to sale under indenture on being landed. The facts strongly warrant the cynical supposition that the voyage would have ended in this same way irrespective of its duration, for as early as mid-September "numbers of Gentlemen Proprietors" in Boston were anticipating the arrival of this migration and had been notified "to send in their proposals in writing" as to what they could offer for these "Germans and other Protestants." Such proposals were to be directed to John Franklin, a brother of the great Benjamin, "in Cornhill, Boston."<sup>23</sup>

The Gentlemen Proprietors were destined to wait quite a bit longer, for not until October 21st was the *Priscilla* reported off Marblehead,<sup>24</sup> and on October 28th arrived in Boston "with about 200 Palatines." Winter was near at hand and the late arrival posed the problem of what should be done with these poor people. What actually was done is possible to determine only in general outline; for it was done either under cover or under camouflage. Due to the lateness of the season, the Province could not settle these people on the frontier; so to weasel its way out of its dilemma, the General Court took the position that until one hundred and twenty families

<sup>23</sup>Advertisement in the Boston *Post-Boy* of Sept. 16, 1751.

<sup>24</sup>Boston *Post-Boy*, Oct. 21, 1751.



were on hand no township could be opened. Hence the fifty families arriving on the *Priscilla* would have to await the advent of seventy more family units. This act left those Germans who were still free pretty much on their own resources in a strange world, with a New England winter setting in.

It is quite possible that this was exactly the effect desired, for it would place these helpless and homeless waifs in the hands of certain very distinguished Boston citizens who held large areas "in eastern parts" which they were in the process of settling and developing. These gentlemen were men of wealth and power. They were in the government. In the case of one it may be said he *was* the government. In short, whatever the nature of behind-the-scenes pressure or manipulation, the following advertisement appeared in the *Boston Evening Post*, November 18, 25, and December 2, 1751:

Lately arrived in Boston, a Number of German Protestants; some of them both Male and Female, not having paid their Passages, are willing to hire themselves out for a certain time, in order to have their Passages paid Any person wanting any of the said Germans, may treat with William Bowdoin at his store in King Street, who acts for said Germans.

The story of the distress, suffering, and hardship which fell to the lot of many of these good people during the winter months in Boston may well be passed over in silence. Under the duress of these circumstances they forfeited themselves to various interested parties. With the advent of spring some went to the lands of the Kennebec Proprietors at Frankfort (Dresden) and others accepted the terms of the New Germantown Glassworks Company at Brainerd and became its bond-laborers. These were not able to join friends and relatives at Broad Bay until eight years later. The lion's share, however, seems to have gone to one, Samuel Waldo, who was not even on the scene, but who had anticipated them all through his lively interest in the Province's project, through his collusion with Crell, whom he saw in London in 1750, through his use of money with "the Commissiocier," and through a land contract with him.<sup>25</sup> By virtue of such considerations Crell had undertaken to deliver to Mr. Waldo an agreed number of families. Just how this was to be done while he was working for the Province does not appear in any documentary form. But certainly the lion's share of the prey was lined up in Boston during the winter by Waldo's son-in-law, Isaac Winslow, and with the spring of 1752 this lion's portion reached Broad Bay in the persons of between twenty-five and thirty families. This fact is substantiated by the very highest authority, that of Joseph Ludwig, one of the

<sup>25</sup>A grant of a specified number of acres at Broad Bay.

original Broad Bay settlers, who in his lifetime told Cyrus Eaton that "twenty or thirty German families, who had arrived the previous year in Massachusetts, were induced to remove to Broad Bay and settle with their country men there, on the Dutch Neck and down about the Narrows."<sup>26</sup> This same solution of their problem is confirmed by Schoff, who states, "both German and Huguenots went to Broad Bay where they settled on Dutchmens' Neck."

After Crell's departure with his first transport for Boston in 1751, Luther continued his activity from Frankfort with the end in view of counteracting the influence of those who were bent on undermining the New England project. He has defined his own activity as follows:

Discovering from day to day more and more of the bad Effects of the caluminating discourses of the Pennsylvania Recruiters and of the passionate Conduct of the Deputy of the Agent for Nova Scotia at Rotterdam I neglect no Opportunity in order to dissipate the bad Impressions these malicious and false Insinuations have excited in Peoples' Minds: this induced me till this time to cause to be inserted in the Publick Newspapers Everything my Correspondence would furnish me with which I thought would contribute to this salutary End.<sup>27</sup>

Luther went further and proposed to the Province a comprehensive plan for handling migrations by which all control would be centered in his hands, all abuses would be eliminated and the profits of this business which totalled "from twelve to twenty thousand pounds Sterling per annum" would be destroyed.<sup>28</sup> Such an arrangement the Province, for rather obvious reasons, declined to enter into.

In brief, this was the situation which was to confront Crell in his next recruiting campaign in the Rhineland. In the meantime he had embarked on February 12, 1752, for his second mission abroad for the Province. Toward the end of March he arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall and proceeded to London, where he met General Waldo and renewed his contract with him to recruit for the latter's project at Broad Bay. In this contract as a sop to Luther there was inserted a clause stipulating that those who were brought to Broad Bay "should have the freedom to remain there or to betake themselves to other places as might best suit them."<sup>29</sup> This was a concession that Waldo could well afford, since once the Germans were recruited and landed on American soil he would be in a position to gain his objective unhampered by Luther's high humanitarianism. In other words, once the settlers were at Broad Bay he could see to it that they stayed there.

<sup>26</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 81.

<sup>27</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 92, Letter, Luther to Phips, Sept. 12, 1751.

<sup>28</sup>Letter, Waldo to Josiah Willard, Oct. 31, 1752, Mass. Records, XV A, 202-215.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, Luther to Phips, Sept. 14, 1752, Mass. Archives, XIV.

In early April 1752 Crell crossed from England to Rotterdam, where he entered into a contract with one of the most avaricious and conscienceless of the English firms in that city, Daniel Harvard and Company, for handling his transport of that year to New England. This contract was made without Luther's knowledge and in the face of the fact that Crell had previously acquiesced in Luther's opening negotiations with a more humane firm in Amsterdam, Knevels and Company. From Rotterdam Crell proceeded to Frankfort, where he again set up headquarters in Luther's house.

Crell's arrival was the signal for the battle to start. Practically all the interests and forces engaged in the emigrant traffic were pitted against him — the representatives of the Rotterdam shipping firms, Messrs. Dick and Koehler, the agents for Nova Scotia, and the whole host of recruiters for Pennsylvania and the southern provinces sought to destroy the New England project by subjecting Crell to continual misrepresentation, slander, and humiliation. As in 1751, Luther gave loyal support and had his friends set up recruiting bureaus in the different Rhenish centers. From the beginning the war was carried on in newspaper advertisements, and no trick was left untried by the opposition, aroused to destroy Crell's credit with all prospective emigrants in the Rhineland. The character of the tactics used may be inferred from the following sample, a letter to Luther from Goethel, head of the recruiting bureau in Speyer: "There are people in Heidelberg, Mannheim and Worms appointed by Mr. Dick who enlist People for nothing and promise to transport them gratis to Nova Scotia, without their paying any Thing for their Passage or Board. This is the Reason that several who were inclined for New England, have been decoyed by them."<sup>30</sup> Here, as in so many other cases, the emigrants were promised free passage, free land, free food for six months after arrival, and free equipment for their farms.

In the face of such opposition Crell worked openly with Luther to secure recruits for the Province project at the same time that he was, through professional recruiters, enrolling "freights" for the Boston landed proprietors and Samuel Waldo. It was his aim to secure a sufficient number to charter one ship for Boston and another for Broad Bay. The settlers for the Waldo grant he hoped to enroll hastily toward the end of his recruiting in the northern part of the Westerwald in the district of Westphalia, and in the bordering principalities of Wittgenstein, Soln, and Nassau. To this end he had circulars or handbills printed and circulated in Oelpe, Bielstein, Smalenberg, Ollendorp, Meschede, Berlenburg, Laasphe, Dillenburg, and other places. Thither also he quietly sent

<sup>30</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 120-121.



his agents, and in the middle of May 1752 went himself to Herborn to assemble his recruits. Here he set up headquarters in the house of the publisher, Ringlein. The latter was a friend of Luther, and Crell, in order to cover up the real intent of his activity in this district, played Luther up in one of his circulating fliers as a patron of emigration to New England. Elsewhere in this circular he made it clear that

by reason of a contract concluded with Brigadier General Waldo, I have obligated myself to accompany a considerable number of these people to his own estate in the Province of Massachusetts Bay; I do hereby affirm and give notice that Mr. Waldo may depend completely on my fulfilling the contract in question and that all people in the district of Westerwald who have determined to assemble and to emigrate, are to be embarked immediately on board the ship, which I have chartered of Mr. Harvard, shipper of Rotterdam, and which is destined for Broad Bay, with this condition however, that all such who may prefer to go to Boston, will be transported to that place free and without any intermediate stop.<sup>31</sup>

The plan that was furthered by this circular was not entirely successful. The recruits that Crell was able to get together in this area in late May were not sufficient to fill a ship, but he could not delay for more, for the end of May had been stipulated as the period when the recruits should assemble from all districts for the trip down the Rhine to Holland. On May 19th, the Würtembergers left Heilbronn "etwa hundert Köpfe stark."<sup>32</sup> Each one, with the exception of two unmarried people, had the money necessary to pay the costs of transportation. From Speyer there went at the same time about sixty persons; and about a hundred had been assembled in Franconia. This number was further augmented by the eighty to ninety enrolled by Crell in the Wetterau. About June 1st the different transports met at the mouth of the Ruhr, with a total of around three hundred and fifty freights aboard, and proceeded in river boats down the Rhine to Holland, where they were examined as to means by the Dutch Imperial Commissioners in order that none should be stranded as paupers in that country. Crell had gone ahead by post to make the necessary arrangements in Rotterdam for the reception of the migration which was proceeding to that city under the leadership of Philip Ulrich, a professional recruiter. Upon arrival there, the migration found conditions chaotic so far as it was concerned. Harvard refused to assume responsibility for their food and shelter. They had been on their way since May 19th, from Würtemberg and the Oberrhein lands; and the long, slow journey had drawn so heavily on their limited reserves that some were already impoverished. Their contracts meant little; they were in the toils in a foreign land, ignorant of

<sup>31</sup>Mass. Records, Vol. XV A, p. 134.

<sup>32</sup>A good hundred head. Letter, Leucht to Luther.

its language and its law, where they could not in any way become public charges. At first, they were kept on the small boats which had brought them down the Rhine, until after nine days a determined Rhine shipper, Harling by name, forced Harvard to let them land. Those with the means were housed in boardinghouses and the others on board one of Harvard's ships in the harbor. Under such conditions precious time was lost. The emigrants were sheltered, to be sure, but rations remained a highly uncertain issue.

In the meantime, Crell and Harvard were slow in reaching an agreement as to the final disposition of the freights. The former by his contract with Waldo had stipulated a given number, perhaps half of the migration, for Broad Bay. The transport numbered around three hundred and fifty souls. The ship, chartered and consequently reserved by Harvard, could carry at the most two hundred and sixty freights, thus leaving from eighty to one hundred emigrants without transportation. There was no profit in chartering a ship for this number, which would have been less than half a cargo. Such was the impasse in which Crell found himself. The only solution that offered itself to him was to abandon these leftovers in Rotterdam, or to let them be used as cargo for other ships awaiting freights for Pennsylvania, Maryland, or the Carolinas. The latter was a hard solution for the Germans who were to be left behind, for they had signed up for New England and paid their passage, or at least deposited a guarantee. In the recruiting these other provinces had been talked down and in consequence they did not wish to go to them. Besides, which ones would go to New England and which ones elsewhere? All this uncertainty and inaction created confusion without end. In the minds of these helpless victims, Crell was charged with being the cause of all this delay and suffering. He was constantly importuned, reproached, harassed, abused, and threatened with violence, and in the end was compelled to keep in hiding.

This is all a cruel, sordid, and ugly tale. The documentary data covering this episode has been preserved in all its inhuman detail, only the barest outline of which is presented here. Its end is briefly summarized in a letter written by Crell to Luther on June 24, 1752, from Rotterdam, which included this relevant paragraph:

Your esteemed communications, of which the last dated the 17th of this month have been handed to me. The tragedy is ended. To-morrow we put out to sea from here on board the ship *St. Andrews*, Captain Alexander Hood, with two hundred and sixty passengers. Eighty recruits which we could not take and which I released on their own wish, turned to other merchants and are going for the most part to Maryland.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 145ff.

From this letter it is clear that the *St. Andrews* sailed on June 25th, and in consequence must have reached Cowes, England, only a few days later. Here there was the usual interminable delay for no apparent reason, unless it were to exhaust the limited cash reserves of the freights by extending the length of passage in order to have them reach Boston in debt to the ship and ready to forfeit themselves to the interested Proprietors as the only means of discharging the debt. Be this as it may, all the evidence points to early August as the date when the *St. Andrews* sailed from Cowes.

The trip across was highly fortunate in that it was made in near record time, the ship reaching Boston on September 19, 1752. For the details immediately following, reference is here made to the following press accounts:

Tuesday last a ship arrived from Holland with about 300 Germans, men, women and children, some of whom are going to settle at Germantown [Braintree, the glass blowers] and the others in the Eastern parts of this Province. 'Tis said about 40 children were born during the passage — Among the Artificers come over in this ship, there are a Number of Men skilled in the making of Glass of various sorts —<sup>34</sup>

The second report is from a German newspaper at Frankfort am Main:

Milton near Boston in New England, Sept. 23, 1752. The German Transport of the current year which arrived in the ship, *St. Andrews*, Captain Hood, ended the trip across the Atlantic within five weeks, with the passengers in good health. Four children were born on the journey. Only a few young children died, none of the adults or old people. Since it is still early in the year the people will be distributed on suitable and advantageous locations, of which details will be reported later.<sup>35</sup>

And then of course there followed the final and inevitable newspaper notice:

Just arrived in the ship *St. Andrew*, Captain Alexander Hood, from Rotterdam, in good Health, a Number of very likely Men and Women, Boys and girls, from Twelve to Twenty-five years old, who will be disposed of for some Years according to their Ages and the different Sums they owe for their Passages: Any Persons who have occasion for such Servants, may treat with Mr. John Franklin in Cornhill, Boston, Mr. Isaac Winslow at Milton, or Capt. Hood on board his ship now lying in Braintree River, before the new Settlement of Germantown.<sup>36</sup>

The work of disposing of the Germans was apparently completed by November 6, when Captain Hood cleared for Virginia.

<sup>34</sup>Boston *Evening Post*, Sept. 25, 1752.

<sup>35</sup>*Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, No. 197, Dec. 9, 1752.

<sup>36</sup>Boston *Post Boy*, Sept. 25, 1752; and the *Evening Post* for Sept. 25, Oct. 2, and Oct. 9, 1752.



When Crell left for Europe in 1752, he had been commissioned to secure the equipment needed for the new glass works project at New Germantown, now Braintree, which was being financed by certain Boston capitalists. In addition he was to bring a certain number of artisans trained and skilled in the art of blowing glass. He secured the equipment at a cost of three hundred gulden,<sup>37</sup> and brought along a number of skilled glass blowers in the transport of 1752. In due time after reaching Boston and after their means of support were exhausted, under the pressure of poverty and need, they indentured themselves to the capitalist group and settled near the Glass Works at Braintree. The experiment in glass making, however, was not successful even though the General Court in November 1752 had granted to the Company a monopoly for a fixed number of years. Amid varying vicissitudes the industry struggled along until 1760 when a complete failure took place. The German and French Huguenot colonies employed in the works broke up, and a sizable portion of them joined their friends and relatives at Broad Bay. The names of the "Foreign Protestants" making up this colony are in part preserved in the marriage records of Old Braintree along with a list in the Massachusetts Archives of those engaging in the industry who, by reason of that fact, were granted exemption from military duty in the French and Indian War. Among those familiar in Waldo-borough annals who apparently joined friends or relatives at Broad Bay were Frederick Syder (Seider or Seiders), John Stole (Stahl), John Hilt, George Smouse, David Vose and Jacob Buckhart (Burkett).<sup>38</sup>

These were not the only Germans arriving in these years in the Boston district, for from time to time ships were reaching this port with migrants from Hamburg, from New York, and Philadelphia. Among such arrivals was the ship *Thomas*, Captain John Andrews, on August 21, 1750.<sup>39</sup> On June 19, 1752, the *Frankfort* am Main newspaper carried the following dispatch, dated London, June 7, 1752, "A Holland ship has landed in New England with several hundred German Protestants, who will settle in the adjacent provinces." Such facts are important in the history of Broad Bay, since through these years and down into the 1760's individual German families moved in from Boston and other districts from time to time. In fact, not all of the eighty leftovers abandoned by Crell in Rotterdam in 1752 went to Maryland. Some secured passage to Nova Scotia and biding their time from that point joined relatives or friends at Broad Bay.

<sup>37</sup>Letter, Luther to Waldo, Mass. Records, XV A, 200-211.

<sup>38</sup>Wm. S. Pattee, *A History of Old Braintree and Quincy*.

<sup>39</sup>*Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, No. 48, Mar. 23, 1751.

From Crell's second transport, that of 1752, General Waldo secured substantial additions to his Broad Bay settlement; for with Spencer Phips as acting governor, he possessed power and influence in government circles and he was skilled and practiced in covert intrigue to the degree that he possibly profited more from the Province's program of bringing in "Foreign Protestants" than did the Province itself. Joseph Ludwig is again the source of our knowledge that upwards of twenty-five additional German families followed an earlier migration from Boston (the arrivals of 1751) to Broad Bay later in the year (1752).<sup>40</sup>

Twenty-five families, according to the most conservative estimate, would mean something in an excess of a hundred persons added to the Broad Bay population. Ludwig further observes that they all came from the same general district, the highlands, where wine was abundant, and bitterly did they complain of the lack of it at Broad Bay. There were some schoolmasters among them, but no regular clergyman. At this point there is brought to a close these two unhappy odysseys, led by a modern Ulysses whose craft and deceit fell so far short of that of his ancient prototype, that they plunged him into irretrievable disaster. On September 14, 1752, the Aulic Counsellor Luther addressed his long Memorial to the Lieutenant Governor and the Massachusetts House of Representatives, setting forth his interpretation of the misconduct of Crell in his recruiting methods, denouncing him in forthright language, and withdrawing all further support from the Province so long as Crell remained its Commissioner.<sup>41</sup> In consequence the land grants originally offered to Crell by the Province were withdrawn on June 7, 1753. He had likewise failed in the terms of his contract with General Waldo, and, in consequence, received no grant within the limits of the Waldo Patent. At this point the Commissioner for New England vanished from our history amid general condemnation which was unwarranted, for while Crell was the cat's paw manipulated by the big Province monkey, there was behind the big monkey a smaller monkey of quicker wit and a more agile schemer, who secured the lion's share of the chestnuts for himself.

To provide a complete list of the old Waldoborough Germans who came to Boston in 1751 and 1752 on the ships *Priscilla* and *St. Andrews* and who in these and subsequent years reached Broad Bay would be impossible, but since these fifty families are known to have settled in the main on the west side of the river and on the Necks, it would follow with reasonable certainty that the early landholders in these areas would provide us with a fairly

<sup>40</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 81.

<sup>41</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 222.

reliable index, and such data is available and doubtless has high genealogical value. Here we shall list only a few of the best documented cases. They include the Burketts, the Eugleys, the Hahns, the Jungs, the Orffs, the Rieds, the Heaveners, the Walcks, the Hoffses, the Stahls, the Oberlochs, the Winchenbachs, the Grosses, the Storer, the Seiders, the Achorns, the Creamers, the Lauers, the Smouses, the Wohlfahrts, and Johann Ernst Knöchel, probably a schoolmaster, who was Waldo's assistant in the migration of 1753. He ultimately settled in Newport, Rhode Island. Detailed research would undoubtedly result in some deletions as well as substantial additions to the families here listed.

There is little data available on the problem of the initial adjustment made by these migrants to their new home. The 1751 group reached Broad Bay in the spring of 1752, and those who came to Boston in that year reached the Medomak in late September or early October. This was a more opportune season of the year in which to strike root, since it afforded time to prepare for the harder winter season and also gave to General Waldo the time to make an adequate provision for their maintenance during the first winter. But Broad Bay was just at this time not a place of plenty, and these groups clearly faced the problems of scarcity, though not with the same degree of acuteness as had confronted their predecessors. One great advantage to them was that there was now at Broad Bay a solidly established settlement which had recently been blessed with a few years of peace, a fact which rendered its grip on economic security a far less tenuous one. Under such conditions, the immigrants of 1752 found a pattern of living already worked out by their predecessors which they were able to adapt to their immediate profit, and the hardships of the first years were mitigated to a considerable degree.



## XI

### THE LAST OF THE GERMAN MIGRATIONS

*Absent thee from felicity a while  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain.*

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

THROUGHOUT THE TWO YEARS of Joseph Crell's activity in the Rhineland as the Commissioner of Massachusetts Bay, the shadow of Samuel Waldo had been ever in the background. This astute entrepreneur had recognized the crusader trait in the character of Counsellor Luther and had sedulously avoided giving him offense by carefully screening his own basic interest and part in Crell's project. When, in 1752, the break came between the Commissioner and the Counsellor, Waldo had sided with the latter and had served as an interpreter of Luther's case to the Massachusetts Bay authorities. This element of design or purpose in Waldo's course seems to have been based on the realization that Luther was the one man above all others in the Rhine district who could aid him materially in his Broad Bay project. Waldo had not been satisfied with his allotment of immigrants from the two Crell migrations and had seen by midsummer 1752 that Crell's work was near its end. Accordingly he started to formulate plans whereunder his Broad Bay project would be the beneficiary of a large-scale migration.

To achieve this end it had become clear to him that he would have to free himself from the discrimination of the shipping monopolies in the great Dutch ports. Consequently, he decided to send across a ship of his own large enough perhaps to carry five hundred freights. At a date late in the autumn of 1752 he approached Luther for the purpose of securing his backing for the plan. His aim, and the extent to which Luther's support was given, is set forth in the paragraph of a letter addressed to Josiah Willard, the Secretary of the Province, under the date of October 31st, 1752:

I have done everything in my Power to confirm Mr. Luther in his favourable Sentiments of the Province and to excite him not to suffer

the Reputation he has acquired for it to dwindle, but continue his Efforts for the obtaining a Number of good substantial People to go over the ensuing Year, he is very obliging and his last Letter professes himself as hearty as ever in his Attachment to the Province, but absolutely refuses acting in his own Name; should he proceed on the Plan of Mr. Crell, or make any use of his Name, he is of Opinion that it will be derogatory to his honor, and that it will be so to accept of any private Commission, such as mine, or the Kennebec Gentlem's will be, he therefore concludes not to suffer his Name to be made Use of in any Publications; but condescends to propose to me that if I will send this Year any Proper Person into Germany he will protect him as he did Crell, and recommend him to the several Offices he caused the last and foregoing Years to be erected: for Orders to keep alive the interest the Province has acquired the two last years in Germany, I have determin'd that my Son shall embark herein, altho it will be attended with considerable expence, and I can have no Dependance that the People, which may go over the next Year will settle on my Lands; I would rather have hired a Man either here or in Germany for this Service, the Expences would have been less, being a Mercenary he would be looked on as a Werber, or a "Neu-Laender," which Sett of People it's the declared Resolution of Mr. Luther and several other Persons of Worth to suppress, for their repeated Vilainys and Irregularitys.<sup>1</sup>

From this paragraph it is clear that Luther's interest was still along the lines of the original Province project and that he was still insistent on the principle that any emigrants he assisted in recruiting should retain full freedom to choose where in New England they wished to settle. In short, his aid could not be secured on any other basis. It was also at about this time that the local German rulers, aroused by the abuses practiced by unofficial recruiters, were putting stringent regulations into effect and imprisoning those who violated them. Hence Waldo found it impractical to operate openly in the sole interest of his project at Broad Bay, for thereby, as he implies, his agents would have incurred the enmity of Luther and the risk of being checked by the local rulers. In Germany, then, he was compelled to accept Luther's principle; but at sea and aboard his own ship, he would be free to dispose of his cargo as he wished. On this basic point Luther's position is made clearer by the fact that in 1752 he had refused the offer of a township made to him by the Kennebec Proprietors, which he could settle with his own immigrants, because of his rigid adherence to the principle that his fellow countrymen should be free to settle in areas of their own choice. With the basic reservation in mind relative to the disposition of his own emigrants, Waldo had accepted Luther's aid.

By 1753 emigration in Germany had taken a new turn which was decidedly in Waldo's favor. The Lords of Trade and Plantations in England had by investigation ascertained that more emi-

<sup>1</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 212-215.

grants had been sent to Nova Scotia than could be advantageously accommodated.<sup>2</sup> In fact, conditions in the German colony at Lünenburg had come to such a pass by 1753 that order had to be restored by force of arms. This arose from conditions which, according to the Governor, Lord Cornwallis, were as follows: 1. There were too many immigrants; 2. They were of a class not to the advantage of the Province; 3. They had been induced to migrate on the basis of promises which could not be fulfilled. In consequence, he recommended to the Parliament that no further arrangements be made for sending emigrants to that area. This brought an end to the activities of Mr. Dick in the Rhine district and cleared the field for Waldo of a man who had been one of Crell's most active and resourceful competitors. Meanwhile, as has been indicated, Luther having offered his support to Waldo on the condition that the latter would send a trustworthy man to Germany who would deal in a legitimate and economical manner with those Germans who desired to emigrate, the General had decided to send his eldest son and heir, Captain Samuel Waldo, to assume full charge of the project.

In the autumn of 1752 Waldo sent the first of his official announcements to Frankfort, which Luther had printed in the local press of that city, as well as in the papers of Speyer, Mannheim, Heilbronn, and other towns. This advertisement made it known that in the coming spring, "one of the Proprietors of Massachusetts Bay has determined . . . to come to Germany himself and to enroll the people who are in a position to pay their ocean passage, and to convey and accompany them in person in ships chartered for that purpose." Such people it was stated would be enrolled only "with the most gracious permission of their respective rulers,"<sup>3</sup> which was undoubtedly a reference to the regulations recently thrown around this activity by the Rhine princes as a check to long-standing abuses. This was also the reason that of all Broad Bay immigrants only those of 1753 brought passports with them. The passport of Joseph Ludwig is given here as typical of the kind of document brought to Broad Bay by all those in this migration:

No. 2665.

Whereas Joseph Ludwig of Niederroth, in the Principality of Dietz, is willing to depart from this country for America, and whereas in consequence thereof he has duly applied for the necessary papers of Dismissal from his citizenship, and whereas we do not hesitate to disagree with his request:

Now, therefore, such papers are herewith granted to him, and he

<sup>2</sup>British Archives, Report of Lords of Trade and Plantations, VIII, 391.

<sup>3</sup>*Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, Frankfort am Main, No. 184, Nov. 17, 1752.



is consequently released as a subject of the most gracious regency of this country.

Signed, Dillenburg, June 16, 1753.

L.S. The President, Privy Councillors, Privy Judiciary and Administrators, of the Prince of Orange-Nassau.

Fr. Fybra.

In all respects Waldo's initial advertisement was in conformity with the stipulations laid down by the princes as well as with the conditions imposed by the humanitarian scruples of Counsellor Luther.

In the beginning of the year 1753 Waldo's German secretary, Johann Ernst Knöchel, arrived in Europe. Under date of January 11th he sent from Holland a document of considerable length which was published by Luther in two sections in the *Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung* of January 20th and 23rd. It bore the heading: "Description of the Colonies in British America, especially of New England, along with a Sketch of the Life of General Waldo." It is a revealing document. With brief mention it passes over the German settlements in Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia and is somewhat more specific in reference to the German settlement of the Kennebec Proprietors<sup>4</sup> and the settlement of the Boston merchants at New Germantown near Boston. The story of Waldo's own life and lands is considerably expanded. His estates are referred to as "Massachusetts Bay, which belongs almost entirely to Mr. Samuel Waldo." There then follow certain details of Waldo's life and achievements couched in language that is fittingly feudal in tone:

He has the thoroughly established reputation of being one of the most just men in the world, full of magnanimity and altruism, and an Englishman to the very tips of his fingers. The lands which he possesses and rules are of vast extent; and he is more of a father than a regent to his subjects.

In this document it should be noted (as though he entertained doubts of the validity of the title to some of his lands) that he gives the fullest assurance of the legality of his claims:

In the years 1730 and 1731 Mr. Waldo had all his deeds and grants investigated, so that no counterclaims could be raised or validated. The original grant dates back to 1629 and has since been augmented by purchases. At the end of every Indian War his claims have been recognized in the peace by the Indians and the chiefs representing them. Finally in the year 1732 he had all his rights Confirmed by the King and Council in London, from whence the necessary orders were issued to the Governors in America to his complete satisfaction and that of his present and future subjects.

<sup>4</sup>The present town of Dresden.

Such a fruitful land with all rights assured, ruled by such a powerful and just Lord, he offered free of costs to such as were in a position to pay the costs of their own transportation.

In late January Waldo's secretary, Knöchel, arrived in Frankfort and went as a guest to Counsellor Luther's home, where he set up his emigration office. He shortly published notices of this fact in Heilbronn, Speyer, Mannheim, Worms, Kitzingen, Erlangen, and Herborn, and at the same time established new agencies in other centers, among which the one in Dillenburg under Magistrate Bredenbeck was the most noteworthy. Through the work of this bureau and these agencies, Knöchel was in a position at the beginning of March, according to H. A. Rattermann, to send a small transport of emigrants via Holland to Boston.<sup>5</sup> We can find no trace of such a migration, and if it occurred at all, it may have been a mere palliative to Luther's Province dream. To further such a dream was not, as we know, Waldo's real purpose.

By mid-March "the Hereditary Lord" himself, along with his son, Captain Samuel, reached Frankfort with a passport "made out in the name of the King," enjoining all subjects and officials of His Majesty to permit General Samuel Waldo to pass "free and unhindered" through all British territories. Furthermore it requested

all servants, officers and subjects of all Princes and States [who were allied with or friendly to the King] to permit the said General Waldo to pursue his journey to Frankfort on the Main, or to any other place in Germany or in Switzerland . . . in order to collect the people of the Protestant faith, who may wish to settle in the aforesaid Province of Massachusetts Bay. And further . . . to permit him, the aforesaid General Samuel Waldo, and also such persons as in the aforesaid manner shall suffer themselves to be united with him, to travel together with their guides and all their effects, free and unhindered, through Switzerland and the various countries of Germany to Holland, in order to embark at Amsterdam or any other seaport of that country, to be transported to the aforesaid Province of Massachusetts Bay.

At this time the name of the British monarch carried impressive weight on the continent of Europe, and in this document Waldo possessed a tool calculated to impress petty princes, to secure their cooperation, to lift tariff barriers, to eliminate delays, and to expedite in every way the execution of his project.

At Frankfort Waldo was received by the British Consul and the magistrate of the city with great honor. There he left his son Captain Samuel as his agent with plenary power, while he went on to Regensburg to secure from the Reichstag<sup>6</sup> the permission to recruit emigrants in the different principalities. This commission

<sup>5</sup>*Der Deutsche Pionier*, XVI Jahrgang (Cincinnati, 1884-85).

<sup>6</sup>The Imperial Assembly.

he placed in the hands of the British Ambassador, Mr. Onslow Burich, and then returned through France to England. Meanwhile his son had taken up residence at Luther's house, and from there directed the emigration bureau which continued to function until the autumn of 1753.

Soon after his arrival in Frankfort, young Waldo released to the newspapers an announcement which made known his presence in the city, his purpose in being there, and the following places to which prospective emigrants might apply: Luther's Type Foundry and the Office of Eichenberg's newspaper in Frankfort, Leucht and Allerger's printing office in Augsburg, Mr. John L. Martin's (merchant) in Heilbronn, and Mr. Goethel's printing office in Speyer. This document included a warning against all illicit recruiting and outlined in general what those interested in migrating might expect in the way of land allotments.<sup>7</sup>

In connection with this announcement, Captain Waldo had the following circular printed and broadcast throughout the Rhine district:

THE SUBSTANCE IN BRIEF OF THE PRINCIPAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND  
CONDITIONS RESPECTING THE SETTLEMENT OF FOREIGN  
PROTESTANTS IN THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS  
BAY IN NEW ENGLAND, ESPECIALLY  
BROAD BAY

There then follows a sort of preamble sketching the location of the Province, its government, with due emphasis laid on local autonomy; the city of Boston, its size and location; the quality of the soil, the forests with their lumber; the fruit grown; the flax and hemp, and the plentitude of wild game. Then follows an outline of the terms offered by Waldo governing conditions of settling at Broad Bay:

No. 1. That those who will of their own accord, and with the permission of their government, settle in Broad Bay, shall dwell together in certain divisions consisting of one hundred and twenty. In every such district there shall be given to the church two hundred acres; to the first preacher settling among them, two hundred; to the school, two hundred; and to each of the one hundred and twenty families, one hundred acres, equal to more than one hundred and twenty German acres. And this land, provided they dwell upon it seven whole years, either in person or through a tenant, shall be guaranteed to them, their heirs and assigns forever, without their having to make the slightest recompense, or pay any interest for it. Unmarried persons of twenty-one years and upward, who permit themselves to be transported hither, and venture to build on their land, shall also receive one hundred acres, and be regarded as a family.

No. 2. All such foreigners, provided they are Protestants, so soon as they arrive in New England, like all other subjects of His Britannic

<sup>7</sup>*Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, Mar. 23, 1753.



Majesty, will enjoy the protection of the laws; will be authorized, so soon as the one hundred and twenty families are together, to send a Deputy of the General Court to represent them; will not be obliged to bear arms nor to carry on war; in case war should arise they will be protected by the Government; and the free exercise of all Protestant religions will be granted them. On the other hand, the government aforesaid demands nothing further than that every one hundred and twenty families shall call and support a learned Protestant minister within five years, reckoning from the time of the grant.

No. 3. There shall be given to the colonists on their arrival necessary support for from four to six months, according as they arrive early or late in the season. But only those will have the advantage of this who shall go thither under the direction of the agencies heretofore indicated.

No. 4. And if one or two Protestant preachers, provided with good testimonials from the consistories and church meetings, and unmarried, whose care is the salvation of souls, should resolve to trust to Providence and the good will of Samuel Waldo and should go forth immediately at the beginning with the rest, they shall receive besides their free passage a small stipend of fifteen pounds sterling for two years out of the above named capital. It is also hoped that their Congregations will do something in addition. Boards for the first church which is to be built shall also be given and delivered to them. It is to be further noted that the first families going thither, even though there should be several hundred of them, can all select their residences either in a seaport or on navigable rivers, where they can cut wood into cords for burning, or into timber for building material, and convey it to the shore where it will always be taken of them by the ships for ready money and carried to Boston or other cities, and from thence whatever they need will be brought back in return at a reasonable rate. By means of this the people are not only able at once to support themselves until the land is fit for cultivation, but are also freed from the trouble and expense of making wagons and travelling by land, to which difficulties it is well known Pennsylvania is subject. Furthermore, the aforesaid government has heard, from the people themselves who have already come from Pennsylvania, of the unjust treatment (well-known to the world without any such announcement) which befell them upon the sea after they had sailed from Holland. In consequence it has already passed a law to prevent such occurrences in the future on the voyage from Holland to Boston. By this law not only the ship captains who bring the people over, but those who accompany them must govern their conduct, otherwise they will receive punishment, and be compelled to give the people satisfaction; and also the ship itself will be taken care of. Thus are mischances in various ways prevented, and everyone is made secure.

In order to avoid undue wordiness little more need be said. Anyone can easily gather from what has been here stated, that it has not been the intention to persuade people to join this migration. Those who without this had resolved upon such action of their own accord should be on their guard against allowing themselves to be deceived. In this way they can unhindered embark on their journey in the name of God and with governmental passports when the next announcement is made to the public. Whoever in addition to this wishes to inform himself more definitely in regard to any point, may apply to the houses and places of address made known in the Imperial Mail newspaper of March 23, 1753, or by prepaid letters.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>The copy of this document was brought to Broad Bay in 1753, and there came into the possession of John Martin Schaefer. In 1880, owned by a descendant of

This document is unique in the literature of its type, and there are a few of its salient differences which should here receive further emphasis. First of all, its terms are general, therefore less explicit and binding on the proprietor and less likely to render him liable, in event of violation, to action by legislature or court. Again, the psychological approach is entirely different, wherein every phase of the migration is presented as being safeguarded by legal enactments. This, of course, gave a most potent and pleasant odor to the bait, and the assumed indifference as to whether or not the fish took the bait, since there would be too many who would anyway, added to the allurements of the offer. In the third place, the project was here cast into the framework of the New England program in order to lull any suspicions of Luther and to secure his very essential aid.

Other promises are here made but of a rather general nature, and at the time and in later years Waldo has been harshly criticized for his alleged failure to live up to them. Such criticism has gone unreasonably far. The extent to which some promises are fulfilled depends, and in a large measure should depend, on conditions existing when the hour for fulfillment is reached. A case in question is the exemption of the emigrants from the necessity "of bearing arms." Such a promise a few years later became meaningless. In fact, it would have been the sheerest folly when the French and Indians brought extinction to their very firesides. Under these circumstances the whole colony bore arms in self-defense. In such a situation Waldo can hardly be reproached for a promise unkept. In fact, he could not in any way have foreseen the developing conditions which rendered the fulfillment of many of his promises futile and inexpedient.

In the meantime, Captain Samuel Waldo was taking the initial steps at Frankfort leading toward the realization of his father's colonial plan. The work proved to be hard, however, and the progress slow. The recruiting was not too successful, especially in the Oberrhein country and Württemberg, owing largely to the controversies which had grown out of Crell's activity in the preceding year. Furthermore, the Elector of the Palatinate forbade all recruiting in his domain and all emigration except where permission was secured in the form of passports. All Rhine boats were stopped at Oppenheim and those without passes were sent back to their homes. Similar laws were enforced by the Bishop Elector of Mainz. Such restrictions tended toward the crippling of Waldo's efforts, and in consequence Luther advised the young Captain to turn his attention to the north — to the Wetterau, to

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Schaefer, John W. Shepherd of Belfast, it was awkwardly translated by Dr. A. T. Wheelock of that city. Printed by H. A. Rattermann, in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, it later came into the possession of Washington C. Shepherd, near Hoadleyville, Eau Claire County, Wisconsin.



Dillenburg, to the Wittgenstein and the Weilburg areas. Accordingly in April 1753 permission was secured from the Count of Nassau-Dietz-Idstein to recruit in his domains. A similar privilege was also secured from the counts of Nassau-Dillenburg and of Hohenburg-Westerburg. Furthermore, as a move to engender confidence, and at Waldo's solicitation, the Count of Nassau-Dietz-Idstein appointed a commissioner, Karl Christoph Gottfried Leistner, to accompany the emigrants from his domain to America to see that they received their rights in passage and in their new homes. This Leistner was a university man, trained in law. He subsequently became Waldo's representative at Broad Bay and remained as a sort of regent in the colony until his premature death in 1769.

In the Nassau district the success was somewhat more marked. In two cases, at least, government officials acted as Waldo's agents: the magistrate Bredenbeck in Dillenburg and Schmidt in Hohenburg. Even here the young Waldo was faced by sharp competition, as may be inferred from an advertisement inserted in the Frankfort papers of May 4, 1753 — honest, sharp, and even ironic in tone:

Up to this time many people have given up their own lands in order to find in New England a new Canaan. But no manna rains down there from Heaven, and mankind born for toil must work there as well as here. Nevertheless, he may find an ample living there if he entrusts himself to responsible agents and not to such recruiters as haven't the slightest scruples against bringing their next of kin into the most wretched of circumstances.

Finally young Waldo got together a group of sixty families from the domains of the Count of Nassau-Dietz-Idstein. They were recruited for the most part by Leistner in the districts of the Taunus Mountains. In this group was the family of Joseph Ludwig of Niederroth, a hamlet high in the mountains at the sources of the Ems, between Koenigstein and Heftrich. This part of the migration was headed by Leistner to the point of general assembly.

Near the beginning of May 1753 Waldo's own ship, the *Elizabeth*, Captain Pendock Neale, arrived at Amsterdam and dropped anchor off the suburb of Menden. She was a well-built ship of three hundred and sixty tons burden, able to accommodate comfortably from four to five hundred emigrants. She was consigned to Luther's preferred firm, Knevel and Company, which took over the job of fitting her out. Here there was a long wait. The procession of emigrants started in the middle of June from Dietz which was the rendezvous of those from the mountainous neighborhoods of the Taunus. In small boats they went down the Lahn to the Rhine and on the latter river as far as Coblenz, where



they transferred to larger boats and continued their journey to Duisburg, the town where the Ruhr joins the Rhine. Here they waited for the Dillenburgers and for those from the more northern areas.

The recruiting had not proceeded with entire smoothness. There had been the old competition and the old misrepresentation, in consequence of which the migration was not nearly as large as had been hoped for; and even after starting, there were those who ran away or separated themselves from the main body of recruits. In order to hold as many of them as possible to their original contract, young Waldo issued the following announcement in the newspapers under date of June 12, 1753:

Since Waldo's New England migration has really started, and the colonists migrating from various localities with the approval of their rulers have moved to the centers agreed upon, we have wished to inform those of this fact to whom it is of any concern and to notify them hereby of the following: that a German business house in Amsterdam of good repute has been commissioned to handle the details of the embarking; that the well-known ship, *Elizabeth*, Captain Pendock Neale is really lying at anchor there; that her course will be around the Orkney Islands which will add greatly to the comfort and pleasure of the people thus conveyed as at this season of the year there is hardly any night there. Accordingly those who still wish to overtake the convoy should all the more hasten and assemble at the Ruhr, where several who recognize their error, and who from letters received may have become separated by incorrect directions, will await the whole convoy in order likewise to be able to enjoy the advantages of the 120 acres of good land promised in New England.<sup>9</sup>

When all the scattered contingents had gathered at the mouth of the Ruhr, the migration moved down the Rhine and then across country either by land or canal boats to Amsterdam, where the *Elizabeth* was waiting. The known incidents attending the trip are few, and in some cases the reports are contradictory. The ship did not proceed by the north of England as advertised, but down the channel where she touched at Cowes. Here, according to tradition, was buried John Joseph Ludwig, father of Jacob and Joseph, both of whom became prominent in the later colony. From this point there are two different narratives. H. A. Rattermann records that the *Elizabeth* made her next landfall at Portsmouth in early September and took aboard there about seventy Scotch immigrants whom General Waldo himself had recruited in England that summer,<sup>10</sup> and then proceeded to the Georges River. Just why it would have taken the good ship over two months to sail the couple of hundred miles from Cowes to Ports-

<sup>9</sup>*Ober-Post-Amts Zeitung*, June 12, 1753.

<sup>10</sup>*Der Deutsche Pionier*, XVI Jahrgang.

mouth, Ratterman does not make clear. More probable and more consistent with the few known facts is it that the *Elizabeth* laid over for weeks at Portsmouth waiting while Waldo completed his recruiting in England and got his freights to Portsmouth and aboard the ship. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the *Elizabeth* reached the Georges River in mid-October, which was reported in the *Boston News Letter* as follows: "Oct. 18, 1753. Last week ship arrived at St. Georges at the Eastward, with about 400 Germans, who intend to settle in that part of the Province." It would also be closer to the facts to indicate that in this migration the ratio of Germans to Scotch-Irish was about three to one. At Point Pleasant on the Georges about three hundred Germans with their few belongings and stores were transferred to a coasting vessel which they filled as close as they could stand, and were taken around to the Medomak, where they arrived, according to Joseph Ludwig's story given to Cyrus Eaton sixty years later, in mid-September.<sup>11</sup> We hold the mid-October date of the newspaper reported at that time to be the more authentic.

Young Waldo remained in Frankfort until September 1753 in line with his father's policy of further emigration. At this time he was recalled. Results had been poor. Relations with Luther had become strained. The lack of a larger success was blamed by Waldo on the Counsellor. The two men drew apart and the General proceeded to forget the promise to Luther of a grant of land at Broad Bay. This was Waldo's last German enterprise. The next year war with France was again imminent, and before peace was concluded, General Waldo was dead. In this period of emigration to New England, so generously and altruistically aided and supported by him, Luther was the loser. He received little thanks from the Province or any of the proprietors, and he was never reimbursed for the financial aid which he accorded. As late as 1765, after the close of the French and Indian War, Luther made a vain effort to recover some of the monies expended on these projects. This attempt was made through an appeal to none other than Benjamin Franklin who had originally recommended Joseph Crell to him. Excerpts are here given from his letter to Franklin for the light they cast on Waldo and his Broad Bay enterprise:

Sir: Since Mr. Genelin, in the service of his Brittanic Majesty is leaving for London, I have begged him to inform himself of your whereabouts and to give you assurance of my respects, in that many years have elapsed since I have received any word from you. I believe the last time was in 1751. You recommended at that time in Boston Mr. Joseph Crell who wanted to take over the affairs of the colony. He betook himself hither and brought in the name of the Province letters

<sup>11</sup>*Annals of Warren*, 1st ed. (Hallowell, 1851), p. 82.



of recommendation from Mr. Spencer Phips, the Vice Governor, in consequence of which I aided him in his undertaking and arranged for him in 1751 as well as in 1752 a small migration of Palatines. In the year 1753 I undertook a very extended correspondence with Brig. General Waldo, who sent his son hither. The latter for a period of six months received free table and lodging from me as well as a small migration of emigrants. . . . General Waldo was nevertheless not satisfied with this number and through false letters he let himself be misguided and sent to Menden in Holland a much larger ship than the number of emigrants required. This caused him many embarrassments and furthermore very substantial additional expenses. He wished then without any grounds to unload the whole fault on us. We got angry over this matter and the significant costs, which I had borne for three years in behalf of Mr. Waldo and the Province, are still owed me.

I can firmly assure you, Sir, that of the many sums spent by me in the interest of the province not a single penny has been paid back, not even the postage on letters. Meanwhile Mr. Waldo offered me a piece of land to found a colony on; in the meantime he died. The war started and everything was in a state of crisis. . . .<sup>12</sup>

Under these conditions Luther solicited the good offices of Benjamin Franklin to intervene with the British government in order to secure restitution for his outlays. His claim was passed unnoticed. This last appeal of the Counsellor to the one who had first commended the project to him furnished the sordid conclusion to Mr. Luther's connection with Broad Bay history. As is so often the case, a high-minded gentleman had been exploited by a lesser breed, and then callously discarded when his altruism no longer served their selfish aims.

The scene now shifts from London and Frankfort back to Broad Bay whither Waldo's last colony of Germans had been shipped in a coaster from Pleasant Point. This migration probably landed somewhere near the head of tide, for most of the lands along the river had by then been allotted and occupied, and the upper waters had in consequence become well known. The remaining unassigned areas were above the falls along the fresh water. The General apparently at this time was still entertaining his illusions of titled grandeur, for deeds given out in 1753 were not outright grants but still retained the peppercorn clause based on the social concept of one large estate with its numerous tenantry. This principle is illustrated in the following excerpt from a land title: ". . . he the said Loran Sides, yielding and paying therefor yearly and every year, his heirs and assigns, the rent of one pepper Corn, if the same shall be lawfully demanded."<sup>13</sup>

There was, however, to be no immediate assignment of lots to the newcomers. There was no time for that, for the migration had reached Broad Bay in mid-October, where it was found that

<sup>12</sup>*Mass. Records*, XV A, 273-276.

<sup>13</sup>Lincoln Co. Register of Deeds (July 24, 1753), Bk. 1, p. 40.



preparations for their reception were only partial. Here as on the Georges, Waldo had apparently issued similar instructions for both groups for the first winter. His arrangements worked out very well at Warren where the migration was small enough to be housed for the first winter largely among the settlers already established there. At Broad Bay the migration was so much larger that it rendered such an arrangement only partially possible. It was, to be sure, too late for the planting of crops, but not too late for the assignment of lands and the erection of dwellings. The delay in this matter is reasonably understandable, however, for due to the restlessness of the Indians and their vigorous objections to the extension of settled areas above tidewater, the General may have felt it inexpedient to assign lands on the Upper Medomak to men utterly unskilled in meeting Indian attacks. These immigrants had been obtained with the greatest difficulty and at great expense. At the start it would have been folly to expose them to undue hazard from Indian attack. For the first winter then, the plan apparently was, as at Warren, to incorporate them into the existing settlement. Accordingly some were absorbed among the earlier settlers and by their labor earned their keep, but they were a decided minority. Of the great overflow, others were housed in a building erected near the old Mill Garrison on the west side of the First Falls, where John and Joshua Head later had their store, near or on the site of the former town house. For the greater number, as at Warren, General Waldo had caused to be erected a building later to be known as "the old long house."<sup>14</sup> This structure was sixty feet long, was divided into rooms and was, it is alleged, without chimneys. It is probable that there was at least a common room with the usual opening in the roof where the cooking could be done. This house was located on the west side of the Augusta road nearly opposite its junction with the road leading to the Soule Bridge across the Medomak River.

The winter of 1753-1754 was not one of excessive rigor. Parson Smith at no point mentions extreme cold, as was his wont. His few entries on weather conditions are limited to the following notes: "1753, Oct. 24. The frosts have held off wonderfully. 1754, Jan. and Feb. Generally moderate and pleasant. Mar. 6. The frost seems almost out of the ground."<sup>15</sup>

Despite the mildness of the weather this winter was no easy time for these immigrants, ill-equipped as they were to meet such rigors as it offered. The suffering from inadequate nutrition was especially acute, for food was almost always scarce in the settlement in the earlier years. Even the older colonists had little in

<sup>14</sup>Oral tradition, Mrs. Alice Waltz Morse.

<sup>15</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821).

reserve beyond their own needs, while in the case of these newest arrivals, Waldo's supplies, for some unknown reason, proved insufficient. By contract he was bound to meet the food needs of these newcomers on the Georges and the Medomak for a period of six months. At Warren this was effectively done and was probably due to the smaller amounts of foodstuffs required, while at Broad Bay there was somewhere a breakdown in the arrangements which resulted in a definite scarcity. That this was due to the indifference and neglect of the patron might be easily inferred but for the fact that when the river opened in the spring needed provisions were promptly delivered to the new colonists and continued beyond the period when the General was obligated to furnish them.

It is probable that these supplies had been purchased the previous autumn and that delivery had been retarded or impeded by unforeseen circumstances. Whatever the reasons were, they do not alter the fact that among the most recent immigrants at Broad Bay the winter was one of acute suffering, in fact, the lack of food seems to have been rather general. Among the new arrivals there were those who had money, one of whom was one of the three schoolmasters in this migration, who was so wealthy and in consequence so arbitrary, that in any dispute when argument failed, he used to threaten to knock down his adversary with a bag of Johannes,<sup>16</sup> which rather points to the fact that food was not to be had in great quantities even for gold. The newcomers worked for what they could get — a quart of buttermilk or a quart of meal for a day's labor.<sup>17</sup> They also sought work in the neighboring English settlements of Damariscotta and Warren and had their children freely indentured in both localities to insure their existence. Clams and frostfish which were available in the river in great quantities were a pure blessing and formed a staple article of diet.<sup>18</sup>

Under such conditions it was inevitable that exposure, malnutrition, and disease should take their toll of life. During this first winter seventeen died and were buried on the crest of a little hillock in the field just west of the "old long house."<sup>19</sup> Their names are unknown and their memory has remained unhonored. Indeed, peace and a final resting place have hardly been accorded to them, for it was only a few years ago that their little hillock underwent desecration at the hands of some modern road-building vandals who wanted their little mound of gravel for the construction of highways. Today their ashes form a part of Route 32 along which their thoughtless descendants and kinfolk dash so gaily and dangerously.

<sup>16</sup>Cyrus Eaton: *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 82.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, Joseph Ludwig cited by Eaton.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>19</sup>Location identified for the author by Mr. John Lovell in the summer of 1939.

The spring of 1754 brought a temporary surcease of sorrow and suffering; for when the river opened, supplies were at hand in the form of food and needed tools. These were distributed by Karl C. G. Leistner, the local major-domo, and under his direction the migration was assigned land on the present Benner Hill. This location was about a mile from the river on the western end of the old Ritz farm, in the woods and south of the house now occupied by the family of George Duswald. Here the log cabins were erected in a compact cluster following the old German feudal style, and to each dwelling there was allotted one-half acre of land. The cabins were erected from the trees which were felled to clear the land for planting; and as the rocks and boulders were removed from the soil, they were placed in such a position as to form a stonewall around the entire settlement, which offered some protection against savages. The cabins were roofed over with boards from the mill at the First Falls, or with bark. It is said that Peter Mühler's house was rather unusual. It was built of logs, but was larger than the others and covered with boards, and at the time reputed to be the finest house in the whole settlement. Actually it was probably a store or the center from which Waldo's supplies were distributed to the group and at which desired and needed goods could be purchased by those having the money.

Inasmuch as Waldo in his circulars had promised the settlers one hundred acres each with a water frontage where wood would bring four shillings a cord, this first disposition of the migrants has been strongly criticized, and Leistner has been blamed as well as Waldo. Actually, blame in either case is somewhat superfluous, since each settler was ultimately to receive his promised acreage, and Leistner in effecting this initial arrangement was simply following instructions. The procedure on the Georges was identical in the case of those migrants arriving there in the same year, for here, too, they were settled in a compact unit and allotted one-half acre each.<sup>20</sup> This arrangement under existing conditions had its advantages. By common effort in the heavy tasks of quick clearing of land, a chore where a man alone is a poor crew, and in the intensive cultivation of the soil on a communal basis, they could in the shortest order provide themselves with a substantial portion of needed food. More important still, it would keep them together for purposes of quick defense while at work, and the more readily enable them at all times to offer a common and united resistance to Indian attack. It also provided a setup whereunder two or three of the older settlers could direct their work and give them the guidance and experience so essential to newcomers. In short, it was a kind of school where training could be given in the arts

<sup>20</sup>Eaton, *opus cit.*, 1st ed., p. 85.



of taming a wilderness, and it was also a kind of garrison providing for a united defense against attack.

Waldo's handling of this human problem was a clear case of his acting in the interest of the immigrants as well as in his own. He could have assigned them to lots along both sides of the Upper Medomak. The land was there. It was unoccupied and it was his to give. In fact, he did assign it to them, but not them to it. Such a move would unquestionably have excited the hostility of the Indians and have enabled them to wreak their vengeance with the greatest ease against each family thus isolated. The General knew this only too well, for the savages had resolutely barred his progress above salt water on the Georges. In this matter their position had never changed. At a conference held at St. Georges as recently as October 20, 1752, Colonel Louis, a Penobscot chief, spoke for all the eastern tribes in part as follows:

In order to bury the mischief that is past we must proceed upon Dummer's Treaty, by which the English were to inhabit so far as the salt water flowed, and the Indians to have the rest. If we are not disturbed in our right, it will end in peace, *otherwise it would set all these lands on fire.*<sup>21</sup>

Among those attending this conference were John Ulmer and others from Broad Bay; hence it may be assumed that in that settlement the whole situation was rather clearly understood.

It was a time of apprehensiveness due to the increasing restlessness and bitter complaints of the savages. Fires set by careless hunters destroyed and drove out their game; the new settlement by the Scotch on the Georges infringed on the line which the Indians claimed as their boundary from the tidewaters of the Georges to those of the Medomak; the young Boggesses on the former river were clearing above the falls, molesting Indian traps and occupying their hunting grounds. A final conference was held at the fort on the Georges in October 1754 on the very eve of the longest, the worst, and the last of the Indian wars. Again Colonel Louis held forth in remarkable and unmistakable language:

There has of late mischief been done among us; but we are all come to bury it. In order Where to we are proceeding upon Governor Dummer's Treaty, by which it was concluded that the English should inhabit the lands as far as the salt water flowed, and no farther; and that the Indians should possess the rest. Brethren, as I said before, so I now say, that the lands we own let us enjoy; and let nobody take them from us. We said the same to those of our religion, the French. Although we are a black people, yet God hath placed us here; God gave us this land, and we will keep it. God decreed all things; he decreed this land to us; therefore neither shall the French, nor English possess it, but we will.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Mass. Archives, Printed Indian Conference, 1752. [Italics mine.]

<sup>22</sup>Reverend Smith's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 149 and Ed. note.





Margaretha Hilt, wife  
of Capt. Jacob LUDWIG

This attitude of the Indians and their leaders makes sufficiently clear the considerations that guided General Waldo in his tentative disposition of the migration of 1753 on the Medomak. To have given immediate effect to the promise contained in his



circulars would have been to put these people face to face with hazards they were not equipped to meet and to invite disaster for his own project. Since the land on the lower river was in the main allotted, it was an eminently wise move to locate the new arrivals on the safe side of the deadline rather than to encroach too far on the lands claimed by the Indians. In short, they were located temporarily in a place as strategic and as secure as any that could have been selected from existing free territory.

On this site these newcomers laid the foundations of their first homes in the New World. They were provided by the patron with the essentials for laboring and for living until their first planting should begin to yield its harvest. Many were possessed of the money to meet sundry minor needs, and living as they were in a compact unit they enjoyed a sense of security which the earlier settlers scattered over a wide area could not feel. In Leistner the migrants had a capable and resourceful leader, although murmurings were raised against him at times to the effect that his distribution of their stores was not always characterized by the strictest justice and honesty. There is no evidence to confirm such a charge; and in the light of the prestige which he later enjoyed in the colony, we may dismiss it. Their life at this time was unquestionably hard, and not being able to procure everything they needed it was only natural that suspicion and criticism should heavily color their thoughts and speech.

In the course of the preceding year a gristmill had been built by George Werner with the aid of General Waldo. According to Cyrus Eaton who follows the testimony of Joseph Ludwig, this gristmill was built near the site of the old Martin and Ector mill at the First Falls,<sup>23</sup> and it may be added that Joseph Ludwig was in a position to know where this mill was erected. This view should be accepted rather than that of Miller that it was at the Great Falls on the site of the old Medomak Flour Mill. Miller reaches his conclusion on the basis of a survey of Werner's land made by John Martin, July 31, 1766. There was, to be sure, a gristmill built on this site,<sup>24</sup> but it came at a somewhat later date, after the Indian menace had forever been laid low by the impending French and Indian War. Safety as well as utility would have dictated that such an important adjunct to the economic life of the colony would have been located at a spot where it was easily accessible and usable at all times without undue hazard. With a sawmill and a gristmill in operation, the settlement reached a degree of economic stability which left the entire population free to feel that at last a basic sufficiency and permanency had been achieved.

<sup>23</sup>*Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 83.

<sup>24</sup>Mass. Archives, Map of 1795.



The compact outpost on Benner Hill was a settlement of short duration, for war was again at hand, and the entire population on the Medomak was soon to seek the protective shelter of the five garrisons and to spend a good part of the next seven years within their walls. During this period the lands in the upper part of the town were allotted to the settlers of 1753 not elsewhere provided for, but they were not wholly cleared or occupied until the early 1760's, when the Indian threat had been forever allayed by the issue of war.

A complete roster of the colony of 1753 is no longer possible on the basis of evidence now available or known. In general, it is true, however, that the settlers who reached Broad Bay prior to 1753 settled on the lands between the falls and the lower bay; those who came in 1753 took up land in this same area wherever there were any lots abandoned and unoccupied, but in the main they were settled along the upper river toward the Winslow's Mills and Orff's Corner areas, as well as farther to the eastward along the lower North Waldoborough and Union roads. Among these immigrants of 1753 the following families may be included with reasonable certainty: Benner, Bornheimer, Dahlheim, Heisler, Peter Hilt, Hoch, Kaler, Kinsel, Lehr, Levensaler, Leistner, Ludwig, Miller, Mühler, Schuman, Schwartz, Wagner, Weaver, and Welt. These are but a few of the sixty families identifiable with this migration, and it is a list which in the case of certain names will some day be subject to some revision on the basis of evidence which is documentary rather than circumstantial.

## XII

### BROAD BAY IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

*. . . . Farewell, happy fields,  
Where joy forever dwells! Hail, horrors! Hail  
Infernal world! . . . .*

JOHN MILTON

AFTER BROAD BAY HAD RE-ESTABLISHED itself at the close of the Fifth Indian War, an early move on the part of the settlers had been to strengthen their claims to the lands originally promised and allotted by General Waldo. As a consequence of their insistence, the early 1750's witnessed the general granting of the first deeds to the Germans. These early grants of title were to lands on the east side of the river where the immigrants of the earlier migrations seem to have settled. In the areas settled by the Germans practically all the allotments carried a frontage of twenty-five rods on the river and extended backward in an easterly direction for a distance sufficient to give to each farm the promised one hundred acres. Among these earliest grants were the following: John Ulmer, Jr., April 6, 1752, the old James H. Castner farm; David Rominger, October 18, 1753, the farm now divided and owned by Ralph Hoffses, Jasper J. Stahl, and the heirs of the Fred Scott estate; just north of David Rominger's farm was that of his brother Philip, allotted December 18, 1753. Typical of all these early deeds is one of July 24, 1753, conveying to Loring Sides (Lorenz Seitz) that farm owned and occupied for so many years by Captain Albion F. Stahl, embracing the land between the farms now owned and occupied by the heirs of Winfield G. Ewell on the south, and by the heirs of Laurence Davis on the north. The deed is here given in the parts essential to making clear the conditions under which these early grants were made by Waldo in his lifetime:

. . . . Whereas Loran Sides of Broad Bay . . . farmer, hath agreed with the said Samll Waldo to settle the lands hereinafter mentioned . . . in the manner following; that is to say, to build thereon a Dwelling house of Eighteen feet Square, at the least, within two months, from the Date hereof and dwell constantly therein, either in his own person or by a

Tenant, the full Term of three Years, from building the same and within the space of one year next ensuing the Date hereof, Clear and Subdue four acres of said land.

Now Know Ye, that in consideration thereof, and also of the rent hereinafter reserved, the s-d Samuel Waldo hath given and Granted . . . all that Certain tract of upland and Swamp, situate, lying and being at a place Called Broad-Bay, in the Eastern parts of this province, containing one hundred acres, being Butted and Bounded, viz, beginning at a stake marked number Eight, upon the Eastern side of Broad Bay River, said lot to run fronting the river, twenty-five rods to another stake marked number nine, which joins the lot of Philip Fogler, and from said two stakes to run back a East course of the Compass, untill the said one hundred Acres are made up and Completed. . . .

To Have And To Hold the said one hundred Acres of land and premisses . . . he the said Loran Sides, yielding and paying therefor Yearly and every Year on the twenty-ninth day of September unto the said Samuel Waldo, his heirs and Assigns, the rent of one pepper Corn, if the same shall be lawfully demanded: provided always nevertheless . . . that if the said Loran Sides or his heirs shall not build thereon a dwelling house of at least Eighteen feet Square within two months from the Date hereof and Constantly dwell therein, either in his own person or by a Tenant the full term of three years . . . clear and subdue four acres of said land, then and in such Case . . . this present deed and the Estate hereby Granted, shall Cease, determine and be void, . . . and it shall and may be lawfull, to and for the said Samuel Waldo his heirs and Assigns . . . to re-enter and hold the same, as in his and their first and former Estate before the making of these presents.

In Witness whereof the said Samuel Waldo hath hereunto set his hand and Seal the 24th day of July in the 26th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, George, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith etc., and in the Year of our Lord Christ, one thousand, seven hundred and fifty-three.<sup>1</sup>

The conditions set forth in this typical deed had long since been completed by the older settlers at the time their titles were issued. Deeds conveying a title to lands on the eastern bank of the Medomak proved themselves valid in time. But those conveying land on the western bank proved invalid in the face of the demand of the Pemaquid claimants. However, such troubles were for the future. For the present the landed and the landless were destined to share a common lot in the face of the threat from a common foe.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 had been inconclusive. It was but a breathing spell. The real question, still unsettled, was the supremacy on the North American continent of either Britain or France. The brief interlude of peace had been used by France to extend her far-flung line of trading posts on the great Mississippi and to establish her hold at strategic points on its tributaries. One of these was at Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania, the site of the present city of Pittsburgh. Such acts were a defiance of British rights and claims to the Virginia territory, which was construed

<sup>1</sup>Lincoln County Registry of Deeds, Bk. I, p. 40.



as stretching overland to the Pacific. Western Pennsylvania and the Ohio River valley was a rich area, and England was not disposed to yield it to the French. Indeed, the advantage was all with the former, for at this time the French population on the continent did not exceed eighty thousand, French and half-breeds; while the English settlers, drawn from various nationalities, were stretched more compactly over a wide coastal area and numbered one and one half million people. The English demand that the French vacate the Western Pennsylvania and Ohio areas was delivered at the gate of Fort Le Boeuf on December 11, 1756, by an officer of the militia of Virginia, recently arrived at manhood. This demand was rejected and war thereby was virtually assured, although a formal declaration did not come until three years later. The existing tension, however, was all that the French needed to incite their red allies to action. In New England they became more restive and menacing. The settlers at Broad Bay clearly sensed impending danger and bestirred themselves to meet it.

The first move made at Broad Bay for preparation and defense took the form of a petition directed to Governor Shirley. This revealing document is here printed in full along with the embellishments added by the translator:

TRANSLATION OF A HUMBLE PETITION WRITTEN BY THE  
GERMAN SETTLERS AT BROAD BAY

To His Excellence

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esqr.

Governor of Ye Massachusetts Bay at Boston,

dated the 13. Maji 1754: translated the 11. Juin 1754;

by John Ernest Knöchel, sometime ago Secretary of several  
imperial Commissions in Germaine.

*Pt. prospiciendum ipsis, necessariis supplementis, tam quo  
ad alimentationem quam defensionem tempori belli imminetis.*<sup>2</sup>

To His Excellency, William Shirley, Esqr., Gouvernour of Ye Massachusetts Bay at Boston.

Most noble born, most noble grave, most honoured Lord, Gouvernour! Your excellence will excuse the liberté, we poor deserted Germans take, in addressing our most humble petition to you; Considering: that above 130 Familes, containing almost 500 sools, live at Broad Bay, being thus abandonet, that in cas, there should happen a War (which is the common report.) having no Guarrison, we must be exposed to the danger of being killed by the Indians, one after another, in our own houses. If we should build 2 or 3 Guarrisons; meerly any old Settlers being provided whit provisions for a couple of Weeks by themselves, and the New Komers of the Year 1753 by Mr. Waldo: but none of those Settlers that arrived in the year 1752: we must expect to starve for Hunger: over and besides, for want of Powder, Bullets and Flints, we should can not defend us self. Therefore we poor deserted Subjects in common, implore your Excel. Graciousness, (regarding you as the Father of the Land) to assisst

<sup>2</sup>Especially must they provide, with the necessary assistance, as much for provisioning as for defense in time of imminent war.

us, your poor children, for the Sak of God, and to deliver us from those miseries. We shall never dare to prescribe Your Excel. what to do, or in what manner we should be saved; your Wisdom will suppeditate to you by what means we poor deserted Germans must be supported, in the afore mentioned points; by Your Excel. Favour.

We are in the utmost subjection, Your Excellence most humble and most obedient Subjects.

Broad Bay, the 13th Maji., 1754.

<i>Signatum</i>	Mathäus Römele	Casimir Läsch
Johann Ulmer, Cap.	Jacob Waltz	Paulus Dochtermann
Johann Martin Reiser	John Jacob Ulmer	Laurentius X. Seitz
Philipp Rinner	Conrad Treupel	Joh. Martin Ulmer
Jacob Deis	Joh. Heinrich	Phillip Vogler
Valentin Jung	Demuth	David Rominger
Frantz X Eisele	Jacob Lau[e]r	

N.B. Those subscriptions serve for all the Settlers, who living very much dispersed, can not always assemble.<sup>3</sup>

Knöchel, the translator of this petition, was bilingual, and some knowledge of his French and German makes clear the meaning of this mangled piece of English. Certain other observations also are here in order. The population figure given is clearly an underestimate, the number of families and the total number of "sools" being factually inconsistent. That there were no garrisons would seem to indicate that the material making up the forts twelve years before had been used for homes. The unintelligible comments on the food situation are explainable as follows: the older settlers, if they should all garrison up, would have a supply of food sufficient for a number of weeks; those in the 1753 migration would have their Waldo rations, but the migrants of 1752, now living on a hand-to-mouth basis, would be totally unprovided for.

On Waldo's advice this petition was addressed directly to Governor Shirley by the settlers. Waldo's mediation in this situation would have been utterly useless, since he and Shirley were bitter enemies. The most interesting and significant aspect of the petition is, perhaps, the highly obsequious language in which it is phrased, which reveals the abject, feudal attitude of these early Germans toward the *Obrigkeit*. This is indubitably a carryover from Old World conditions, and it should make clear that Broad Bay in its early days was a tiny bit of medievalism set down in the Maine wilderness. Probably nowhere else in all New England could such a striking anachronism have been found.

The portents of coming war were even clearer to the government in Boston than they were to the distressed Germans at

<sup>3</sup>Mass. Records, XV A, 240-242.

Broad Bay, and limited aid was not long deferred. Six hundred guns and fifteen hundred casks of powder were in a short time distributed in Maine. Broad Bay's share was little enough; three half barrels of gunpowder and a proportionate supply of bullets and flints.<sup>4</sup> The summer of 1754 was a period in which Broad Bay gave itself over to war preparations. The erection of a large fort by General Waldo on the site of the old Mill Garrison restored confidence and morale. In later years opinions have differed in reference to the location of this fort. Miller has placed it on the eastern side of the Falls at the old "Sproul's Spring," but such an hypothesis seems untenable, as no considerations of military strategy could possibly have warranted such a location. From the higher land directly east and from the steep bluff directly across the river, the interior of the stockade could with the greatest ease have been constantly raked by rifle fire, and the inmates picked off, one by one, as they might appear from the barracks moving about the stockade. In the erection of a fort the first consideration would have been given to a commanding position, and so it unquestionably was with the Mill Garrison. There was but one such location near the Falls and that was on the bluff due west above the river on the property now occupied by Alfred Storer, and on the land immediately to the westward of his lot. This is a location confirmed by the best contemporary evidence we have. Joseph Ludwig is cited by Cyrus Eaton as placing "the stockade on the western side of the river near the mills."<sup>5</sup> The mills in question were a sawmill and a gristmill located on the eastern bank within easy range of the protective fire of the fort. Joseph Ludwig was of the migration of 1753 of which the largest number was to make its home in the mill garrison for the next seven years. As one who was to make this a refuge for so long a time, he was certainly in a position to speak with some authority on the question of its location.

Unfortunately we have not been able to locate a ground plan of Waldo's fort. Rattermann states that it was of a size sufficient to afford refuge for from five to six hundred people.<sup>6</sup> This is probably not an exaggeration despite the figures set in the Petition of this year. A careful study of the migrations reveals a much larger population, and the Reverend J. W. Starman held that there were fifteen hundred Germans on the Medomak in 1753.<sup>7</sup> In our belief the settlement at this time numbered around one thousand people.

In structure the Mill Garrison certainly followed the pattern of the forts on the Kennebec, and especially of that on the Georges.

<sup>4</sup>Mass. Court Records, XII, 351.

<sup>5</sup>*Annals of Warren*, 1st ed. (Hallowell, 1851), p. 88.

<sup>6</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1869-87), XVI Jahrgang.

<sup>7</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., V, 404.



There was an outer or surrounding stockade of hewn logs twenty inches square and sixteen feet in height set firmly in the earth in an upright position. Within were the barracks built of timber against the walls of the stockade and divided into compartments which were occupied by the garrison and by the families assigned to the post for protection. Attacks were repelled by men standing on the flat roofs of these barracks which abutted the stockade. Similar in structure and location were the store rooms, and the magazine was probably located underground. Tradition has it that General Waldo had a house erected for himself within the stockade. In practically all the forts of the period located on water there was a covered way built of logs extending down to the waterfront and terminating in a small blockhouse at the water's edge. In the Mill Garrison such a covered passage would have run from the northeast side of the stockade down to the falls and the tidewater, thus insuring a supply of water for the garrison as well as communication by water with the Province Sloop which discharged supplies a short distance below on the river.

Joseph Ludwig and Charles Leissner are the main authorities concerning four smaller blockhouses farther down the river. There were two on each side of the Medomak, each located at a strategic point in order to provide protection and quick refuge for the settlers on farms more nearly adjacent. These were all erected by the settlers themselves in the summer of 1754, and consisted of smaller stockades from ten to sixteen feet high, made as in the case of the Mill Garrison by setting hewn timbers upright in the ground. The quarters were built of timber against the interior wall, and each fort was large enough to provide residence for the garrison and sixteen families. This would mean that each could harbor a minimum of one hundred persons.

There were two of these smaller garrisons on the east side of the river. The first one was located on a hill ("Garrison Hill") on the old Ludwig Castner farm which is next north of the present Castner Homestead. In his lifetime Charles H. Lilly told us that he removed from the hill a large boulder with a bowl-shaped top, obviously used by the Garrison as well as those who had taken refuge there for the grinding of their grain for baking. Mr. Lilly, whose memory reached back seventy years, also recalled the great quantities of tansy<sup>8</sup> which grew around the old site, possibly the last remnant of an herb garden which the settlers had cultivated for their common use during the years when the garrison was their main residence. Farther down the river was "the lower garrison," whose location is a matter of some uncertainty. It was in all probability near "the town landing" which was located on the present

<sup>8</sup>An herb used in medicine as a tonic and as a seasoning in food.

estate of Mrs. Russell Cooney at Trowbridge's Point. Here the channel sets in somewhat closer to the shore, and here it was that the coasters discharged and loaded in the early days. The garrison was either near this point or a little lower down on the next, or Schenck's Point. The road running west past the Mink homestead and the residence of Harold W. Moody extended in an earlier day to the shore and connected the town landing with the main highway running north and south.<sup>9</sup>

On the west side of the river "the middle garrison" seems to have been located nearly opposite the one on the east side. It was back on rising ground a short distance from the western terminus of Light's Ferry on the Rodney Creamer farm. In this area there are the remains of a number of rocked-up cabin cellars clustered closely together, which seem to have been inside the stockade. Many years ago on this old site Mr. Rodney Creamer excavated a goodly number of old relics: shears, pewter, cutlery, a huge lock, and two twelve-pound cannon balls. The location of the lower garrison on the west side is a matter of some conjecture. Considerations of strategic placement would call for a site on the upper end of "the Dutch Neck," which at this time was entirely settled. Joseph Ludwig is cited by Cyrus Eaton as stating that after certain casualties inflicted by the Indians on the east side, "their neighbors," probably cut off from the garrison, "then moved over to the Dutch Neck for greater security." It seems that such a move would hardly have been made if there had been no garrison in that area as a refuge against Indian attack. Confirmative evidence of the location of this garrison was unearthed in 1949, when Charles Castner, an employee of S. H. Weston & Sons, found a button bearing the inscription "Montreal British Militia." This was unearthed amid lime lumps while Castner was digging a ditch on the farm next to the Herbert Geele home. In addition to these five garrisons, three additional ones were planned, but apparently were never erected, and any speculation as to their projected location would be but a vain gesture.

By the autumn of 1754 these preparations for defense had been completed at Broad Bay. It had been a busy season. Men, women, and children had worked the daylight hours through to cultivate crops and increase food supplies, and to make up for the loss of a great deal of labor that had necessarily been diverted to the construction of the defensive posts. At this time the economy of the earlier colonists would have been reasonably stable under peace conditions. Most of them had cows; there were a few oxen, and pigs and poultry were plentiful. The food amounts derived from agriculture, however, were still limited. Plows at this time

<sup>9</sup>Traditionary, Daniel W. Castner (1832-1909).



were not a part of the settlers' equipment, and all land had to be prepared for the seed by hand. This limited the quantity of the crops and necessitated that the women be as active in the fields as the men. The families of the migrants of 1742 and 1748 had been able to achieve economic security on a limited scale, but those of 1752 were restricted in their food resources by the lack of cleared land and farming equipment, while those of 1753 were still dependent on the food supplies provided by General Waldo. With the advent of winter their needs were to become acute as they had been able to clear but little land for that season's crops. These in brief were the conditions confronting the Broad Bayers as they faced into the Seven Years' War.

France was not yet at war, but she was hostile and her Indian allies were even more so. In the early autumn of 1754 the dreaded congeries of St. Francis braves took to the trail. Their warpath was very nearly the present route of the Grand Trunk Railroad. From St. Francis they crossed the Memphremagog, took the Clyde River to Island Pond, then crossed the Mulhegan, thence to the Connecticut, to the upper Ammonoosuc and across the Androscoggin and the Kennebec and down these rivers to the coastal settlements. Their first blow fell at Fort Halifax on the Kennebec, about thirty miles from Broad Bay. The attack was made November 6th on some men drawing logs near the fort, one of whom was killed and scalped, and four taken prisoner. There were further attacks, also on the New Hampshire frontier. The news of the raids spread terror along the whole frontier. At Broad Bay practically the entire settlement took up residence in the garrisons; relatively few at this time took refuge in Boston. Henceforth the people ventured out to work on their farms and in the woods only under strong guards, an arrangement which was to be in effect for the next seven years.

As a consequence of this attack, the provincial government in Boston issued orders at once to six companies of minutemen in Maine to mobilize, and the frontier garrisons were strengthened. Seventeen regulars were stationed at the Mill Garrison, and twelve in each of the middle and lower garrisons. In addition to this all who were able to bear arms entered some form of service. Matthias Römele (anglicized to Remilly), who had been a soldier in the German Army and was ultimately commissioned a captain, was placed in charge of a contingent of local militia which was known throughout the district as "the Dutch Rangers." The personnel of this troop at one time was made up of the following Broad Bayers:

Matthias Remilly  
Philip Fogler  
David Rominger

Frank Miller  
Frederick Winchenbach  
Franz Eisele



Adam Schumacher	Gottfried Feyler
John Henry Bender [Benner]	Peter Müller
Anthony Burchardt [Burkett]	Georg Hiebner [Heavener]
Michael Heisler	Heinrich Köhler [Kaler]
Matthias Hoffses	John Heidenheim
John Joseph Weber [Weaver]	Jas. Genthner <sup>10</sup>

Muster Roll No. 170 shows the following in service:

Friedrich Sechrist	Jacob Heins
Baltes Castner	Heinrich Miller
Gottfried Bornheimer	David Kuebler
Jacob Rominger	Jacob Winchenbach
Valentin Jung	

In the company of Captain James Fitch were Heinrich Lehr and John Adam Levensaler; in that of Captain Alexander Nickells was James Littell (Little), while William Farnsworth, George Jung, Wilhelm Jung, Jacob Hyler, and Georg Schmauss (Smouse) served in the St. George Company. A study of the muster rolls in the Massachusetts Archive would doubtless give a much longer list. Captain Charles Leissner's "Scouts" were drawn in part from the Frankfort (Dresden) area. These organizations drew pay and rations from the government, which in considerable measure helped to reduce the food shortage in the colony. As long as the river remained open, the Province Sloop made regular trips and continued to land stores. With such preparations Broad Bay seemed immune from destruction except through an attack in great force with artillery, and against such an attack the defensive steps provided ample warning. The greatest fear was from the small roving bands of savages that could slip through the defense and strike without warning at the unsuspecting settlers.

The Penobscots in the early phases of this war were neutral, and the Government followed a program designed in every way to foster this neutrality. Such a policy, however, soon proved itself impractical, since to the settlers an Indian remained an Indian and once passions were aroused by savage raids any Indian was killed, where possible, on sight.

There were no attacks at Broad Bay in the winter of 1754-1755, but fear was acute and general; and early in the new year (1755), the Government in Boston began receiving distress calls. The first was from Charles Leissner to Governor Shirley under date of January 29, 1755, and it reveals the state of mind in the settlement, as well as its needs:

The warre of which there is at present so much talke of, is not onlly so freightfull to the Settlers of the place, but their not being provided the necessary ammunition, as Powder and Ball, and some being entirely without any Fire Arms; they have in so far provided as to built five gar-

<sup>10</sup>Muster Roll No. 201, Mass, State Archives, 96B.

risons, and are to be built Three more, and it would be a very necessary thing, to have Three or Four small Cannon in the Upper Garrison, as the same is almost at the end of the Settlement, and Two large Hills to be defended; Therefore I and the Inhabitants of This Place Pray Your Excellency's assistance in the above mentioned articles.<sup>11</sup>

The Governor answered with reasonable promptness, and on February 22nd it was voted in the General Court that "his Excellency, the Captain General be desired to give Order that there be sent to Broad Bay Three small Canon two pounders, One Barrel of Powder and a proper proportion of ball out of the Magazine of the Province."<sup>12</sup>

On April 24, 1755, Matthias Remilly replied, thanking the Governor for providing the settlement with ammunition and asking for firelocks, "there being abt. 150 able men in this settlement and 75 of them being without arms, and not Capable to purchase the same." Then he adds: "should there be any rupture, it would be a Damage to this part, for so many people to be ruined, or Obligated to break up for want of arms to defend themselves."<sup>13</sup>

The savages began to infest the entire frontier of Maine with the advent of mild weather in 1755. Early attacks were made at Gorhamtown and New Boston (Gray). In the more immediate vicinity two men were killed and scalped at Frankfort (Dresden). At Sheepscot five settlers were plowing in a field. The savages crept upon them under the lee of a fence and all five were captured. On June 9th, the House ordered one hundred men for scouting from Frankfort to the truck house on the Georges River.<sup>14</sup> On June 12th the Governor offered bounties on scalps, ranging from £100 for a male Indian scalp to £20 for a female or a male scalp under the age of twelve.<sup>15</sup> Conditions in the Medomak-Georges area are vividly set forth by Thomas Kilpatrick in a letter to the Governor and Council from the blockhouse on the Georges under date of June 14th:

Our woods round our garrisons are crawling with lurking enemies watching our motions, so that we are in continual fear and danger. As is evident by their late clandestine attempts, for after killing and barbarously using and sculping one boy, they at the same time killed and carried captive another, and soon after have killed one man and carried another captive of the Dutch at Broad Bay.<sup>16</sup>

This is undoubtedly a reference to the unhappy fate of Johann Heinrich Demuth and Hermann Kuhn. Demuth, whose

<sup>11</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XXIV, 26.

<sup>12</sup>Order of the House, Feb. 22, 1755, p. 27, Mass. Court Records.

<sup>13</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XII, 390.

<sup>14</sup>Orders of the House of June 9, 1755, p. 31, Mass. Archives.

<sup>15</sup>Boston Gazette, June 12, 1755.

<sup>16</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XII, 419; also Joseph Ludwig, cited by Eaton in *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., pp. 102-103.

farm was located on the east side a bit south of Storer's Point on the opposite bank, noticed some cows in the cabbage patch on the Point. As farming in this emergency in a large measure was carried on in common and all shared in the limited produce raised, Demuth, in company with Kuhn, a neighbor, crossed over in a boat to drive the cattle out. While they were engaged in this task, Indians suddenly appeared from nowhere as it were, and Demuth was taken captive. Kuhn outran his pursuers, but while making away from the shore was fired on and killed. Demuth was never heard of again, which warrants the inference that he was either killed or died in captivity.

Another known casualty in the spring of this year was that of a German settler by the name of Bauzer who had wandered off in search of his cow near the Slaigo Brook at the foot of Thomas' Hill. By the use of the cow's bell, the Indians led him into ambush and dispatched him. It is probable that the St. John's as well as the St. Francis Indians were engaged in these outrages, since in June of this year the Government had found cause to declare war on all the Indians east of the Penobscot River.

Throughout the year 1755 the policy of appeasing the Penobscots, of alienating them from the French and attaching them to the English, was encountering serious obstacles. It was felt by the settlers that under this screen of immunity, the Indians were secretly operating in hostile ways. Captain Bradbury, in command of the fort on the Georges, made a sincere but futile effort to carry out the Province's policy of appeasement in the case of the Penobscots, but to the settlers a single Indian aggression, irrespective of what tribe committed it, was chargeable to the whole race. Even though Bradbury might conciliate the savages on the Penobscot and secure the settlers from their aggression, nevertheless he could not persuade the settlers to maintain a conciliatory attitude, and this fact carried events beyond his control. Even Bradbury himself was not certain that the hands of the Penobscots were entirely clean; and in a letter of June 27, 1755, to the Governor, he begged to be relieved of his post. The Governor, too, apparently felt the need of smoking the Indians out and accordingly sent a letter to their chiefs stating that he expected that "a competent number of their most able men should join with the English in avenging the wrongs inflicted by the other tribes."<sup>17</sup> To that end he invited them to repair to St. Georges and be ready to join in that service when required. In such an event he promised pay, rations, and protection for their women, children, and aged people at the fort.

<sup>17</sup>Mass. Archives, XXXII, 647-648,



Such a solution was destined never to eventuate. Fate intervened in the person of James Cargill, the captain of a company of scouts raised among the men of Newcastle. On July 1st he crossed the county, spent the night at Broad Bay and the next day was in the Georges district. His object seemed to have been the easy money that could be had from the scalps of unsuspecting Indians, it being rather difficult to determine from the evidence of a scalp whether the Indian had been hostile or otherwise. The first victims of Cargill's enterprise were Margaret Moxa, her husband, and child. All three were murdered and scalped. Margaret was a friendly squaw who had been of great service to the garrison at the fort by keeping them acquainted with the movements and intent of roving bands of savages. The scouts next moved into the Owl's Head district, where they encountered a band of Indians on a hunt. These they fired upon, and nine were killed and scalped. These treacherous acts committed against the Penobscots stunned the Government by reason of their impolicy. Cargill was arrested and compelled to stand trial in Boston for murder.<sup>18</sup>

With the prejudice of the country running high against the natives, however, it was impossible to secure a jury that would convict on such a charge, and Cargill was acquitted. The Penobscots were fully aroused by this turn in a situation which they could not understand and were loath to forgive or let pass unavenged. Among the tribes they were distinguished for coolness and prudence, in consequence of which they still hesitated, since it was clear to them that by war with the English their fate would be set. The Government, having been blocked in its policy of conciliation, and believing that the tribe now had adequate grounds for becoming openly hostile, closed the issue by publicly proclaiming war against them on the 5th of November, 1755. Such an act, of course, meant that the area between the Penobscot and the Kennebec would immediately become a more active scene of Indian warfare.

During the winter of 1755 the number of regulars in the garrisons at Broad Bay was reduced. The Indians were seldom on the warpath in the dead of winter, and furthermore, the removal of the regulars provided added space, since the entire population of the colony was housed in the five garrisons. There was, however, distress and gloom; and this was rendered deeper by a heavy earthquake, the most severe ever experienced in the District of Maine. It was felt throughout the area extending from the Chesapeake to Nova Scotia. It began at eleven minutes past four on the morning of November 18th and lasted for four minutes.<sup>19</sup> According to

<sup>18</sup>Mass. Archives, XXXVIII, 167.

<sup>19</sup>Smith's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, entry under 1756.

Joseph Ludwig "the houses shook like a ship on the sea, yet it did no further damage than to topple a few chimneys."<sup>20</sup>

Such an event preyed on the moral sensibilities and the superstitious fears of the people. In some districts the 23rd of December was observed as a day of humiliation and prayer in propitiation to the Deity, in order to avert the evil that this omen might portend. There were also other depressing problems. Food was scarce. Many lived on the rations which the head of the family drew from the Government as a militiaman. One family sustained itself the entire winter on frostfish with only four quarts of meal.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the winter lumber and cordwood were cut under guard along the river for spring export. At this task a quart of buttermilk would often command a day's wages. Conditions bore most heavily on the migrants of 1752 and 1753 who were compelled to sell their services to the earlier settlers who went under guard during the day to their farms to care for their stock and work in the woods, which now were back from the river by about half a mile. It was thus that winter was passed in fear and misery, but happily with no further Indian raids at Broad Bay.

In June 1756 war was formally declared against France. In the early spring of that year the Indians again infested the frontier, operating in the main on the eastern end of it; but it was not as simple for the savages to surprise the settlers now as formerly, for the settlers had begun to keep dogs and train them as Indian hunters. When on the warpath the savage customarily greased his entire body with bear fat which gave off a distinctly pungent odor, and this scent the dogs would pick up with the greatest ease at a considerable distance. For their part the Indians seldom molested the dogs as a shot at them would reveal their presence, sound the alarm over a wide area, and destroy their chances to catch the settlers unawares.

Throughout this year, the Penobscots concentrated their activities largely on the eastern end of the frontier, since these settlements were in their own tribal area, and it was their presence that they most deeply resented. On September 26th they succeeded in burning one schooner and capturing two others in the Georges River, with the loss of three men killed and three taken captive. This burst of relentless activity led Governor Shirley on April 7th to report the following to the House of Representatives: "The people in those eastern parts seem to be in a peculiar manner the objects of the enemy's fury and resentment, and the terror thereof has made such impression on the inhabitants that there seems to be a growing danger that without immediate relief the place will

<sup>20</sup>Joseph Ludwig, cited by Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 89.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*

be abandoned." The next day the House voted a detachment of fifteen men "to guard the inhabitants of Broad Bay during their seed time and harvest and on other necessary occasions."<sup>22</sup>

The Governor seemed to have grounds for his fears, for there was something of an exodus to the Boston district on the part of those who felt the uncertainties of existence at Broad Bay to be unendurable. Hausmann Mellen took refuge in Boston; Christian Hilt in Worcester; Friedrich Schwarz in Boston; Captain John Ulmer and his brother Jacob in Marblehead, from which place the latter never returned; John Martin Schmidt in Dedham; Georg Light, Georg Light, Jr., and John Jacob Weyl in Boston. The minutes of Boston Selectmen's meetings contain the following warnings for 1756:

Capt. John Phillips of Marshfield called on the Selectmen with Georg Storer, a German with his wife and two children as passengers from Broad Bay. Ordered: Capt. Phillips to carry them back to the place from whence they came, or give bond so that they may be no charge to the town.

Sent to the Almshouse on 9th inst. [Dec] on account of the Province, a poor woman from Broad Bay, taken up this morning on the Neck, having laid there all night in a suffering condition. Her name is unknown as she speaks no English.

1758. Mr. Thomas Flucker reports that there are a number of Dutch people on Wheeler Point who came from Broad Bay.  
Peter Hammond? came from Broad Bay, — Horn and wife also.

There are names in Broad Bay history that appear only a few times in the early annals. Such are those who most probably sought refuge in other areas and never returned to their original homes on the Medomak.

It was not entirely a one-way war at Broad Bay, for it sometimes happened that the Indian came to a sorry end as well as the white man, even though we only catch an occasional glimpse of such an occurrence, as in the following item: "From Broad Bay we hear a Dutchman observing an Indian with his back to him fir'd and killed him, when two others started up, took the dead Indian . . . and carried him off."<sup>23</sup> Such reports, in fact, all save official ones, reached the Boston newspapers from the captains of the coastal schooners that regularly entered the rivers to discharge supplies and load cargoes of wood and lumber.

The year 1756 passed at Broad Bay with no relaxing of vigilance, and no variation from the crowded life in the garrisons. All farming was carried on as heretofore under guard, and the limited

<sup>22</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd ser., XIII, 19.

<sup>23</sup>*Boston News Letter*, May 27, 1756.



amount of food that could be raised under such conditions was further restricted this year by the visitations of insect pests which devoured the crops.<sup>24</sup> Those saved were so scanty as to cause grave apprehension and, later in the season, actual want. The Penobscots too were having their troubles "in eastern parts." They were receiving little attention and aid from the French; their crops were scanty; their numbers decimated by smallpox; their hunting parties were kept constantly on the move by the English scouting parties; they achieved no major successes; there was a price on their heads, and they were highly apprehensive concerning their future. During the winter a body of one hundred and fifty rangers was raised to range their hunting grounds. By spring this tribe at least was ready for peace. The Government, however, distrusted their sincerity, and since the tribe was not willing to subscribe to the somewhat harsh conditions laid down, the war was continued.

The year 1757 was a bloody one in Broad Bay history despite the fact that in addition to the regular garrisons, eighty-seven men constantly patrolled the frontier from the Georges to the Kennebec. This patrol followed the same pattern as in previous years. These companies had their headquarters at the major forts. At Broad Bay the patrol operated from the Mill Garrison.

In spite of constant vigilance the Indians were just as constantly in the near-by cover, but never in sufficient force to deliver a telling blow. They were prone to wait until a man or woman was a safe and certain victim and then strike. All casualties among the settlers were of this type. The house of a Broad Bayer by the name of Piper (anglicized from Pfeiffer) in the Back Cove area was ambushed one morning. As Piper came out of the house for wood, he was shot and killed. His wife placed her child in the cellar, closed the trap and then sought to prevent the savages from entering. The attackers shot through the door and killed Mrs. Piper, then they entered and plundered the house. The child, however, was overlooked and was later found uninjured.<sup>25</sup> In the course of the season several Broad Bayers were taken captive, but unfortunately no record of their captivities has been preserved. Among the captives was one of the sons of Christian Klein (Kline), either Georg or Johann. The young man was taken to Canada and sold to the French. After the war his father proceeded thither, searched, found the boy and returned with him to the settlement.<sup>26</sup> Since the Kleins were of the migration of 1753 and in residence at the Mill Garrison, the seizure of the young man in all probability took place in that general neighborhood.

<sup>24</sup>Smith's *Journal*, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup>Joseph Ludwig, cited by Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., pp. 102-103.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

The history of Broad Bay in this year of the war, 1757, is illuminated in a most interesting way by documents from the hands of those who were present and active participants; and since their awkward and incoherent English imparts a flavor and a realism to their distress and their tragedies that can in no other way be so poignantly expressed, I incorporate them verbatim. First, there is the letter of Charles C. G. Leissner to Sir William Pepperell written from Broad Bay on May 9, 1757:

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir:

I beg leave to send your Hon<sup>r</sup> inclosed a copy of my Journall,<sup>27</sup> what trouble and Barbarety hapned since my last. A Whaile Boat would be a most necessary thing for this place, as I can't come to the Assisstance on each side of the river without going round the Falls, which will take near a day, should therefore be glad if your Hon<sup>r</sup> would please to order one. Scarceness of time obliges me to break off. So subscribe myself

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most submisfull serv't.

C. C. Leissner<sup>28</sup>

In this letter Leissner put a finger on the main weakness in Broad Bay's defense, for at times he might be with his detail on the Dutch Neck when an outrage would occur at South Waldoborough. To march with his force to the Falls in order to get across the river and then on to the scene of the outrage on the lower east side was little more than a futile protective gesture. With a whaleboat patrol on the river, a fairly rapid contact could have been made at nearly any threatened point, but there is no evidence to show that Leissner ever got his whaleboat. In the meantime outrages continued, and Leissner's scouts continued to arrive on the scene too late to avert them.

The captivity of Demuth and the death of Kuhn at Storer's Point within sight of the Mill Garrison has already been narrated. A little farther down the river on the east side was the farm of Kazimir Lösch with its cabin near the shore just west of Governor Marble's old home. On May 27, 1757, Mr. Lösch was engaged in hauling wood to the shore for shipment on a coaster when he was attacked by three Indians. In such situations the savages were loath to resort to gunfire as this gave the alarm and the scouts could follow a fresh trail. Consequently they aimed to take Lösch prisoner or to kill him in a quieter fashion. In the struggle the sturdy yeoman got the better of two adversaries and the third was compelled to shoot, which brought Leissner's scouts to the scene on the double. This was the only casualty of this war which is attended by the account of an eyewitness, and since along with this

<sup>27</sup>A report sent in weekly with an account of happenings. This would have been a most revealing document.

<sup>28</sup>Colls, Me, Hist, Soc., Doc, Ser., 2nd ser., XIII, 59-60.

unhappy episode Captain Leissner's report to Sir William Pepperell includes other news of the Broad Bay scene, his entire letter of May 28, 1757, follows:

Honorable Sir:—

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> humanity and wonted goodness toward the distressed, has been [made] known by Coasters and Masters of Vessells to the Settlers of this Place: and as I am their director, they have desired me to inform Your Hon<sup>r</sup> of their distresses and deplorable situation.

Yesterday in the morning about nine of ye Clock, one Cassemir Lash, an inhabitant of this Place, being at his Farm at Work, close by a Garrison, was Shot by the Indians, whereupon Larm was fired; I went immediately with Fifteen Men in the Woods, and took around to the place where the damage was done, we found the body laying a burning, with the Hatched Sticking fast in his Skull, he was Shot under the right arm, and Stabbed with a Knife in a most barbarous manner, his wife being at the time the Murder was done at the House and Saved herself by flying to the Garrison.

This day again all the Cattle comes a flying out of the Woods, and no person capable to drive them back again, which is a certain Sign of the Ennemies being near at hand. There are Six Coasters a Loading in the Place, and desire guard. I have sent them one and Two men each according to the danger of the Place, but they seem displeased and threadne to Complain; the Generall Court has been pleased to allow eighteen men for this Place which is settled about nine Mile in the length. The number of the inhabitants about 140, and sometimes about ten and twelve Coasters aloading. It is therefore an impossibility with 18 men to protect the Coasters; inhabitants and to take care of the garrisons, this being the only Place which provid's the Western Towns with fire Wood, and no more being hawled at the present, the 18 men not Capable to Guard everywhere. Consequently the Coasters must lay up their Vessells, the settlement is ruined, and such a vast number of poor people will come to destruction.

The inhabitants, therefore, Humbly implore your Hon<sup>r</sup> and His Majesty's Hon<sup>r</sup>ble Councill to consider their Deplorable Situation, and onely to allowe to 18 men more provision, which 18 men will do Duty as well as the 18 already in the Service, and will divide the pay with them, so that onely 18 men will be paid, and 36 be Victualt, and the Place then Sufficient protected that Coasters can be provided [with guards] and safely Load.

I remain in Duty bound Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Most Submissful Servant.

C. C. Leissner<sup>29</sup>

At the time of Lash's death, perhaps on the same day, and a little farther down the river, about sunset, occurred the murder of Loring Sides, Sr. He was of the first major German migration, that of 1742, and was a veteran of the Louisburg campaign in the preceding war. His farm, one of the earlier grants on the river, was that owned for so many years by Albion F. Stahl. On this farm and just below the ledges near its northern boundary stood a cone-shaped boulder about five feet high. At that time this was in the

<sup>29</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd ser., XIII, 70-72.



Side's pasture. The savages had killed the cow, taken her bell, and concealed themselves behind the boulder. Just before sunset Sides and his son went out in search of the cow and were drawn to the rock by the sound of the bell. As they approached, the Indians emerged and the elder man was tomahawked, scalped, and the body mutilated. The son got away, crossed the two intervening pastures without the Indians being able to overtake him, and took refuge in the "Middle Garrison."<sup>30</sup> The tomahawk later came into the possession of Asa R. Reed and eventually found its way into the collections of the Maine Historical Society in Portland. The boulder was blasted and removed by Captain Stahl while clearing land on his farm in the early part of the present century.

These attacks seemed to have been made by a band of Indians which had split up into small sections to make simultaneous attacks at various points. Some of the people in the neighborhood below the Sides farm learned of the attack and fearing they were cut off from the "Middle Garrison," hurried by boat across to the stockade on the Dutch Neck for greater security. But even here attacks occurred shortly thereafter. A Mr. Burns, possibly Joseph, Jacob Sechrist, and others were attacked while at work in the woods. Sechrist was killed, but Burns and the others reached their boat and escaped from the five Indians pursuing them.<sup>31</sup>

Farther up the river on the west side, Friedrich Kuentzel (Kinsell) definitely outwitted the savages who were on his trail. Kuentzel owned the present Mark Smith farm on Kaler's Hill. His cabin was near the shore. In answer to the alarm gun, all the Kuentzels had hastily repaired to the Mill Garrison. At the farm, along with other things hastily left, was a hen with a brood of young chicks. After finding herself in a place of safety Mrs. Kuentzel became concerned for her hen and chicks.

The next morning as there were no Indians to be seen, she desired her husband to go down and see to the chicks. So taking his trusty dog and gun he passed down by the usual path [which led from cabin to cabin, along the river] and attended to the chickens and some other matters about the house without observing anything unusual. But as he was about to return, the dog began to show signs of alarm, and he was well assured there were Indians near, for the dog by long experience and training understood the subject as well as his master. What now was to be done? To go back by the usual path would be especially dangerous, for the scoundrels would probably be secretly waiting for him near the path, and to go further into the woods so as to avoid any ambush prepared for him would also be dangerous. But no time must be lost; so looking again to his gun to see that it was in order and motioning to his dog to take his position behind him, he walked cautiously to the shore, and the tide being out, waded out in the mud so as to be more than a gun shot

<sup>30</sup>Joseph Ludwig, cited by Eaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

from the shore, and then made his way upward in the middle of the channel, and finally reached the block house in safety.<sup>32</sup>

The episodes and tragedies here narrated are by no means all-inclusive. There were other deaths and captivities concerning which history is in the main silent. In this war the local Indians did not exhibit their usual consistent ferocity. The Penobscots especially battled in a half-hearted manner. They had not desired the war. It had, in fact, been declared against them, and they fought in the realization that they were upholding a lost cause. Captives and scalps could be sold to the French in Canada; food and supplies could in some measure be had by plundering the homes of their victims, but of torture there was a bare minimum, and little wasting by fire. The savages seemed to feel that the white men were in the Maine settlements to stay and their warfare was as humane as they could conceive of war. In short, they fought as though desirous of averting the vengeance that would be visited upon them in the event that their foe became fully aroused by atrocities, and they fought the war with an eye to a possible peace.

During these war years the women labored with the men, and in those cases where the men were in more distant parts in military service, the wives did the husband's work and provided as they could for the families. There was one woman at Broad Bay, later a legendary figure, commonly known as "die grosse Maria" (Big Mary) who cut two shiploads of cordwood in one winter and hauled it on a hand sled to the shore for spring export.

In reference to the conditions at Broad Bay, the following petition of some of the settlers as they surveyed their own wretched state in the summer of 1757 is revealing:

#### BROAD BAY PETITION

August, 1757

May it please Your Houners To receive in these few lines an Account of the Griefances of the most part of the Settlers at Broad Bay.

The Continuation of Warre, and the cruelty of the Indian enemy Used here, has been a terror to us and been a Great Hindrance to our Labour; Tho we bare all that with patience as long as we were Capable to mentain in some measure of large Familys, but now with tears in our Eyes must Acquaint Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> that our harvest is so miserable, as ever been Known by mankind, so that the most of us will not be able to reap the Seed which we have sowed with hard Labour and in danger of our lives, owing to the deep Snow which lasted till the middle of May, and then the Great drought which followed: We see no way to Keep us and Large Famelys from starving (as the Respective Towns in the Western parts refuse to receive any of Us) we therefore hope Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> will be pleased to take our deplorable case in to Consideration, what Damage it would accrue to the Eastern parts, in case such a Number of Famelys

<sup>32</sup>Oral tradition furnished by George Smouse to John Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen* (Albany, 1878), pp. 324-325.

should be forced to break up, as we are at the borders of the Enemy, certainly the rest of the Settlements betwixt this and North Yarmouth would be Obliged to follow Us, as they then would be exposed and incapable to Stand their Ground, and such Number of Famelys would certainly become a Great Charge and Trouble to this Provinz: We therefore Humbly implore Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> mercy to allowe onely an Allowance of Provision for three months to each of Us, which with the roots we perhaps may raise, would in some measure make us able to cutt Wood and other Lumber against and during the Winter to provid for us and poor Famelys till a further Harvest; which would prove a Great benefit to the Country in Generall by Keeping the Fronteers Strongly settled, and save a vast Charge and Trouble which would come upon the Provinz by the multitude of so many poor souls, also a benefit to the Westerd by Supplying that part with fire wood and other Lumber.

We humbly repose our Self's into Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Mercy, and shall in Duty bound forever Pray.

This humble and pathetic petition, more revealing of the condition at Broad Bay in the summer of 1757 than any comment by any historian, is signed by fifty-odd heads of families, no signature of which is legible enough to be decipherable, not even those of the better educated leaders in the settlement. Hence there is the following endorsement with legible signatures:

That the Circumstances mentioned in this Petition being the truth we do hereby Certifie.

C. C. Leissner, Com<sup>dr</sup>  
Math<sup>s</sup> R (emilly) Town Capt.<sup>33</sup>

There were also other aspects of the distressing conditions set forth in this petition, which are not touched on in it. One of these having to do with stock receives further mention here. The cattle especially suffered heavily so they had to be turned loose for pasture, and in their need the Indians used them freely for food. Under such conditions they became wild and Indian-shy and would flee precipitately at the sight of a savage. Under these circumstances, it became necessary for the settlers to shoot their own cattle for food. Some became entirely wild and were found only on the restoration of peace after an absence of years. This was a heartrending experience for the Germans who were from old days proverbially attached to their stock. In fact, it is related of one settler at Broad Bay that after the war he went to the Georges to buy a cow and since he did not have the money to pay for the animal, he indentured his wife in payment, reclaiming her as soon as he could raise the funds.<sup>34</sup>

No amount of research can reveal the conditions of a period, especially those covering the daily life of a time and place,

<sup>33</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XIII, 102.

<sup>34</sup>Traditional. S. L. Miller, *History of Waldoborough* (Wiscasset, 1910), p. 47.



as fully and realistically as the words of one who actually lived them. In such a matter it is particularly fortunate that there has been preserved a day-to-day account of one week of life at Broad Bay in late May or early June of the critical year of 1757. This record, although unsigned, is clearly from the military journal of Captain Matthias Remilly, or Captain Charles C. G. Leissner. In either case, it provides a word picture by one who occupied a position of the highest leadership and responsibility in the settlement, as well as one to whose attention all relevant details were reported.

May 31, 1757. Marched with 25 men from the mill garrison about 3 miles E. N. E. across the meadows, and then struck down south betwixt our meadows and St. George's ponds, and returned through the woods in sight of the clear. Met 3 times with Indian tracks, but it being so dry, could make no discovery of their number.

June 1st. A man and a woman on the western side of Madamuck Falls were surprised by something making a noise along the brush of the woods, and the dog going upon it, I went immediately with 12 men in search, but could make no discovery.

3d. Marched with 18 men down the lower part of the bay to look after some cattle for the inhabitants. At return at the lower garrison met with George's and Frankfort companies both bound to Frankfort, they staid that night at the mill garrison and went on their march in the morning.

4th. About 10 o'clock went with 18 men to the middle garrison and left 4 men for a guard to a settler who was making fence close to the woods. At the E. side of the river the watch was surprised by a noise in the woods, hearing the dry sticks break; at 1 o'clock the men received allowance and when they was parted, 3 women and a man went to their lots above the falls joining one another, the first, being about 70 rod off the mill garrison, by the dog making a dirrible [terrible] noise, discovered an Indian behind the fence in gunshot of her. She took to her heels, screaming to the other at the next house, which immediately shut her door and crept into the cellar, and, as there was in the cellar an air hole, she saw the Indians, which being 4 in number, running over the brook<sup>35</sup> (which runs along her lot to Madomack river) and taking a short round to the common pad [path] and so down to the shoar, where they stood in a heap, expecting the woman went along the pad, but she escaped with another by the help of a man through the water. I heard thereof and run immediately with 15 men to the place, found the woman yet in her cellar amout death [almost dead.] She told that the Indians returned from the shoar and came to her house, she thinking that they knowed of her being in the house and came to kill her, but they took immediately to the woods about 5 minutes before I was at the house to her relieve. I went immediately down to the lower garrison, as many people were out at work and, by firing an alarm with the cannons, brought them to garrison and returned along the clear.

5th. The woomans which escaped the Indians, hath [had] left some necessaries at their habitations which they could not do without; I went with 8 men to guard them. When we came to the house we espied some

<sup>35</sup>The Eagle Hole Brook.

cattle 5 lots higher up the Madomack river upon the seed,<sup>36</sup> which we expected the Indians drove there to trap some people. I sent for more men and drove them out but made no discovery.

June 6th. In the morning a settler hath some necessary work to do, hath a guard of 8 men, but they soon were surprised by a great breaking through the brook coming right upon them, they being too weak returned to garrison. Two men sent on board the sloops out of the upper garrison, and 4 out of the lower. In the afternoon a settler belonging to the next lot of [from] the garrison hath some fence to make, hath 7 men for a guard; 3 of the working men went to a brook about 40 rods distance to get water, they were immediately surprised by something creeping over the brook about 60 yards off them in the woods, which at first they thought to be a dog, but soon espied two Indians, one in a new, the other in an old blanket, a creeping towards them, then the one Indian hawled the other by the blanket, showing him with his finger the tree [three] people. One of our men hath no gun with him, the other being loaded, so they hastened to the guard and returned home, as they were too weak to follow the enemy, as the rest of the men were at the lower garrison and guarding the sloops.<sup>37</sup>

June 7th. It hath rained, so could not march, but had guards on board the coasters; about one o'clock George's Company returned and brought an account of 30 canoes being landed at the Olds [Owl's] Head, and 2 Indians being killed and scalped by Capt. Cox. About 3 o'clock arrived Capt. Kent with the Province stores which were landed that night.

8th. Marched with 14 men S. E. and took around to the lower garrison where I took the rest of the men and stood guard for the people to haul out the wood for Capt. Kent. About one o'clock a gun was fired at N. E. the back of me about 1-2 mile distance, but as I could not leave the people who a hauling, could not go after it. About 4 o'clock the account was brought to me that a wooman were killed at the eastern side of the narrows, and, as it was about 8 mile to walk by land so that I should not have come there before night, took a sloop's boat and some canoes and went with 20 men there, where we found the corpse of the man up at the edge of the woods, and the wooman at the house, shot, scalped, stabbed, and mangelt [mangled] in a cruel and barbarous manner; the ax was laying by the man and the Indian hatchet was left in the wooman's skull. There hath been 5 guns in the house, two of them they took, also a cutlass. They hath stripped the man and took the money, clothing, and some meal, the chest they broke up and took what they liked; the rest laid about the floor; they took no ammunition tho' there was a good deal in the house. The accident happened thus. The man and his wife and son went in the morning to their house; the man went in the field, the wife and son (who was sick) were in the house; an Indian came in the house and set his gun to the son's breast which missed fire; the wooman took the Indian and throwed him out of doors and shut the door; the Indian shot through a crack and killed the woman; the son creapt into the cellar, where he laid 3 hours before he got to his neighbors. We buried the man and wooman and returned home.

9th. Sent a guard of 14 men to Capt. Kent. All the night before the enemy has been about the garrison mocking the watch, the dogs making a great noise.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Probably grain sown.

<sup>37</sup>At Trowbridge's Point.

<sup>38</sup>Mass. Archives, XXXVIII A, 254.

This simple narrative of the daily round at Broad Bay, with its meaning obscure at a few points where the writer is worsted by the English idiom, reveals truly and dramatically the hazardous days of the early fathers, the ceaseless marches around the outskirts of the settlement, the comings and goings of the rangers in their combing of the forests for the elusive foe, the risks of life by day in cabins and fields, the poor economy carried on under the continual surveillance of the militia, no days without alarms and escapes from lurking death, the faithful role played in the face of danger by the ever-watchful dogs, the stratagems devised by a crafty foe to draw their victims into ambush, the landing of supplies from the coasters and the getting out and loading of wood under guard, death striking wherever attention was relaxed, the unnamed dead being laid away hastily and silently in the soil of their own farms, and the dreaded foe closing in with darkness to mock a watch which they could not catch off guard. This was life at Broad Bay in 1757, the darkest year of the war. With the coming of winter, conditions eased. The roving bands of St. Francis Indians returned to their village on the St. Lawrence, and the usual cordon of scouts afforded protection from any stray Penobscots. However, even though the darkest hour was past and a better day was actually close at hand, this could not yet be discerned by the sturdy spirits at Broad Bay.



### XIII

#### PEACE COMES TO BROAD BAY

*Yet, peace be with their ashes,—for by them,  
If merited, the penalty is paid.*

LORD BYRON

**I**N THE YEAR 1757 a change in the British Cabinet placed William Pitt at the head of the government. Under his dynamic leadership the Crown began throwing its full energies into the prosecution of the war, and expeditions were planned and organized to strike the French at all vital spots and to bring a quick end to their dream of Empire in the western world. The first of these moves of immediate interest to the Province of Maine was a second expedition against Louisburg, which had been restored to France in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. This expeditionary force, containing many Maine men, was commanded by Lord Jeffrey Amherst, with whom the colonial troops served under the command of their own officers. In these expeditions the Crown furnished the arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and all necessary equipment, while the colonies provided the uniforms and paid their own men. This campaign was entirely successful. Amherst bombarded the fortress until it was a mass of ruins and on July 26, 1758, the stronghold surrendered its garrison of over five thousand men to the English. The fall of the fortress had two effects on Broad Bay history: it greatly weakened the morale of the eastern Indians, and it drew a thorn from the flank of the Maine settlements.

There were men from Broad Bay in this second expedition against Louisburg, but the evidence revealing this fact is so scanty that it turns up only accidentally. There is a scrap of relevant evidence in an affidavit made by Jacob Ludwig, May 5, 1815,<sup>1</sup> from which the following sentence is excerpted. "Barnard Kinsley [Bernhard Kuentzel] and I went to the ware together in the year 1758 as Soldiers of England against Kennedy [Canada] or france." This document definitely places these two men in this expedition. Another scrap of evidence from these tragic days comes from

<sup>1</sup>In possession of Dr. Benjamin Kinsell, Medical Arts Bldg., Dallas, Texas.

North Carolina. From Peter Kroehn's Memoir, read at his funeral service, we learn that

he took service in the expedition against the French in Canada in the years 1757 and 1758. On the march it was necessary to move their boats across land on rollers, from one body of water to another; and one roller ran over his leg, injuring him so seriously that for quite a while he could neither stand nor walk. . . . As soon as he was able to walk a little he asked for his discharge which was at once granted. He went to his family in Boston,<sup>2</sup> only to find that during his absence two children had died of dysentery, and a third passed away on the very evening on which he had rejoined his family.<sup>3</sup>

However slightly the curtain may be drawn back on the scene in these days one is pretty certain to catch a glimpse of the starkest tragedy. There were others, too, from Broad Bay who unquestionably in these times took the field in military service, but the accidental disclosures of research have not yet revealed the names.

In the earlier half of the year 1758 life at Broad Bay moved along at a quieter and more uneventful tempo but with no relaxation of vigilance. There were still militiamen posted at the garri-sons, and Captains Leissner and Remilly, at the head of their scouts and rangers, combed the adjacent forest areas. The Indians were in and out along the whole frontier; scattered outrages occurred at various points; but Broad Bay enjoyed a relative freedom from attack throughout the spring, and on into the late summer, when unpleasant things began to happen — things about which the historians have very little to say. Only one of them, in fact, Franz Löher, records that in this war the settlement was attacked and again wasted (*überfallen und verwüstet*),<sup>4</sup> but he sets the date as 1755, which is clearly an error. It is difficult to know just what happened at Broad Bay, but there were stirring events of which we may be entirely certain, and these are set forth here in their known details.

In mid-August General Monkton, who was stationed in Nova Scotia, got word through to Boston that a considerable body of French, augmented by St. John's and Passamaquoddy Indians, was moving southward to join the Penobscots in an attack on the English settlements. The first blow was to be a surprise attack on the fort on the Georges River. With this stronghold destroyed it was planned to lay waste the settlements in the entire district. Broad Bay was only eight miles overland from the Georges, and it could not hope to be spared attack once the fort on the Georges was razed.

<sup>2</sup>Where they had fled from Broad Bay for refuge.

<sup>3</sup>Archives of the Moravian Church (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>4</sup>Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati and Leipzig, 1847), pp. 71-75.

Faced with this emergency, Governor Pownal, who had succeeded Shirley, moved with characteristic energy and speed. He immediately collected such forces as were available in Boston, placed them, along with hastily assembled military stores, aboard the frigate *King George* and the sloop *Massachusetts*, and set sail for the Georges. There men and supplies were thrown into the fort, with no time to spare. Thirty-six hours after the Governor's departure a force of four hundred French and Indians appeared and assaulted the fort, on August 26th and 27th, in what they believed was a surprise attack.<sup>5</sup> They, not the garrison, were surprised.

Repulsed completely and disastrously, they shortly desisted and released a captive woman that she might make her way to the fort and there give such an impressive account of their numbers that the garrison would see the futility of further resistance. This stratagem failed to make the expected impression, and the savages then withdrew, as was so characteristic of their warfare when the element of surprise failed. They vented their wrath, however, on all the cattle they could find, slaughtering about sixty head in the Georges area.

A contemporary newspaper account of this attack follows:

The Day after his Excellency our Governor left Eastern Settlements, the Enemy, to the number of 50 French and 355 Indians appeared at Georges and made attack upon the Fort; But Matters there being so well prepared to receive them, they could not make the least impression, not even upon the Block-House: They burnt some Houses in the woods, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, took one Woman and turned their fury against the Cattle. Four of them appeared escorting the Woman Prisoner under a Flag of Truce, whom Capt. North had redeemed for Nine Pounds, It is from her we hear the Particulars of the Enemy and their Numbers; also that Lieutenant Saunders and the Prisoners taken at Naskeag Point are alive and well. And last Monday Night the Account of the Attempt arrived here: His Excellency immediately sent down Capt. Hallowell in the *King George*: He has sent down also some French Prisoners to exchange for those which the Enemy have of our's.<sup>6</sup>

After this repulse on the Georges the savages and their French allies moved on. The whole district, however, had been aroused and was prepared for trouble. The next blow was struck at Medumcook (Friendship). Here, too, they were unsuccessful in carrying the fort, but they did succeed in killing and capturing eight men. From this point they moved on rapidly to Broad Bay, but what happened here is somewhat obscure, and the evidence requires some interpretation.

<sup>5</sup>Boston *News Letter*, Sept. 7, 1758, Boston Public Library.

<sup>6</sup>Boston *Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1758, Boston Public Library.



Early on the morning of September 4, 1758, a coasting schooner sailed into Boston Harbor, and its master gave an account of the assault at Broad Bay to a local newspaper which promptly issued the following report:

By a Vessel this Morning from the Eastward we are informed that the French and Indians have burnt and destroyed all the Houses, Cattle and Grain of all the Inhabitants at Broad Bay; that they were heard firing at George's Fort, and that near 100 guns from the Fort was heard in about an Hour's Time; that the enemy fired very smart for a little time and then ceased, to refresh themselves in order to go at it again; that last Wednesday Capt. Hallowell was off old Casco; that Capt. Cox had sailed in an arm'd Sloop with 150 men from Casco Bay; and that General Pepperel was marching a Regiment, not being able to get Vessels in New Hampshire Government fit to transport them. The above Vessel has bro't up 11 Women and Children for fear of the Enemy.<sup>7</sup>

This report came from a coaster that had sailed from the Georges River; it is the only known account of such an attack; there are no allusions to it in any other source and it is exaggerated. What, then, did happen? There can be no doubt that this blow was struck in force, probably against the garrisons on the east bank of the river. The attacks were of relatively short duration and were repulsed at all three forts. While the garrisons were under fire and thus immobilized, such cattle as could be found were slaughtered, some of the grain standing ripe or in sheaves in the fields was burned; some cabins were plundered and destroyed; the damage in the main was to property and not to life. These Indians could not afford to tarry too long and they knew it, for a volunteer force of one hundred and fifty men had been raised at Falmouth and were heading for the eastern frontier under command of Captain Cox; Captain Hallowell, in the frigate *King George*, was on his way; General Pepperell was marching a regiment overland from York; a considerable force in the garrison on the Georges was in their rear, and all scouting forces along the frontier were alert. The enemy was clearly outnumbered, and under such conditions had no stomach for a fight. In fact, it is doubtful if they had munitions available to combat such a show of strength; and so, as they could so easily do, they simply disappeared. The force under Captain Cox moved eastward as far as the Broad Bay area and learning that the savages had gone proceeded no farther. This was the end of large-scale Indian ravages in Maine. Governor Pownal's speed and foresight in warding off this attack were highly applauded by the settlers as well as by the General Court, and Mr. Pitt assured him that by his act he had received the particular approbation of the King himself.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

This attack on Broad Bay had come at the very end of August. The remainder of the summer and autumn was a quiet one in which the Germans had ample time to repair and rebuild for the winter, harvest what was left of their crops, and store such food supplies as they could collect. Scattered Penobscots still lurked around the settlements, but they were not aggressive, and vigilance was not relaxed. Captain Joshua Freeman had the overall command, and we are furnished a picture of local activity during the autumn from a few brief entries in his *Journal*:

Tues. 12, Sept. 1758. Sent out part of my company being joyned with Capt. Leissner's a march of sundry miles into the woods. Ret. the same day. Made no discovery of the Enemy. . . . Mon. 25th. Heard this morning an account that Two Indians were discovered yesterday about five miles from the Falls. Immediately set out with my company being joyned with Captain Leissner's. Travelled to the place and all around there about. Made no discovery. Returned in the evening. . . . Monday, Oct. 9, Sent to St. George's Fort eight men under the care of Capt. Romeley. Thurs. 10, They returned, heard nothing of the Enemy.<sup>8</sup>

The *Journal* ended on Tuesday, October 31st, and thereafter war at Broad Bay subsided for the balance of the year.

The year 1759 was a quiet one at Broad Bay, one of long-range importance to all the settlements on the eastern frontier — important because it saw the English taking the initiative on all fronts and carrying the war to all enemy strongholds and centers of power in an effort to end the struggle, terminate the control and influence of the French on the American continent, and reduce the eastern Indians to a state of impotence forever. To this end expeditions were organized against Quebec, Niagara, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and other French key positions.

Three of these enterprises held a special significance to Broad Bay. The first of these was the expedition against Quebec, a center of French power where plots had been hatched and Indian activity directed against the Maine coastal settlements for decades. A force of English and Colonials was led by the heroic General Wolfe. The impossible happened. The attacking force by stratagem and under cover of night reached the Plains of Abraham without loss of life, and the next day the issue was decided by battle. Both Montcalm and Wolfe died in the action which eventuated favorably to the English arms, and on September 13th Quebec, the major French stronghold in the New World, surrendered. This was a meaningful battle to Broad Bay. Her men took part and some died in this memorable struggle, although only scattered references to this fact have been preserved, and only one case will be touched on here. The *Memoir* of Sophia Schumacher, maiden

<sup>8</sup>Joshua Freeman, *A Journal of My Proceedings at Madomack*, Mass. Archives, XXXVIII A, 303.



GOVERNOR THOMAS POWNAL





name Vogt, "the widow Wohlfahrt," wife of Georg Adam Schumacher, contains a brief reference to her first husband, Johann Jacob Wohlfahrt, "a vintner . . . in the service of the colony, passed out of time in the year 1759."<sup>9</sup>

The second enterprise, of which Broad Bay was a direct and grateful beneficiary, was no less memorable and dramatic. It provides, in fact, one of the most epic themes in American history. On the day Quebec surrendered, Major Robert Rogers left Crown Point at the head of one hundred and fifty of his famous rangers. He proceeded by boat to Missisquoi Bay at the northern end of Lake Champlain. Here he concealed his boats and struck across the wilderness on a northeasterly course until he reached the southern fork of the Yamaska River. Following from there a more northerly course, he crossed the northern fork of the same river and went on to the St. Francis River which he struck and forded about twenty miles south of the village of the redoubtable St. Francis Indians. He proceeded down the river in a night march and reached the vicinity of the village about an hour before dawn. Scouts who had been observing at close range reported that the Indians were dancing and had been dancing all night in celebration of the wedding of one of their young warriors.

For Rogers and his men the time could not have been more propitious. There were no sentries posted, and before the first break of dawn the whole village was wrapped in the sleep of exhaustion. The attack started at 5:17 A.M. The whole force was in the village and each ranger was at his post when Major Rogers' whistle gave the prearranged signal. Each house was covered and as fast as the Indians appeared they were slaughtered. Then the cabins were fired. As the flames swept through the village, many Indians perished from smoke and fire in their cellars and lofts where they had taken refuge. Those seeking to escape from the flames were shot without pity. In less than an hour the deadly task was ended. The bodies of two hundred savages littered the ground, while uncounted others had been shot in the water while trying to escape, or burned in their wigwams. The village of the St. Francis ceased to exist. Vengeance, long deferred, had been swift, thorough, and terrible. Rogers' men replenished their stores of food from the storehouses containing the Indians' winter supplies, then fired them and without delay started the homeward march, now closely pursued by the French. Rogers had had one man killed and seven wounded in this daring enterprise. The return route was up the St. Francis River to Lake Memphremagog, thence southeast across country to the headwaters of the Connecticut and down this river to Fortress No. 4, where the surviv-

<sup>9</sup>Archives Moravian Church (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

ing rangers arrived November 4th. This was a journey of horror and heroism, the whole story of which has been vividly and accurately told by Kenneth Roberts in his *Northwest Passage*, which has already become a classic of Colonial history.

As we have mentioned, these St. Francis savages were not Canadian, but New England Indians, largely recruited from the Maine tribes which had been expelled from their homes in the earlier wars. They were the surviving Pejepscots, Arasagunticooks, Abnaki and Wewenocs who had never been able to forget or forgive earlier injustices, and in consequence had been for decades the terror of the New England settlers. In every war they had descended from the St. Lawrence country to their old homes to satiate their hatred and destroy life and property with uncontrolled cruelty. In his *Journal* Major Rogers states: "To my own knowledge in six years time they had killed or carried into captivity on the frontier of New England four hundred persons; we found in the town hanging on poles over the doors about six hundred scalps, mostly English."<sup>10</sup> One of the captives rescued by the Rangers alleged there were seven hundred scalps, among them her own husband's, which she had counted many times in her work about the village. The destruction of St. Francis was a boon to the settlers at Broad Bay, for since 1736 they had been repeatedly visited by this scourge, and now with the threat of its horror finally allayed, they were much closer to a life of durable peace.

The third and last expedition of the year 1759, which completed the fabric of a lasting peace for the people at Broad Bay, was that involving Governor Pownal's subjugation of the Penobscot tribe.<sup>11</sup> On the eastern frontier the Penobscots had been near and uncertain neighbors and were now, after eighty-five years of warfare, the only savage neighbors left in the vicinity of Broad Bay. There could be no lasting security for the settlers on this frontier until their power was broken. The realization of this fact led Governor Pownal to organize an expedition to proceed to the Penobscot country and erect there a fort with a garrison of sufficient strength to hold the Indians permanently in check.

On May 4th the Governor arrived at Falmouth, which had been stipulated as the rendezvous of his force of four hundred men. He had also previously ordered that all materials for the construction of the fort should be there assembled and fitted. From this point, on May 6th he sent "expresses" to the captains of the eastern companies to meet him at St. Georges to receive his orders. Thither among others repaired Captains Leissner and Remilly from

<sup>10</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., VI, 242.

<sup>11</sup>For details see Pownal's *Journal*, Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., V, 365.



Broad Bay and received instructions concerning the plan and strategy of frontier defense during the time the main force would be in the field. Then Pownal proceeded up the Penobscot, took formal possession of the country, surveyed different sites, selected Fort Point in the present town of Prospect as the most suitable spot, and began the erection of Fort Pownal. When the construction of the fort was well under way, the Governor with one hundred and thirty-six men moved up the river to the head of the tidewater and landed on the western bank. He met no opposition from the Penobscots, for they were too cowed, and their number too reduced by war, famine, and disease. To the remnant of the tribe he sent an ultimatum notifying them of his purpose to erect a fort in the heart of their country, and warning them that in case of interference every last member of their race would be hunted down or driven from the country. He also set forth a proffer of peace on his own terms and added, "though we neither fear your resentment nor seek your favour, we pity your distresses; and if you will become the subjects of His Majesty, and live near the fort, you shall have our protection, and enjoy your planting and hunting grounds without molestation." What the Penobscots had feared for decades had now come to pass. Henceforth their role in history was simply to live by the grace of their masters.

There was one other incident connected with Pownal's expedition to Penobscot lands which is an integral part of Broad Bay history. This was the death of the proprietor, "the Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay." General Waldo was in his sixty-fourth year, and there was no visible sign of abatement in his interest and plans for his project in "eastern parts." He had accompanied the Pownal expedition ostensibly as an adviser, but his real interest and purpose was to see the eastern bounds of his grant and to survey its possibilities of future expansion. The story of his death can perhaps best be told from terse entries made by Pownal in his *Journal*. After the work on the fortress was fully under way, Pownal with a smaller force, accompanied by Waldo, proceeded up the Penobscot as far as the present site of Bangor. His narrative on this phase of his journey runs as follows:

23rd P.M. Landed on the east side of the river with 136 men and proceeded to the head of the first Falls about four miles and a quarter from the first ledge. Clear land on the left for near four miles. Brigadier Waldo, whose unremitting zeal for the Service had prompted him at the age of 63 to attend me on this Expedition, dropped down just above the Falls of an Apoplexy, and notwithstanding all assistance that could be given him, expired in a few moments.

This took place on the site of the present city of Brewer. The Honorable Lorenzo Sabine describes the death in these brief

words: "Waldo, looking around him, exclaimed, 'Here is my bound,' and dropped dead on the site of a city,"<sup>12</sup> and William D. Williamson adds: "To commemorate the spot, the Governor buried a leaden plate bearing an inscription of the melancholy event."<sup>13</sup> Pownal concludes with the following entry: "25th. At Evening, Buried Brigd. Waldo at the Point [site of Fort Pownal] near the Flagstaff, with the honours of War in our Power."

A more detailed account of this event is to be found in the columns of a contemporary Boston newspaper which describes the details of burial as follows:

His Excellency had the corps brought down with him to the Fort Point, where it was interred in a vault, built for that purpose, on Friday, with all the Honours due to so faithful a servant of the public as the Brigadier had ever shown himself to be. Upon landing the corps, it was received by a guard, and when procession began, the Ship King George fired half-minute guns 'til it arrived at the place of interment. The procession was led by an officers guard, next to which the minister, then the corps carried by the bargemen of the King George, and the pall was supported by the principal officers. The Governor followed, as chief mourner, then officers of the troop and master-artificers, employed in building the fort, two and two, and the whole closed with a captain's guard. Upon coming to the ground, the troops under arms formed a circle, Divine service was performed, and a sermon suitable to that awful occasion preached by the Reverend Mr. Phillips; and upon the interment of the corps, the Guards fired three volleys over the grave.<sup>14</sup>

The remains of General Waldo were not destined to remain in the soil of his great estate by Penobscot waters, however, for they were later removed by his family and placed in the churchyard of King's Chapel in Boston.

The death of the Proprietor was a serious loss to the settlers of Broad Bay, however little they may ever have come to realize it. In a very few years they were to be dispossessed of their lands on the western bank of the river, and as a consequence would be execrating his memory. It seems clear, however, that had the General lived, he would not, as was done by his heirs, have utterly abandoned his "tenants" to the demands of the Pemaquid claimants, but through his influence in the government, would have worked out a juster solution of the impending land disputes, as a matter of self-interest if for no other motive.

Local history has not dealt altogether kindly with General Waldo. It has, in fact, held him responsible for much that is not consistent with his own self-interest or with the plain facts of history. When all available evidence has been weighed Waldo must,

<sup>12</sup>*North American Review*, LVIII, 313.

<sup>13</sup>*History of Maine*, II, 338.

<sup>14</sup>*Boston News Letter*, Thursday, May 31, 1759, Libr. Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston, Mass.

in a large measure, be absolved of the charge of deception, indifference, and inhumanity which has been associated locally with his memory. Such indictments are more apparent than real, and arise from a failure to understand the man's individuality and the practices generally in vogue in the time in which he lived. Waldo was born to a tradition of wealth and gentility, his father being a rich Boston merchant of one of the first families of that colonial commonwealth. Young Waldo was reared and educated in an aristocratic tradition; in his early business ventures he accumulated wealth and on his own merit became identified with the ruling class in society and government. He was in no sense different from other dominant figures in the business and commerce of his day. Highly energetic and a hard, unscrupulous, and tireless fighter where his interests were opposed, he held his own amid the shifting intrigues of his time by virtue of shrewdness, determination, unflagging courage, and a love that amounted to a passion for action and executive leadership. Family tradition has it that in his lifetime he made fifteen trips to Europe in pursuit of his own interests or on commissions intrusted to him by the government.

His contacts while in England and on the continent were with the great and mighty of this world. In New England he executed the commissions of the King with fidelity and efficiency; in old England he served the young commonwealth with conspicuous success, moved with ease in a titled society, and was entirely at home in the intrigue of high governmental and political circles. The pomp and trappings of monarchy moved him deeply and perhaps quickened within him an ambition that was never to be gratified; for he possibly saw an America that some day would be powerful and populous, the first jewel in the crown of Empire, with great landed estates, and a titled aristocracy and himself a peer of the realm. Such may have been Waldo's dream, but all human history could be written as a series of might-have-beens. Broad Bay with its early feudal traditions might have become the family seat of an "Hereditary Lord." This dream, if such it was, became a part of the aftermath of Louisburg. Had it been realized it would have come to a tragic end a few decades later with the American Revolution.

Vain, arbitrary, and self-seeking General Waldo may have been, but the label of inhumanness associated with his memory is in the main without foundation. His settlements in Lincoln and Knox counties were the darling projects of his mid-life and later years. To secure settlers, to establish them at Broad Bay, and there permit them to starve and die was never a part of his plan or purpose. In this matter both he and they were largely the victims of



circumstance. At Broad Bay the whole period of settlement and early history down to 1760 was co-extensive with Indian wars, a condition which rendered practically impossible the development of an economy of sufficient strength to provide the elementary human needs of settlers totally unskilled in the modes of frontier living. Apart from this, there were the barriers of nature and of historical circumstances over which General Waldo could exercise little control. He could not time the arrival of his immigrants, nor overcome the barriers set by the forests and winters against communication with larger and more thickly settled areas. The early Scotch-Irish on the Medomak and the Georges, drawn from other sections of New England and thoroughly practiced in frontier living, offered no criticism of their patron's procedures. It was only the Germans and a later Scotch colony on the Georges, utterly unused to pioneer life, who felt themselves betrayed. In Waldo's dealings with his tenants he was undoubtedly guilty of errors in judgment, but in the matter of intent he must be largely exonerated. His death was in reality something of a tragedy in their history, for in his passing there departed the scene the only figure interested enough and influential enough to defend many of them against being dispossessed of their lands.

In the ways outlined in this chapter the year 1759 brought an end to Indian troubles at Broad Bay. That winter one hundred and sixty men constituted the frontier defense, eighty-four of whom were posted at Fort Pownal in the heart of the Penobscot country, and there were also smaller garrisons at Georges and Broad Bay. The local economy, so long drugged by terror, roused itself and activity increased in the virgin woodlands. Cordwood, lumber, and staves were gotten to the river banks in large quantities preparatory for spring shipment. The price of firewood had risen and a cord now brought about fifty-eight cents at the shore, whereas tea was available at forty-two cents a pound and corn in a normal season brought fifty cents a bushel. In the economy now becoming normal wages rose and a man's labor brought him fifty cents a day down to the period of the Revolution. This was a living wage, and it enabled the more recent migrants who were not yet well established on their lands to exchange their services for a more ample equivalent of food. Such luxuries as coffee and tea were available for the few; bean or barley broth was the lot of those in simpler circumstances. Then, too, families had learned how to provide themselves with more of nature's bounty from the sea, shore, and forest, and the specter of acute hunger receded. On the Georges there was an occasional Indian scare that season, but Broad Bay was never again molested.

The Indians on the Penobscot, long weary of the war, sent their sagamores to Boston and finally concluded a peace on April 13, 1760. This was the signal for the settlers to abandon their long residence in the garrison and return to their own homes. When the Moravian brethren, Georg Soelle and Samuel Herr, reached Broad Bay in August 1760 they found the entire population living at peace in their cabins.<sup>15</sup> They also found that there was in most cases enough to eat, but otherwise the people were frightfully poor. Wood was their main source of maintaining a balance of trade, and the little coasters thronging the river lent an appearance of active commerce. These coasters, manned by three hands, made about fifteen voyages per year to Boston, carrying about thirty cords of wood each trip. Charge for passengers was around four shillings, and the passenger took his own supply of food for the trip. On their return these coasters brought provisions, groceries, and miscellaneous supplies which they exchanged for the wood, staves, bark, and to some extent furs. Long years of scouting had familiarized some of the settlers with woodcraft and with the back-country with its network of lakes, ponds, and streams rich in fur bearers of every description. Wilfrid Schoff asserts that the Broad Bayers carried out far-flung explorations in the interior areas. If such were the case, these may have been trapping expeditions. He adds:

The country north of the White Mountains was very soon an object of ambition for the German settlers at Broad Bay. Here as in Pennsylvania they were active in exploring the wilderness, which they foresaw would yield many fine homesteads, and on their exploration was doubtless based much of the interest that led to the creation of these northern towns. The name of Franconia, chartered first in 1764, shows that they had planned a settlement there, which a conflicting charter, and adverse conditions prevented.<sup>16</sup>

That there was some exploration of the back-country is doubtless true, otherwise this statement is, in our judgment, decidedly overdrawn; but the fact remains that if there were back-country treks there were also furs. It was also following the war that sheep were first brought to the Georges from Pemaquid by Samuel Boggs. The introduction of this essential animal took place at about the same time at Broad Bay, and greatly strengthened its economy.

Up to the year 1760 the whole settled area of Maine was embraced in the one county of York. In June of that year two

<sup>15</sup>Diary of Georg Soelle, Moravian Archives (Bethlehem, Penna.).

<sup>16</sup>Wilfred H. Schoff, *Descendants of Jacob Schoff (with an account of the German immigrants in Colonial New England)* (Phila., 1910).



new counties were set off: that of Cumberland, extending to its present limits along the seaboard and thence to the northern bounds of the Province, and beyond it the county of Lincoln which included all the rest of the territory east of the Cumberland line. The county seat of this latter division was Pownalborough, embracing parts of present-day Dresden and Wiscasset. John North, a surveyor, and a figure well known at Broad Bay in this period, was appointed one of the four Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. Broad Bay in these times, however, had small occasion for the arbitrament of justice. The hard years just drawing to a close had made necessary a degree of co-operation that left little room for differences. Captain Leissner, as representative of the proprietors, acted as the arbiter in minor disputes. When more violent differences arose, matters were adjudicated before a justice of the peace in Damariscotta. Such an episode was an event in the life of the colony, and half the settlement would repair thither either as witnesses or spectators.

After the destruction of the "Dutch Church" in 1746, no other building was built for about fifteen years. During this time worship was led by the schoolmaster, John Ulmer, and later by Charles Leissner, in the pay of the Waldo family. This worship, while devout, was decidedly informal, being held in the houses, in the fields, and in the garrisons. It is related of John Ulmer that while carrying on an exhortation to a small congregation in his cabin one Sabbath morning, he glanced by chance through the window and saw hogs in his garden. Thereupon he swiftly directed the following admonition to his brother Jacob: "Donner und Blitzen, Jacob! Jacob, da sind die verdammten Schweine in dem Kartoffelgarten. Tausend Teufel! Eile doch, treib sie hinaus und repariere."<sup>17</sup>

Ulmer apparently possessed a rich sense of humor. Joseph Ludwig is responsible for the story of a visit of Ulmer's to Pemaquid in the late days of the war. He arrived there just at nightfall and hailed some people on the opposite shore to come over and set him across the river. In answer to the query of who it was, he gave his name with such a string of German titles that they expected to find a number of people on the bank, and expressed disappointment at finding all these honors the possession of a single person.<sup>18</sup>

After General Waldo's death, his eldest son, Colonel Samuel Waldo, Jr., by right of primogeniture fell heir to two-fifths of his father's interest in the Patent. From time to time he visited Broad Bay to discharge certain proprietary duties, among which was the

<sup>17</sup>"Great heavens, Jacob! Jacob, there are those damned hogs in the vegetable patch. Thousand devils! Get going, drive them out and repair the fence."

<sup>18</sup>As cited by Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed. (Hallowell, 1851), p. 115.



allocation of lands to the colonists of 1753, who, since the outbreak of the war, had spent most of their time in residence in the garrison. A few of these, among whom was Frank Miller, remained in the area originally assigned by Leissner. The others spread out in all directions, but mostly to the northward up the valley on either side of the river, and along the present North Waldoboro and the old Belscop roads. They were not the only ones, however, participating in this expansion. The sons of the earlier settlers who had come of age during the war took advantage of the peace with its removal of the Indian menace, to acquire legitimately or to squat on unoccupied lands in the outer areas of the town, where they and their young brides might establish homes of their own.

This new generation was essentially one of frontiersmen. Isolation and loneliness were something foreign to their experience. To live and to work was their ambition; it mattered not where, so long as security to life was assured. So they filled up the Genthner neighborhood, the present-day back roads and crossroads, the pond areas in the northern part of the town, East Waldoborough and Sodom. Whenever there was land available they were to be found working from daylight to dark and rearing huge families. Today old abandoned cellars in out-of-the-way places, crumbling ruins of old farm buildings in secluded spots, and many an ancient grave in a lonely field or in the heart of the forests reveal the extent and power of this homing urge which could not be stayed even by the niggardly hand of Nature.

In the year 1762 the good people of Broad Bay realized for the first time that peace as well as war carried with it obligations, for in this year the first county tax was levied. The total for the county was £132. The assessment in the more immediate district was as follows: on the Georges River, the upper town, now Warren and a part of Thomaston, paid £4 5s. 8p.; the lower town, made up of a part of Thomaston, Cushing and St. Georges paid £4 10s.; Broad Bay was assessed £4 5s. 8p., and Medumcook, £2 13s. 8p. The next year the amount of £152 was levied on the whole county. While the other near-by settlements paid substantially the same as in the previous year, the Broad Bay tax rose to £8, which may be taken as an indication of the rapid rate of the community's growth. The Germans were vigorous breeders and their hunger for land was insatiable. They squatted on land wherever they could find it, irrespective of proprietary rights. Once relief had come from the Indian menace and the protective function of the garrison became obsolete, growth and expansion were the order of things at Broad Bay.

On the 10th of February, 1763, the final treaty of peace was signed at Paris between the belligerents. This document simply

gave legal substance to a condition existing since 1760. What Britain had won she held, and France was obliged to relinquish Canada and all other claims in northern and eastern America. Never again was the specter of Indian warfare to be raised in the Broad Bay area. Before the settlement on the Medomak stretched forth a short interval of fifteen years of peace which was destined to be a troubled time, for the problems brought by the peace were different, but in their way they were to leave a deeper scar than any of the cruelties of war.

The first census came in 1764 and so far as Broad Bay was concerned it was little more than a gesture. The poll was ordered by the Lords of Trade who were determined to know more fully the extent of the ability of the Massachusetts Bay colony to bear taxation. In accord with these orders the General Court directed the selectmen of towns, of which there were none at this time in Lincoln County, to take and to return to the Secretary's office in the course of the year the number of people, families, and dwelling houses within the Province. The census was neither an active nor a thorough one.<sup>19</sup> There were no instructions for the enumerating of persons in plantations, therefore they were all omitted or approximated. According to the poll the County of Lincoln had 4347 inhabitants. Of this number Broad Bay, St. Georges, and Medumcook were most erroneously credited "by estimate" with two hundred souls — a most generous understatement considering the fact that among the Germans on the Medomak childbearing never ceased in peace or war, in quiet or troublous times. Since the census was taken for the purposes of taxation, it is doubtful if the settlers at Broad Bay ever felt moved to protest its inaccuracies.

In the earliest years of the settlement the crops grown on the farms were of a limited variety. There were some potatoes, but the Germans had not been too well acquainted with this vegetable in their homeland and were somewhat slow in expanding its possibilities. At first, rye and barley were the only grains grown. Corn first came into use through the supplies brought in on sloops from the west during the recent war. In 1764 the first maize grown in the area was planted by Daniel Filhauer,<sup>20</sup> and thereafter it grew rapidly in favor and soon was in general use. Cabbage had been a part of the standard diet of the Germans from time immemorial. It was grown from the first at Broad Bay and from it sauerkraut was made, certainly the first sauerkraut in Maine, if not the first in New England. Flax, too, was grown from the very beginning, and formed, before the advent of wool, the principal source of

<sup>19</sup>William D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, II, 372.

<sup>20</sup>Joseph Ludwig, cited by Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed., p. 128. The Filhauer farm seems to have been on the west bank of the river, the lot now owned by Willard Fowler. (Robinson Map, Mass. Archives, Nov. 23, 1815).

domestic clothing. A few years after sheep raising had become general the flax was woven with wool into a mixture known as linsey woolsey.

Limited as they had been in their holdings of land in the old country, the Germans just could not get enough of it. When the end of the war brought release from fear, land was cleared very rapidly, and as a consequence great quantities of cordwood, stave stuff, and lumber were shipped to the Boston market. Wood formed the keystone in the arch of early Broad Bay economy. This fact, unintelligible perhaps to the modern reader, may call for a word of explanation. Boston at this time was the largest town on the Atlantic seaboard, with a population of fifteen thousand inhabitants, not to mention the much larger number in the adjacent settlements. All the homes were heated by open fireplaces ranging from one to a dozen in a home, according to the means of the owner. Furthermore all shops, stores, offices, and factories were heated in the same manner. In the preceding hundred years and more the forests had gradually been cleared in the district. As the source of fuel became more distant each season from the town, the problem of fuel became more and more acute. To transport wood by oxen and sled, from woodlots ranging from ten to thirty miles away, was a slow and expensive method of securing it. On the other hand, in the new settlements in Maine the wood was close to the shore, a few hundred yards away; a quarter or half-mile haul and it was ready for delivery aboard the sloops. From their decks and holds it could be discharged at the woodyards on the Boston waterfront and there prepared for delivery and use at a fraction of the expense possible in any other way. It was this economic fact that gave Broad Bay its start. With the profits accruing from this trade the settlers in a measure were able to buy what they needed and could not create for themselves. It was also in this way that the thriftier citizens were able to accumulate a bit of reserve capital to be used at a later date in laying the foundation of the town's major historical industry.



## XIV

### THE MUSTER ROLL OF 1760

*Beneath those stately pines, that hemlock's shade  
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,  
Each in his narrow cell forever laid,  
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.*

Adapted from THOMAS GRAY

WHEN GEORG SOELLE, THE MORAVIAN PASTOR at Broad Bay, made his first visit here in 1760, he reported to the Mother Church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, that there were one hundred and fifty German families in residence in the settlement.<sup>1</sup> Any muster roll of these families prepared at this late date will fall somewhat short of the Soelle approximation. In fact, the evidence from which a complete roster of these first families might be compiled has long been nonexistent, for among them some disappeared early and completely; some have left no more than a name. Of others the record is agreeably full. Even if all the names were available, the roster would not reach Soelle's count, for in many cases there were two or more brothers of the same name and a goodly number of fathers and sons living as separate family units. An instance is the Rominger family with its four brothers, David, Philip, Jacob, and Michael, each of whom, in 1760, had his own farm and his own family at Broad Bay. This same fact would apply to the Ludwigs, the Hilts, Achorns, Burketts, Creamers, Genthners, Waltzes, and other families. The evidence that would enable either the genealogist or historian to untangle this mass of threads and to rewind each on its own proper bobbin, concededly, no longer exists; and yet it has seemed that such an attempt should be made and that the evidence still available should be incorporated into a roster of the first families, that some of them, at least, may be assured of such a modest perpetuity.

In essaying this task, my primary interest has been the first generation, or the original immigrant. What was his name? Where in Germany did he come from? In what year did he reach Broad

<sup>1</sup>Georg Soelle, *Diary of 1760*, Moravian Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

Bay, and in what part of the district did he settle? In the case of some families, the evidence is convincingly clear and final; in the case of others, the data are less clear and point only to a more or less strong probability; while in other cases it can only be said that such and such a person once lived at Broad Bay. Frequently names form an impossible barrier to certainty, for here one must contend with the fickle orthography of the eighteenth century. Among simple folk this was not an age of much reading and writing; and when people spelled and wrote names, as they occasionally had to, their spelling was largely phonetic, and variably so. The first census, that of 1790, furnishes an apt illustration of this fact, and almost any name can be taken as an example. In this census the surname of Reynolds is spelled in thirty-four different ways; and as simple a name as Brown is spelled in seven different ways, while the old stand-by of Smith runs through nine variations.<sup>2</sup> Men signed their own names with different spellings on different occasions; and clerks, town, and county officials commonly spelled names as they heard them pronounced rather than bother to ask how, knowing in most cases that it would not help materially, if they did.

If such was the practice among the English with their own names, it can be readily imagined that the problem became more markedly acute at such a place as Broad Bay where the people had such unpronounceable names that they defied all efforts on the part of the untutored Englishman in the County Court House and elsewhere, to phoneticize them. In fact, when a clerk attempted to do so, he usually made the name more unrecognizable. An illustration in point is Captain John North's list of Broad Bayers in 1760.<sup>3</sup> His Philip Fogilar and Mulican Snyder are probably recognizable as Philip Vogler and Melchior Schneider, but who are his Jacob Wallis and John Leah? Possibly Jacob Walch and John Lehr, but who shall say with certainty? In such matters the settlers themselves could not be of much help; for some were unable to read, spell, or write; and those who could, never saw their neighbors' names in print and rarely in script. If compelled to spell or write them for somebody else, their best efforts could be little better than a guess. To go further and to say that some of them could not even write their own names legibly, is to keep well within the range of fact. I have in my possession the photostat of a petition submitted by the Broad Bayers to Governor Francis Bernard on January 14th, 1767. Affixed to it are sixty-seven signatures in German script. Baffled by the problem of deciphering them, I submit-

<sup>2</sup>Gilbert H. Doane, *Searching for Your Ancestors* (N. York: Whittlesey House, 1937), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>*Knox Papers*, Library, Mass. Hist. Soc. Data of settlers furnished by Capt. J. North around 1760.

ted the list of names to a German colleague, Werner A. Mueller, who held a doctorate from the University of Rostock, which established the fact that there were nine signatures that not even a German, a Doctor of Philosophy at that, could decipher. It might also be mentioned here that there are many of these names, in the files of the Registry of Deeds in Wiscasset, which are totally and eternally meaningless.

This summary of the problems involved does not bring one to the end of the difficulties. The Germans clung tenaciously to their first names and handed them on to successive generations. John Ulmer, John Ulmer, and John Jacob Ulmer would be difficult to identify if ample supplementary evidence did not enable us to divide them into John Ulmer, Sr., John Ulmer, Jr., and John Jacob, brother of John, Sr. Such a situation becomes even more confusing when John Jacob's son, John, appears on the scene. Another confusing phase of this problem lies in the fact that these Germans all had middle names, and sometimes they are referred to by the first, and sometimes by the middle, name. By way of illustration we may take the immigrant Demuth, Johannes Heinrich. Sometimes he is referred to as John and sometimes as Henry Demuth. Such facts make these Germans somewhat elusive personalities. John Henry may have had a brother Henry, or a son Henry, not to mention the possibility of a son John; all of which means that you put your finger on Henry Demuth in some old document and are left wondering whether it is a different Henry or old John Henry himself. The crowning case of confusion is perhaps to be found in the family of John Godfrey Oberloch (Overlock), among whose sons was a John, a John Joseph, a John Henry, and a John Godfrey. Such are the pitfalls to be dodged and even the foxiest historian cannot command the alertness or the luck to evade them all.

The listings which here follow have inclusiveness as one of their aims. Accordingly, names have been listed wherever it was warranted by reliable, though scanty, evidence. Of some it can be merely said that they were here. In such cases it is regrettable that there can be offered little more. With these notes on the nature and the difficulties inherent in the task, there follows the roll of many of those who came to Broad Bay before 1760 and became the founding fathers of the town.

**ACHORN.** This is an anglicized form of the German, Eichhorn. The first of this name at Broad Bay was Matthias, a tanner, who came here either in 1742 or 1748, probably from Langensteinbach, Baden Durlach, Germany. This latter inference is based on the fact that Magdalena Eichhorn, the wife of Johan Georg Ried, another Broad



Bay settler, was from Langensteinbach and probably a sister of Matthias. It was the usual practice of kinfolk in the same place to join a migration together. Matthias was allotted land by deed by Samuel Waldo, on April 17, 1753, it being Lot No. 1 on the west bank of the river.<sup>4</sup> Assuming that these lots followed the same plan in their numbering as those on the east bank, this lot must have been the present-day home and farm of John Foster. This was a lot twenty-five rods wide, fronting on the river and running far enough back on a "west course" to complete the usual one hundred acres. Achorn was compelled in 1763 to repurchase his farm of the Pemaquid heirs for £15 10s.<sup>5</sup> By this time, in the 1762 survey of Elijah Packard it was considered Lot No. 23, counting from Medomak Falls down the river. Matthias died in 1777 and left a sizable estate for these times, appraised at £280, to his wife, Margaret.<sup>6</sup> Four known children survived him (Matthias, Jr., had been killed and scalped by Indians): Daniel (1734-1831); Jacob; John, born in passage across the Atlantic; and a daughter, Phillipine.<sup>7</sup>

Another Achorn family was that of Jacob, a farmer and a brother of Matthias, who came to Broad Bay in 1753<sup>8</sup> and was allotted seventy-five acres by Waldo on the west side of the river. In 1763 he was compelled to repurchase this land of the Pemaquid heirs for £10, as Lot No. 15 below Medomak Falls.<sup>9</sup> Known children of Jacob were George, Michael, and Jacob (1761-1836), who married Margaret Ulmer and, with his five children, moved to Rockland in 1796.<sup>10</sup> In the first census, 1790, the following Achorns were listed as heads of families in Waldoborough: Daniel and John, sons of Matthias, and Jacob, with his sons, Georg and Michael. This family has been a very numerous one at Waldoborough and there are many descendants living in the town at the present time.

AIR. This may be an anglicized form of the German, Lehr. He came, perhaps, to Broad Bay in 1752 or 1753. All that is known of this family is recorded in a deed of September 27, 1762, in which Henry Air, laborer, and his wife Elizabeth transferred to George Light, Jr., of Boston, a laborer, for £18 3s., Lot No. 7 on the west side of the river between the lots of "Andrew Weller and John Keiler [Kaler]."<sup>11</sup> Both men were in Boston at the time, refugees from the French and Indian War. It is probable that the Air family never returned to Broad Bay.

<sup>4</sup>Lincoln Co. Register of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 3, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 9, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup>W. D. Patterson, *Lincoln County Probate Records, 1760-1800* (Portland, 1895).

<sup>7</sup>George T. Little, *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine*, IV, 2143, *Seiders History*.

<sup>8</sup>Cyrus Eaton: *Annals of Thomaston*, etc., II, 128.

<sup>9</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 167.

<sup>10</sup>Eaton, II, 128.

<sup>11</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 49.

ANTON. Michael of this name probably came to Broad Bay in 1753 from Hoch Wettersbach in Baden, Durlach. His sister Katherine was the wife of Michael Rominger who came to Broad Bay the same year. The name survives only in a deed from Matthias Achorn to William Wagner, of September 21, 1761, conveying an one-hundred-acre lot "on the west side of Broad Bay river" in the general area above the Great Falls, "formerly improved by Michael Anthony."<sup>12</sup> Anton was possibly killed in the French and Indian War, or was a refugee from it who never returned to Broad Bay, and whose property reverted to Waldo, from whom Achorn, in the transfer to Wagner, "binds himself to secure a good deed."

BAUZER. Another spelling is Bouzer. This family is little more than a name in Broad Bay history. According to Samuel Miller,<sup>13</sup> a man by this name was the first settler killed in the French and Indian War. His death occurred near the Slaigo Brook at the foot of Thomas' Hill while he was in search of his cow. This tradition would seem to connect his farm with this vicinity, which would place him in a later migration, possibly that of 1748 or 1752. His name does not recur in the history of the town.

BECKLER. The immigrant of this name was Daniel, who came to Broad Bay in 1752 or 1753. Little is known of his life in the colony. Of his children, there is a record of one son, John Daniel, born in Germany in 1748, died at Albany, Maine, March 25, 1835. "Daniel Beckler's Plan" of Nov. 4, 1774, showed him owning a lot containing one hundred and eighty-one acres in the southwestern part of the town, in "the Genthner neighborhood."<sup>14</sup> In June 1775 John Daniel administered the estate of Cornelius Klaus, and in November of the next year became the guardian of the latter's minor daughter, Mary.<sup>15</sup> In June 1777 he married Elizabeth (1757-1838), the daughter of the immigrant Frank Miller.<sup>16</sup> John Daniel served for three years in the American Revolution. On July 9, 1789, he sold his farm to Charles Donnell of Bristol and in 1790 moved to Oxford County, Maine, where he died.<sup>17</sup> There were sixteen children born to this union, many of whom migrated to the Middle West. Daniel Beckler, Sr., was still living in Broad Bay at the time of the census of 1790. There are no known descendants of this family living in the town at this time.

<sup>12</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 170.

<sup>13</sup>*History of Waldoboro* (Wiscasset, 1910).

<sup>14</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 258.

<sup>15</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>16</sup>Frank B. Miller, *Genealogy of the Miller Family* (Rockland, Me., 1934).

<sup>17</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 23, p. 265.

BENNER. A variant spelling is Bender. John Henry, commonly known as Henry, was the original Benner at Broad Bay. According to accepted tradition, he came to the colony in 1753. If this be the case, it is probable that he came from the Taunus Gebirge area in the provinces of Nassau-Dietz-Idstein, where his ancestors, possibly French Huguenot refugees from France, may have settled in the seventeenth century. Henry left Germany with his wife and two oldest children, John and Martin (1743-1833). The wife died on the ocean voyage; and on reaching Broad Bay, Henry reputedly married a Margaret —, who, with her young son, Matice (Matthias), had been a member of the same migration. It is believed that this Margaret was well provided with gold and that she left Germany for family and social reasons. Henry first settled on the east side, on the one-hundred-acre lot recently owned by Al Davis.<sup>18</sup> This Henry sold to Captain Charles Samson on August 21, 1769. He next settled on the east side between the middle and Great Falls of the Medomak, which lot he in turn sold in 1776 to Captain Jonathan Sprague<sup>19</sup> of Marshfield, Massachusetts.

There are in all eleven children mentioned in Henry's will: John and Martin, by his first wife; Matice, the stepson; and eight children by the second wife: Elizabeth, Jacob, Keaty, Sedony, Sally, Charles, a second John, differentiated by the middle letter M, and Molly.<sup>20</sup> At the close of the French and Indian War, Henry Benner, in part, perhaps, with his wife's gold and in part through exercising a squatter's right, acquired a large tract of land in the northeastern district of the town from which he later set off farms for his sons. In the Robinson Map of 1815, these appear in the possession of John M., Jacob, and Charles. Martin Benner received a farm and settled on Goose River. From him most of the South Waldoboro Benners are descended. Matice, the stepson, bought of Andrew Waltz, in 1785, the farm in Nobleboro just west of the Raymond Piercy place, now occupied by Henry Benner. Later, in 1794, he added to it by land purchased of Joshua Smith for £210. This original farm has been in the Benner family continuously since 1785.<sup>21</sup> Between the years 1774 and 1802, twelve children were born to the wife of Matice, and from these most of the Nobleboro Benners are believed to have descended. The descendants of Henry Benner, who now run into several thousand, are scattered throughout the continental United States. The name is a common one in present-day Waldoboro. Among the better known Benners were Allen R. Benner, for forty-five years the beloved Professor

<sup>18</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 86.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 11, p. 244.

<sup>20</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>21</sup>Documents in possession of Henry Benner, Nobleboro, Maine.



of Greek at Phillips Andover, and his brother, Dr. Richard, a distinguished physician, who died in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1938.

**BORNEMANN.** John G. Bornemann (1752-1830)<sup>22</sup> was the first of this name at Broad Bay. The title of Doctor, commonly affixed to his name, suggests that he may have been a medical officer in the English Army; for he was a Hessian who became a prisoner in the surrender of Burgoyne, and from the prison camp in Boston came to Broad Bay on parole in 1778.<sup>23</sup> He was one of the incorporators of the German Protestant Society in the year 1800. A probable son, John, born in 1786, was living in Waldoboro in 1866.<sup>24</sup> The Robinson Map of 1815 shows that a John G. Bornemann occupied a farm of two hundred acres on the east side of the river, just across from the farm of Andrew Wagner, in the neighborhood of the present Wagner Bridge. This could have been the property of the immigrant or that of his son, John. The list of the Bornemann descendants was never large and there are only a few of them living in present-day Waldoboro.

**BORNHEIMER.** The name has varied English spellings. If we are to follow the Waldoborough Town Records, rather than the frequently unreliable *Ludwig Genealogy*, then Gottfried, or Godfrey, Bornheimer was born in 1741, most probably at Nenderoth, Province of Dietz, Germany. He came to Broad Bay in 1753 with the Ludwig family and was the original immigrant of his name. At the close of the Seven Years' War, he took up land in the northeastern section of the town, whither he took his bride, Anna Katharina Elizabeth Ludwig (1738-1824), a daughter of Joseph Ludwig, Sr. Five children were born to this union: Jacob Heinrich, b. October 10, 1764; Johannes Joseph, b. January 30, 1768; Anna Katharina Elizabeth, b. March 30, 1770; Christian, b. September 4, 1772, and Anna Margaretha, b. December 3, 1774. Cornelius Bornheimer, one of the incorporators of the German Protestant Society in 1800, may have been another son. Godfrey Bornheimer died in Waldoborough in 1819.

**BROEST.** According to Lincoln County Probate Records, John Peter Broest was one of three men to inventory the estate of Andrew Willard at Broad Bay, June 15, 1769. Nothing further is known of this family, which apparently disappeared early from Broad Bay history, perhaps migrating to South Carolina in 1773.

<sup>22</sup>Wiscasset *Christian Intelligencer*, May 28, 1830.

<sup>23</sup>Miller, *History of Waldoboro*, p. 86.

<sup>24</sup>M. R. Ludwig, *Ludwig Genealogy* (Augusta, Me., 1866).

BROTHER. References to this family are extremely scant. On September 21, 1763, a Peter Brothe bought Lot No. 5 on the west side of the Medomak, of the Pemaquid heirs. It contained twenty-five acres and one hundred and forty poles, and the price paid seems to have been a repurchase, and was £3 9s. 4d.<sup>25</sup> The identity of this Peter is far from certain, since the name may be no more than a variant of some other family name.

BROTMANN. This was not a large family at Broad Bay, and comparatively little is known about it. It is probable that Melchior was the original settler, and that he died some time before 1790. He seems to have come to Broad Bay in 1753 and to have settled on a lot on the west bank of the river between the lower and middle falls.<sup>26</sup> He married a daughter of Martin Sidelinger<sup>27</sup> and was connected with the Lehr family. A probable son, Charles, was listed as the head of a family in the census of 1790, and the Robinson Map of 1815 shows him occupying a farm in the North Waldoborough district, extending from the southern shore of Medomak Pond in a southwest direction toward the road running easterly toward Will Mink's store. The name has long been extinct in this area and there are few known present-day descendants elsewhere.

BUCD. This is a doubtful name. An Anton Heinrich Bucd —, signature unreadable, signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767 to Governor Francis Bernard.<sup>28</sup>

BUCH. This is also a doubtful family. A Georg Buch, or Euch — the signature is most illegible — signed the same petition, as a resident of Broad Bay.

BURKETT. German variations are Burckhardt, Burchardt, Borkhard, Burghart. This family, of French Huguenot extraction, was once a numerous one in Waldoborough. The data on it are ample, but an accurate integration of the facts is rather difficult. The record may be as follows: John Jacob Burckhard, from Eichfelden, in the old Duchy of Franconia, came to the Boston district in 1751, in Joseph Crell's second migration, landing November 9, 1751.<sup>29</sup> Under indenture for payment of passage money, he was sent to work in the Glass Works at Germantown. In 1760, when the Glass Works became defunct, Jacob migrated to Broad Bay.<sup>30</sup> This Jacob

<sup>25</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 48, p. 26.

<sup>27</sup>Patterson, "Seitlinger Agreement," *Linc. Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>28</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211, 212.

<sup>29</sup>Bernard Fäy, "Une Colonie Rhénane en Nouvelle Angleterre au xviii Siècle," *Franco-Am. Rev.*, I, No. 3, pp. 276-283.

<sup>30</sup>Mass. Archives, XV A, 266; and Wm. S. Pattee, *A History of Old Braintree & Quincy* (Quincy, 1878).

was not alive in 1790. Two brothers, or more likely, two sons, Henry and Anthony, had preceded him to Broad Bay where, in 1763, Henry repurchased his farm of the Pemaquid heirs for £2 7s. 4d. This was the northernmost half of Lot No. 55, on the Dutch Neck. At this time Lot No. 54 was in possession of an Anthony Burckhardt.<sup>31</sup> Henry, having only seventeen and one-half-acres on the Dutch Neck, later acquired the farm south of the old Will Ewell homestead in South Waldoborough; and again in 1784 John Burkett, a possible son of Henry, acquired the old Mose Burkett Farm,<sup>32</sup> originally Lot No. 6, of John Schurz. At the same time he bought of Seth Paine the southern half of the present Ewell farm, the northern half being in the possession of Henry Burkett, who sold it to the Ewells in 1806,<sup>33</sup> apparently going to live with his son John, at whose home he died in 1818. In the census of 1790 Henry and John Burkett are the only names of this family listed as family heads. The descendants of these early Burketts are now scattered throughout the United States, and the name is now borne by only one family in the town. In 1940 a descendant, Franz U. Burkett, was Attorney General of the State of Maine.

CHAB. A Bernhard Chab was a resident of Broad Bay in 1767, when he signed the Schaeffer Petition to Governor Bernard.<sup>34</sup>

For names now beginning with C, see K. The initial consonant *c* occurs in few native German words, except in combinations with other consonants, and in words of foreign origin.

DAVID. John David, a yeoman, probably had as his first wife a Sechrist, and Mary Moners, his second wife, was the widow of Jacob Waltz. They lived on Lot No. 3, one hundred acres on the Thomas Hill ridge just north of John Henry Benner's lot. This location would identify him with the migration of 1753. In order that Mary might "not want for the necessities of life" in her old age, he deeded this farm to their son, Friedrich, and wife, Mary, of Broad Bay, reserving a home and care for his wife (April 21, 1771). To this deed he made his mark, but his wife signed in German script, Mary Moners David.<sup>35</sup> John David and Mary were thereafter resident in Boston, where on October 7, 1771, they deeded their one-third interest in the estate of Jacob Waltz, deceased, to Captain Charles Samson, Jr.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 46, p. 163.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>33</sup>Old deeds in the possession of Mabel R. Ewell, Waldo., Me.

<sup>34</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211, 212.

<sup>35</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 69.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 223.



DEIS. Jacob Deis was the head of this family at Broad Bay, the record of which is most scant. He signed the Petition of May 13, 1754,<sup>37</sup> to Governor Shirley, and thereafter disappeared. This document was signed only by the more centrally located and older settlers. Hence it is probable that Deis came to Broad Bay in 1742 and that his lot was on the upper east side. After the Indian wars he may have taken up lands farther to the eastward; for a Jacob Dice, possibly anglicized from Deis, dealt heavily in lands at Majer-bigwaduce (Castine) in the late 1760's down to the Revolution.<sup>38</sup>

DEMUTH. Johannes Heinrich, the founder of the Demuth family at Broad Bay, was of French Huguenot descent. He landed at Boston on November 9, 1751, coming from Bir KenbaueI in the Principality of Hachenberg. Apparently a brother, George Henry, of Wiesenbachen in the same province, came with him to Boston. Both signed the Crell broadcast in Boston, December 17, 1751; but there is no evidence that George migrated from Boston to Broad Bay.<sup>39</sup> John Henry was a signer of the Shirley petition of 1754. His farm seems to have included the homestead lot now occupied by Henry Hilton, plus some adjacent territory. He was killed on Storer's Point in the French and Indian War. Miller mentions a Martin Demuth as being in the colony in 1760, but if there was such a person, it was in all likelihood a son of John Henry. Other sons were George and Henry. The former was one of three men to inventory the estate of Jacob Lash in 1777.<sup>40</sup> He also witnessed the will of Prudence Chapman on November 17, 1778.<sup>41</sup> The census of 1790 lists George and Henry Demuth as being heads of families in that year. The former lies buried in the Lutheran Cemetery and his stone bears the date September 10, 1810, age, seventy-five. This would place his birth in Germany in the year 1735. The Demuths were once a numerous family in the Waldoborough district, but the name is now extinct in this area.

DICKENDORFF. The record of this family is a scant one. Jacob of this name may have been a stay-over from the Swiss migration in 1745 to the Carolinas. His farm was at upper Broad Cove in Bremen, where he did considerable in land speculation in the 1760's.<sup>42</sup>

DOCHTERMANN. The immigrant Dochtermann was Paulus. He was a signer of the Shirley petition of 1754 and is identified with the

<sup>37</sup>Mass. Archives, XX A, 240-242.

<sup>38</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 246.

<sup>39</sup>Fäy, *Franco-Am. Rev.*

<sup>40</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 226.

migration of 1742. The location of his farm adds further confirmation to this inference, as it is in the very heart of the district settled by the migrants of that year. It was apparently Lot No. 7 on the east bank, embracing the present farm of Frank Ewell and a strip of land from the northern side of the old Burkett farm of sufficient width to total the customary twenty-five rods. On November 3, 1770, he witnessed a deed involving a transfer of land from John Ulmer, Jr., to Michael Seitz.<sup>43</sup> What became of Dochtermann is not known. He may have joined the migration to South Carolina in 1773.

DOERFLER. The Doerflers were of the migration of 1742. The head of the family apparently died during the voyage across the ocean, leaving a widow and a daughter, Jacobina. This young woman was born at Durrenbuchen in Baden Durlach, March 31, 1723.<sup>44</sup> This fact undoubtedly identifies the family home. The daughter was married to Melchior Schneider on the trip across the sea. In 1770 she migrated with her husband to North Carolina and settled at Wachovia, about a mile from the Friedland schoolhouse. The widow Doerfler undoubtedly remarried in the colony, and with her marriage the name of Doerfler became extinct in the Waldoborough district. The daughter, Jacobina, died at Friedland, North Carolina, December 18, 1795.<sup>45</sup>

DOLHEIM. This is anglicized from the German, Dohlheim. References to this family in contemporary documents are scarce indeed. Miller mentions a George Dolheim as being at Broad Bay in 1760.<sup>46</sup> This was George Anton Dolheim, both names being used. Anton owned, in 1770, a farm on the east side, Lot No. 16, being the lot next north of Harold Levensaler's north line.<sup>47</sup> Anton was a road surveyor in 1778,<sup>48</sup> and George, in 1786, was one of three men to inventory the estate of Georg Light, Jr.,<sup>49</sup> and according to the *Ludwig Genealogy*, was a soldier of the Revolution. The name, once a common one in the town, has in recent times become extinct, although Mr. Frank Dohlheim, a descendant, is believed to be residing in Whitefield, Maine.

EDEL. There is very little known of this family, the sole reference being to a Conrad. On May 20, 1793, William Wagner, for the sum of £50, sold the lot on which he was then living to Conrad

<sup>43</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 90.

<sup>44</sup>*Schneider Memoir*, Archives Moravian Church (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>*History of Waldoboro.*

<sup>47</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 150.

<sup>48</sup>Clerk's Records, Town of Waldoborough.

<sup>49</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

Edel.<sup>50</sup> This farm was located on the west side of the river, a short distance above the lower falls. At this time Wagner moved to the Orff's Corner district to a farm adjoining the bridge which now bears his name.

EISELE. This name has been anglicized to Eisley, Isley. The Christian name of the immigrant Eisele was Franz. He made his mark on the Shirley Petition of 1754. There is some ground for identifying him with the migration of 1742. Sometime prior to 1769 he had secured from Melchior Schneider the old Dexter Feyler farm which was Lot No. 12 "on the east side of Broadbay river." Franz became a dependent in 1790. The census of that year gives the place as the residence of his son, Michael, who married Christina, the daughter of Godfrey Feyler; and through her it was that this farm eventually came into the possession of the Feyler family. The Robinson Map of 1815 shows the son, Michael, as still being in residence on this farm. The family was never a numerous one and the name has been extinct in Waldoborough for many decades. Up to twenty years ago there was on this farm, about one hundred yards nearly east by north of the dwelling, the private burying ground of the Eiseles, but the stones are now down and covered by humus and bushes.

EUCHT. A Johan Georg Eucht (dubious orthography) signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767. Further than this, nothing is known of such a family.<sup>51</sup>

EUGLEY. This is anglicized from the German Uekler, or Uekeler, in the Birth and Baptismal Certificate of Susana (1741-1827); partially anglicized to Ukkely in a clerk's copy of the Broad Bay Church Register (1762).<sup>52</sup> The immigrant Eugley, the progenitor of all Waldoborough Eugleys, was Bernhardt, "a citizen and peasant of Langensteinbach," Germany. He came to New England in 1752 with his wife, Regina, and their children, among whom was Susana, born at Langensteinbach, on February 4, 1741 (new reckoning). On November 18, 1762, she was married at Broad Bay to John Bernhard Kinsel. Her death occurred September 10, 1827, and burial was in the Lutheran cemetery. There were three known sons, Daniel, Bernhardt (1735-1827), and Benjamin.<sup>53</sup> Bernhardt Eugley, Sr., settled on the west side of the river, his farm being near the junction of the present Bremen and Dutch Neck roads at what is known as Eugley's Corner. In 1762 he was compelled to

<sup>50</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 31, p. 246.

<sup>51</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.

<sup>52</sup>Documents in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Med. Arts Bldg., Dallas, Tex.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*



repurchase his land of the Pemaquid heirs for £17 1s. 14d.<sup>54</sup> Old Bernhardt died in 1772. The old Eugley homestead, still standing at the junction, was built by the son, Daniel.<sup>55</sup> This family has been one of the most numerous in Waldoborough history, and there are still many in the town today who bear its name.

An interesting sidelight is furnished on the use of the German language in the back-districts, in a newspaper report of the death of Bernhardt Eugley, Jr.:

*Bath Inquirer*, Bath, Maine, 1827. Died in Waldoborough 1st inst. Mr. Bernhard Eugley, aged 92. He was one of the few survivors who emigrated to that place with Brig. Gen. Waldo from Germany in 1752. Although he resided since that time in Waldoborough, he never became well enough acquainted with the English language to use it in conversation. He, as well as most of the early emigrants, survived to a great age.

FEILHAUER. Variant spellings are Filhour, Philhour, Feilheur, Fillhauer. Daniel was the first of his name in Broad Bay. Little is known of the family, but from the location of his farm, he may be identified with the migrations of 1752. His land, Lot No. 20, containing ninety-nine acres, was repurchased of the Pemaquid heirs in 1762 for £13 14s.<sup>56</sup> His importance in Broad Bay history lies in the fact that in 1764 he introduced Indian corn and cultivated it on his land. He was one of the original wardens when the town was incorporated in 1773, and in 1783 he was one of three men to appraise the estate of Christian Klein.<sup>57</sup> Daniel died *circa* 1809, certainly before 1815, for the Robinson Map of that year gives the widow Fielhour as occupying the farm (the Joe Creamer lot on the west side). The name has been extinct in the town for decades, and so far as I know there are no descendants.

FEILTREU. In 1786 a Daniel Feiltreu was one of three men to inventory the estate of Peter Hilt.<sup>58</sup> Nothing further is known of this family, which leads to the suspicion that the name may be a garbled form of Feilhauer. The recorders in Wiscasset were notorious in the matter of garbling German names.

FEYLER. Variant spellings are Filer, Filler, Feiler, Feller, Filor. The first Feyler at Broad Bay was Godfrey, the "Hogreaf" of 1774. There is warrant for believing that he came to the Medomak in 1742, and that his lot has been in uninterrupted possession of his descendants for over two hundred years. It is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Carrie Feyler Hart. With Godfrey Feyler there

<sup>54</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 253.

<sup>55</sup>Oral narrative, Elmer Eugley, great-grandson of Daniel.

<sup>56</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 16, p. 88.

<sup>57</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

came to Broad Bay, his wife, Regina, and the following children, born either here or in Germany: Charles; John, 1754-1831; Christopher, 1760-1849; Christiana, wife of Michael Eisele; and Barbara (Schenck).<sup>59</sup> Godfrey died in 1784, and in 1787 the heirs deeded their claims in the old homestead to their brother, John. This farm was Lot No. 3, on the east side of the river. John Feyler died *circa* 1831, and his wife, born in Germany, died in 1827. They were buried in the old Lutheran cemetery. The present Feyler house was built by John in 1805, when his son, Zenas (1801-1892), was a boy of four.<sup>60</sup> This family has been a numerous one, and there are many who bear the name living in present-day Waldoboro.

GENTHNER. Also used in the form of Gentner, anglicized form of German, Guenthner. There are little available data on this family. Miller lists a David and a Friedrich Genthner as being at Broad Bay in 1760; but this is not authenticated by any evidence known to me, nor are there any such names listed in the census of 1790. The first Genthner at Broad Bay seems to have been the housewright, Johannes, the abbreviated and anglicized "Jas." of the Muster Roll of Römele's Dutch Rangers (1754), and the highway surveyor of 1777. On September 21, 1763, this John repurchased his farm, Lot No. 32, containing one hundred and four acres on the west side, of the Pemaquid heirs, for £13 17s. 4d.<sup>61</sup> In the census of 1790, the two Genthners listed as family heads were Andrew and Jacob. John apparently died or accepted the status of a dependent prior to this time. Andrew and Jacob must have been the sons of John. This family has been a most numerous one in the town down to and including the contemporary generation.

GETSINGER. The only reference to this family is to be found in the Knox Papers. In 1760 John North, at the probable instigation of the Waldo family, compiled a partial list of settlers at Broad Bay. Included in this group was Henry Getsinger. His complete disappearance at later dates could be explained by the inference that he was one of those to join the migration of 1773 to Abbeville County, South Carolina.

GROTHE. A Peter Grothe repurchased his farm, Lot No. 5 on the west side of the Medomak, on September 21, 1763, of the Pemaquid heirs for £3 9s. 4d.<sup>62</sup> Beyond this fact indicating a presence, there is no trace of the family in the town's history.

<sup>59</sup>Private papers in possession of Carrie Feyler Hart, 1940.

<sup>60</sup>Oral narrative, Carrie Feyler Hart.

<sup>61</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 138.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 31.

GROSS. John Martin was the Nestor of the Gross family, and its founder at Broad Bay. He was born at Erlangen, Germany, February 1, 1679, and came to Broad Bay with sons and daughters in 1753. At the age of seventy-five, he was the oldest member of that colony. His oldest son, Martin, remained in Germany where he was a book and newspaper printer, the founder of the *Gelehrte Zeitung* in Erlangen, in 1746. John Martin was allotted a farm on the Neck which bears his name, a lot which ran from the eastern shore of the Neck westward on to the main. It was on the western end of this property, on the Bremen road, that his grandson, Peter, later built a house and reared his family.<sup>63</sup> John Martin "passed out of time" on February 11, 1768, and was buried in the cemetery of the second Lutheran Church at Meetinghouse Cove. His tablet came into the possession of Georg Schmouse who presented it to the German Protestant Society in whose Church it is now preserved. Its inscription follows: "Hier liegt begraben, Herr John Martin Gross, und ist geboren den 1, Februar an 1679 und ist gestorben den 11 Februar, 1768 im 90 Jahr."

It is noteworthy that John Martin lived through the hard years of hunger and Indian warfare and saw the colony achieve lasting peace and a settled economy before his death. An inventory of his estate, September 7, 1781, showed a value of £93 10s. 1d. with receipts for legacies by his two daughters, Mary, wife of Christopher Newbert, and Mary Lessabot, wife of Peter Mink.<sup>64</sup> The sons who came to Broad Bay with John Martin seem to have been Johan Georg, blacksmith, born at Erlangen in 1733, and Peter, also a blacksmith. John Georg repurchased his farm, Lot No. 36, west side, containing eighty-four and one-half acres, of the Pemaquid heirs, on September 2, 1763, for £11 5s. 4d.<sup>65</sup> John, Peter, and the widow Gross are listed as heads of families in the census of 1790. A probable grandson, John Bertram, according to the Robinson Map of 1815, was then occupying a farm of one hundred and forty-one acres in North Waldoborough, the lot occupied in recent years by Isadore Vose. The Grosses have been a prolific family and there are many of their blood and name in present-day Waldoboro.

HABURG OR HAMBURG. One, Johannes, signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767,<sup>66</sup> and this is the only known record he has left of himself at Broad Bay.

<sup>63</sup>The Lewellyn Foster Place, now burned.

<sup>64</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>65</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 164.

<sup>66</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.



HAHN. Hans George Hahn was the immigrant Hahn and the founder of the family at Broad Bay. He was born February 1, 1718, at Ebersbrunn in northern Bavaria, was reared a Lutheran and learned the trade of a carpenter. On September 16, 1744, he married Margaretha Barbara, daughter of Balthasar Betz of Reweiler, from whom he had learned his trade. Hans' wife was born at Anspach, Bavaria, "the first Sunday in Advent, 1721." She was reared a Lutheran and in 1733 had moved to Franconia. In migrating to America, Pennsylvania was his destination, but the ship landed its freights in Boston, and Hans Georg reached Broad Bay in 1752, where he settled with his wife and four sons, Georg, Philip, John, and Friedrich, and an adopted daughter.

The older Hahn and his wife became the early leaders of the Moravian element in the colony. In 1757 Hahn sold his original home at Broad Bay, intending to migrate to Pennsylvania; but his Moravian followers dissuaded him from the plan and he remained in the colony, taking up a farm at Gross Neck, near the one, or perhaps the actual one, now owned by Charles Geele. In 1771 Hahn, with his wife and adopted daughter, joined the Moravian migration to North Carolina, where he finally settled at Friedland. There he died September 21, 1788. Burial was in the Friedland Cemetery, about six miles from the present Winston-Salem. His wife died at Friedland, October 18, 1789.<sup>67</sup> Of the children, Friedrich and his wife, Gertraut, followed the parents to North Carolina *circa* 1773. The other three sons remained in New England.

HANDEL. (Spelling uncertain.) A John of this name was living in East Walldoborough, enjoying squatter's rights until dispossessed of his land by General Henry Knox, on November 21, 1793.<sup>68</sup> It is doubtful that he was an original settler, but more probably a Hessian who came to Broad Bay during the Revolution. He married Ona Brown of Walldoborough, January 12, 1790.

HAUPT. This name has been anglicized to Hopp. The Haupts were Germans, but not early settlers. John Haupt came to Walldoborough after the Revolution, married Mary Waterman and settled in the South Walldoborough district. He eventually left his wife and "died in other parts." His four children were Thomas W., Deborah B., John A., and Julia A. These children married into the Pitcher, Brown, and Delano families.<sup>69</sup> There are still descendants

<sup>67</sup>*Memoirs of Hans Georg and Barbara Hahn*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>68</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 33, p. 44; and Town Records, March, 1795; April, 1796.

<sup>69</sup>Based on the Family Bible and oral narrative of Rogene Wiley Castner, Walldoboro, 1939.

in Waldoboro, even though the name has now become extinct in the community.

HAUS. Joseph Haus was elected a hog reeve on April 6, 1789. His elective office would suggest he was a late arrival, for this office was in general use as a gateway to citizenship. It is possible that Haus was one of the Hessians who came to Waldoborough on parole after the surrender of Burgoyne.

HEAVENER. This is anglicized from the German, Huebner, variously spelled as Hiebner, Heibner, Heabner, Havener. The immigrant Heavener was Charles, born in 1723, probably at Lauffen, Würtemberg, Germany.<sup>70</sup> He seems to have come to Broad Bay in 1752 and to have settled at the very tip end of the Dutch Neck, beyond Butter Point, marked on official charts as Heavener's Point. The old man died in 1822 at the age of ninety-nine.<sup>71</sup> He could never forget the hardships of the early days at Broad Bay. His granddaughter, Catherine Heavener, wife of Christian Storer, told the following anecdote of her grandfather to Alice Waltz Morse in her girlhood. In his last years, the old man made his home with his soldier son, Charles, and whenever it snowed he would stand looking sadly out of the window, and invariably say: "Man versprach uns ein Land von Milch und Honig. Dort —" pointing at the snow — "ist die Milch und der Honig." There was a son Louis, a Moravian missionary, in Pennsylvania,<sup>72</sup> and at Broad Bay, Charles, Matthias, and Georg, listed as family heads in the census of 1790. Charles, who lived on the home place, was a soldier of the Revolution and fought under Benedict Arnold at Bemis Heights and Saratoga.<sup>73</sup> He was also in the battles of Monmouth, Stillwater, and Rhode Island. The farm remained in the Heavener family up to current times, Louis being the last of the name to occupy it. The descendants of old Charles Heavener are almost legion and are found today not only in the Waldoboro district, but in all parts of the United States.

HEIDENHEIM. John, a husbandman of this name, was born in 1714 and died February 27, 1781. His wife, Mary Elizabeth, was born at Broad Bay, December 11, 1754. Known children were John Peter, born December 8th, 1777, and Maria Christiana, born April 8, 1779.<sup>74</sup> The date of Heidenheim's migration to Broad Bay is not known, nor is the location of his original homestead; but on "Oct.

<sup>70</sup>*Ludwig Genealogy.*

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>Soelle, *Diary, 1760*, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>73</sup>Tombstone in the Dutch Neck Cemetery.

<sup>74</sup>Clerk's Records, Town of Waldoborough.

28 in the sixth year of the reign of George III 1765," Johan Joseph Wibiege (Weaver), blacksmith, conveyed to John Heidenheim Lot No. 37, on the Dutch Neck, for £20.<sup>75</sup> The name has long been extinct in Waldoboro and I know of no descendants.

HEILER. Joachim Heiler and his grown-up son, Conrad, came to Broad Bay in 1742 in the migration under the direction of Sebastian Zuberbühler. In part payment of their passage money, they gave to Zuberbühler their bond for £7 14s. 3½d., payable the 24th day of September, 1747.<sup>76</sup> It is probable that both men joined the Louisburg expedition, were killed in action, died of disease, or remained at Louisburg after the close of the war. A Jacob Hilor (anglicized from Heiler), a possible son of Conrad, was a soldier in the Revolution in Captain Thomas Starrett's Company, which was detached from Colonel Mason Wheaton's regiment and stationed at Glenn Cove, Rockport, June 25 to July 5, 1779.<sup>77</sup> The name has long been extinct in the town and the family has left few traces.

HEIN. John Jacob Hein, husbandman, was the immigrant by this name. He was born at Dillenburg in 1713, and with his wife, Margaretha, and a son, Johannes,<sup>78</sup> came to Broad Bay in 1753 and settled on the west side of the river. On August 21, 1772, he sold to David Vinal, mariner, for £100, his farm, being "Lot No. 12 from Medomak Falls, with all building; improvements, stock and crops growing in the fields . . . he having been 19 years in possession of said land."<sup>79</sup> In the same year he went to North Carolina, settling at Friedland, where he died in 1785. Johannes, born at Dillenburg in 1749, moved with his father to North Carolina, where he died at Bethabara in 1806. His wife was Elizabeth Vogler, a daughter of Philip Christopher. She died April 7, 1855, the last of those who migrated from Broad Bay to the Winston-Salem district.<sup>80</sup> Conelis Hines, listed as the head of a family in the census of 1790, may have been Cornelius Hein, another son, who had elected to remain at Broad Bay. In the present day there are no known descendants of this family in the town.

HEISLER. Michael Heisler most probably came to Broad Bay in 1752 and was allotted land on the lower end of Dutch Neck, being Lot No. 53, containing thirty-five acres. In 1763 he was compelled

<sup>75</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 255.

<sup>76</sup>York Co. Register of Deeds (Alfred, Me.), Bk. 25, p. 45.

<sup>77</sup>Edward K. Gould, *British and Tory Marauders of the Penobscot* (Rockland, Me., 1932).

<sup>78</sup>*Hein Memoirs*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>79</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 91; also Bk. 9, p. 93.

<sup>80</sup>*Hein Memoirs*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



to repurchase his farm of the Pemaquid heirs, for £4 13s. 4d.<sup>81</sup> He signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767 and in 1774 was a selectman of the town. On January 25, 1785, he sold his farm on the Dutch Neck to Jacob Genthner and moved to Stahl's Hill in Warren.<sup>82</sup> A Martin Heisler, a probable son, was listed as the head of a family in the census of 1790. This is a name that has long been extinct in the town.

HEYER. The first of this name at Broad Bay was Martin, who came from the Rhine Country via Philadelphia in the autumn of 1748. During the winter of 1748-49 he died of exposure. A son, Konrad, was born posthumously on April 10, 1749, according to tradition, in a log cabin on Schenck's Point. Konrad Heyer is a Waldoboro landmark. His name is known to every citizen in the town. He was a lifelong Lutheran and for more than seventy-five years sang in the choir of that church. He was in the Revolution for the duration of the war, worked on the fortifications at Ticonderoga, was at Valley Forge, crossed the Delaware in Washington's forces and participated in the attack on Trenton. After the war he settled at North Waldoborough on the Evie Teague place. At the age of one hundred, though a little deaf, he read easily without glasses.

His widowed mother was remarried to David Holzapfel, migrated with the Moravians to North Carolina, and died there. Konrad's wife was Mary Weaver. He died February 19, 1856, at the age of one hundred and six years, ten months and nine days, and was buried in the Heyer burying ground on the Teague farm. The following summer his body was exhumed, he was given a public funeral, and amid great pomp his remains were laid to their final rest in the German Protestant Cemetery. There were two known sons, Cornelius, buried in the old Heyer burying ground, and George, born April 1, 1779. This latter son had thirteen children, and from them as well as from the children of Cornelius, a host of present-day Waldoboro folk as well as numerous kin in more distant parts are descended. I am one of Konrad Heyers' great, great-grandsons and there are literally hundreds of others of them. The old "Augustus Heyer Place" on the Bremen road, the home of Konrad's son, George, was occupied by his descendants from 1803 to 1948.

HILT. There is so much detail available on this family that it defies convincing treatment. The Hilts, and there seems to have been more than one, perhaps two or more brothers, landed at Boston in the

<sup>81</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 163.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 36, p. 179.

migration of 1751 or 1752. One at least was in debt for passage, for a John Hilt was indentured to the promoters of the glass works at Germantown, where he remained until the failure of that enterprise in 1760.<sup>83</sup> With others he then joined the colony at Broad Bay whither many of his friends and perhaps relatives had come in 1752. He had come originally from Frankfort am Main. Margaret Hilt, a daughter, or possibly a niece, married Jacob Ludwig in 1755; and another daughter married Henry Stahl (1737-1827); Elizabeth, John's wife, was a daughter of Hans Simon Mellen.<sup>84</sup> A son Peter (1749), a sea captain, died at sea in 1785, leaving an estate valued at £31 18s. 4d.<sup>85</sup> John Hilt settled on the east side of the river about one half a mile above the lower falls, sold the lot in 1772 to John Bernhard Schumann, weaver,<sup>86</sup> and died the following year, leaving his widow and four children, John Peter, Margaret, Mary, and John, the last "three being minors under twenty-one years of age."<sup>87</sup> There was also a Christian Hilt of Worcester, Massachusetts, a possible brother, who took refuge in Massachusetts in the French and Indian War and who on June 13, 1768, sold to George Heavener his holdings at Broad Bay, containing Lot No. 56 and one half of Lot No. 55 on the lower end of the Dutch Neck for £31 14s. 8d.<sup>88</sup> There are numerous descendants of John Hilt living in Union and Waldoboro, although now there is only one family bearing the Hilt name living in the latter town.

HOCH. The Hoch family's early history parallels that of the Hilt. The probability is strong that the Hochs came to Boston in the migrations of 1751 or 1752 and arrived in debt for the passage. A John Walter Hoch indentured himself in payment to the ship to the promoters of the glass works in Germantown<sup>89</sup> and on failure of that enterprise in 1760 came to Broad Bay to join old friends and relatives, or to bring his family with him. He was allotted land on the east side of the upper Medomak between the Great Falls and the present railroad station.<sup>90</sup> This he sold to John Benner in 1772, and the deed indicates in specific language that this was his original lot, ". . . one right of land originally laid out to me . . . containing 100 acres." Thereafter Hoch moved to the Orff's Corner area where he had previously acquired a considerable acreage on the west side of the river in the neighborhood of "Martin's and

<sup>83</sup>Pattee, *History of Old Braintree and Quincy*.

<sup>84</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 135.

<sup>85</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>86</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 222.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 11, p. 135.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 12, p. 131.

<sup>89</sup>Pattee, *op. cit.*

<sup>90</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 231.

Schaeffer's Meadows" as it was then known.<sup>91</sup> Theirs was a large family; there were on the male side four known sons: George (1730-1830), Martin (1731-1830), Christian and Michael.<sup>92</sup> John Walter seems to have died or to have become a dependent prior to 1790, for the census of that year lists only George, Martin, and Michael as family heads. George deserted the colonial cause during the Revolution in the campaign against Castine. In turn he deserted from the British, was captured by the colonials, court-martialled and sentenced "to receive a thousand stripes save one." He survived the ordeal but carried the marks to his grave, whither he went at the age of ninety-nine. This family has a numerous posterity still living in Waldoboro.

HOFFSES. In old documents this is spelled Hoofses, and Hofses, in the original German probably Hoffes. The immigrant Hoffses at Waldoborough was Matthias, a weaver, who came to Boston in one of the Crell migrations and to Broad Bay in 1752. He was allotted Lot No. 49, containing twenty-five acres on the lower end of Dutch Neck, which he was compelled to repurchase of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for £3 6s., 8d.<sup>93</sup> Later, finding his twenty-five acres insufficient to support his large family, he acquired land at Goose River; the last house on the east side of the road before crossing Goose River into Friendship is the old Hoffses Homestead. Near by is the private burying ground of the family. Matthias was born September 14, 1724, and his wife, Margaretha Weasten, on December 18, 1727. Born to this union were Johann Christian, October 23, 1753; Anna Maria Susanna, 1755; Johann Gottfried, 1757; Johann Georg, 1760; Rosinnah, 1762; Johann Anton, 1764; Maria Magdalena, 1766; Andrew, 1768; Barbara, 1769; Katharina, 1772.<sup>94</sup> The family has been a very large one and there are still many in the town who bear the name.

HOLZAPFEL. The immigrant of this name was David who came to Broad Bay with his wife in 1752.<sup>95</sup> He came into possession of Lots No. 2 and 3 on the west side below Medomak Falls at an early date. These were sold on August 20, 1772, to Solomon Hewett for £135, and the transfer of title states that "he took them up about 20 years ago."<sup>96</sup> Holzapfel was a carpenter by trade and according to tradition he built, in 1769, the old Smouse house, reputed to have been the first frame dwelling at Broad Bay. He is said to have married as his second wife the widow of John Martin Heyer. In 1772 or 1773

<sup>91</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 264.

<sup>92</sup>*Ludwig Genealogy*.

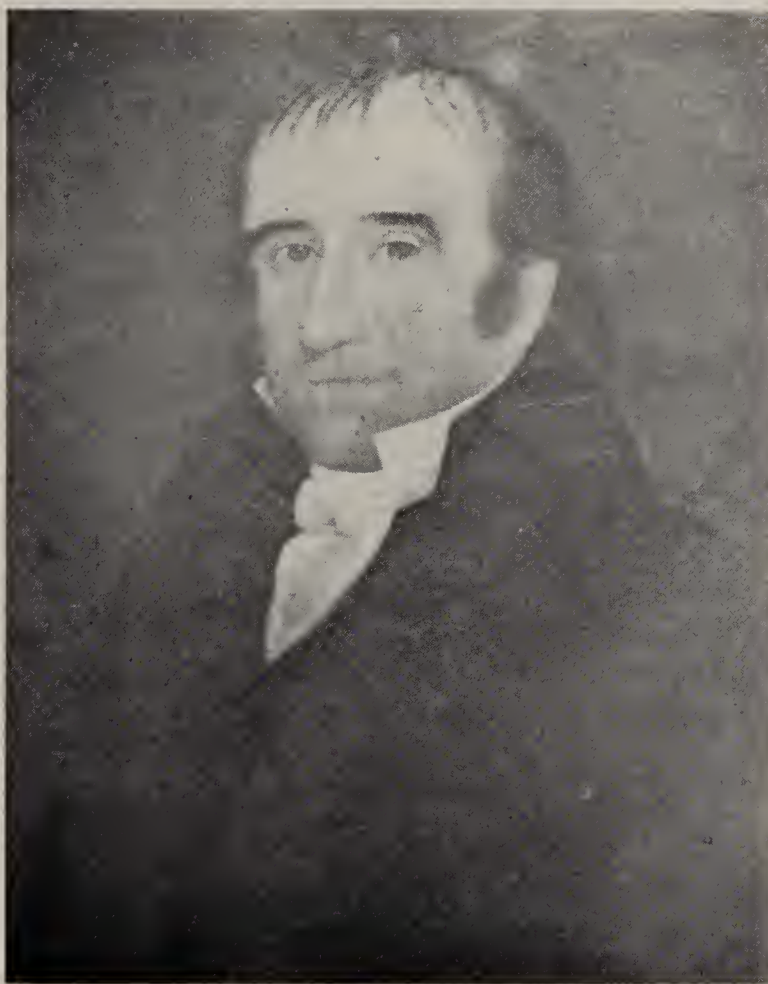
<sup>93</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 165.

<sup>94</sup>Clerk's Records, Waldoborough.

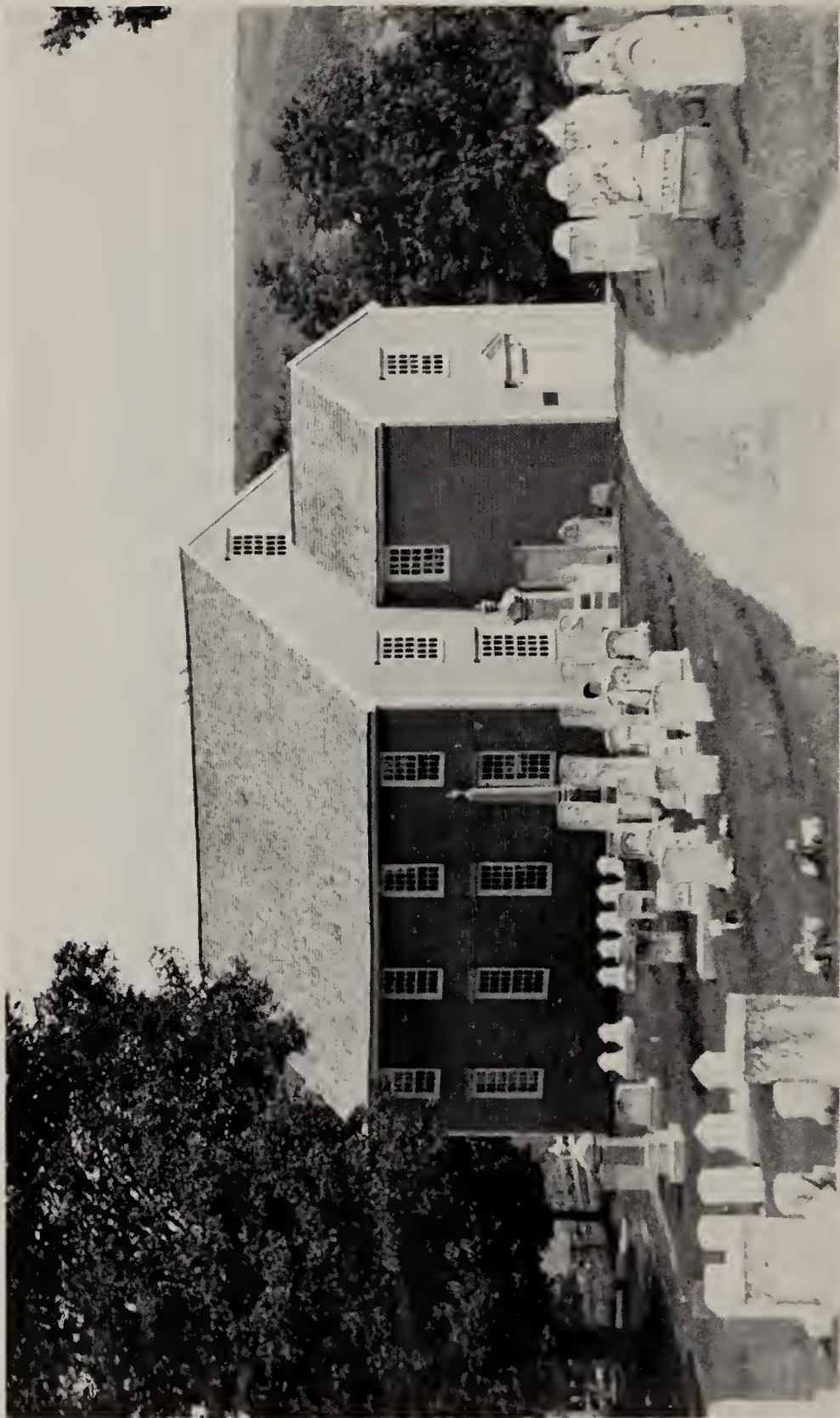
<sup>95</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 91.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*





JACOB LUDWIG, SR.



THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

he moved his family to North Carolina in one of the Moravian migrations and settled near Friedland. He had been one of Georg Soelle's hearers at Broad Bay, but never affiliated himself with the Moravian Church.<sup>97</sup> There are no known descendants of this family in present-day Waldoboro.

HORN. Gottfried Horn signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767.<sup>98</sup> Otherwise I have come across no trace of this family at Broad Bay.

ICHOLAR. There is no reference to such a family prior to 1793, when William was dispossessed of his land in East Waldborough by the Proprietor, General Henry Knox. Icholar apparently had exercised "squatter's rights." He may have been a Hessian and hence a late comer to the town.

JUNG. The immigrant of this name was Valentine, a resident of Engoldsheim in Alsace, Germany, where he was a member of the Reformed Church. Here were born two of his known children, Jacob and Michael (January 5, 1743). The wife and mother died in the year of the latter's birth; the father remarried and with his family joined the first migration under Crell, which reached Boston in 1751. The next year the family proceeded to Broad Bay and settled on a lot which was perhaps on the upper east side of the river. Valentine found life in the colony a hard one. He was a signer of the Petition of 1754 to Governor Shirley and for a while was enrolled in Remilly's "Dutch Rangers." The son Michael was indentured to an English family in a neighboring town and remained there until the age of eighteen.

For the latter part of the French and Indian War the father took refuge in Boston, but returned to Broad Bay in 1760 and resumed life on his farm. Michael rejoined his father at this time and shortly became a follower of the Moravian missionary, Georg Soelle, in consequence of which he became subject to some religious persecution in his own home. In 1767 he left Broad Bay and journeyed to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he became an inmate of the Single Brethrens' House until he was called to serve an Indian mission in 1780. He became a faithful missionary and labored among the Indians for thirty-three years. In 1813 he returned to Littitz, Pennsylvania, where he died December 13, 1826. He lies buried there in the Moravian churchyard.<sup>99</sup>

Jacob Jung settled on the west side of the river on Lot No. 26 below Medomak Falls. He was compelled to repurchase the hundred-and-nine-acre lot of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for

<sup>97</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>98</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.

<sup>99</sup>Jung data based on *Memoir* of Michael, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).



£14 10s. 8d. During the Revolution he was a Tory, and in consequence was compelled to flee to Canada. In 1781 his property at Broad Bay was appraised at £130 and was declared confiscate. He apparently returned to the town in 1786 and remained long enough at least to marry Mary Ried.<sup>100</sup> By 1790 all the Jungs had vanished from the town, as the census lists no family head in 1790; nor are there any known descendants in the present day.

KALER. Also known as Keiler, anglicized from the German Köhler. An authentic account of this family is well-nigh impossible by reason of the confusion in spelling as well as in the repetition of the first names. It is, however, entirely certain that Johannes Köhler was the immigrant, or one of the immigrant ancestors of this family at Broad Bay, and that he came here in 1753 from Nenderoth "in the overlordship of Bielstein" in the Principality of Oranien-Nassau.<sup>101</sup> He took up two lots, Nos. 6 and 10 on the west side of the river below Medomak Falls, which he was compelled to repurchase of the Pemaquid heirs in 1764 for £10 5s. 2d.<sup>102</sup> A Henry Kaler, possibly the immigrant John Henry, died in 1790, leaving a wife, Elizabeth, two sons, Jacob and Charles (1760-1842), and six daughters, Doredeah, Eva, Katharina, Margaretha, Anna Maria, and Maria Katherina. He also left an estate valued at £84 6s. 2d.<sup>103</sup> Miller mentions a William Kaler as being in the colony in 1760. This may have been the John William Kaler of the *Ludwig Genealogy* (1737-1838), a possible son of John not mentioned in the will by reason of his having otherwise been provided for. The census of 1790 lists the following Kalers as heads of families: Charles, Charles, Jacob, Jacob, Jr., William and again Jacob. This repetition of names suggests the possibility that instead of one immigrant Kaler there may have been two, or even more. The family has been a very large one and to this day they are one of the most numerous clans in the town.

CASTNER. This has been anglicized from Kastner or Kestner. Willibaldus, commonly called Baltas, Baltus, Balthasar, and his wife Augustina, commonly called Justina, came to Broad Bay in 1753 from Königsbach in Baden Durlach, Germany.<sup>104</sup> Baltas was a blacksmith by trade (signed letter to Bishop Spangenberg, Bethlehem, May 22, 1767). He took up his first lot on the west side of the river in the area of the old Lovell Bridge. After the last Indian war he gave up this lot and with his son, Ludwig, squatted on a

<sup>100</sup>Clerk's Records, Walldoborough.

<sup>101</sup>Passport of Johannes Köhler, issued at Dillenburg, April 10, 1753, copy in my possession.

<sup>102</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 106.

<sup>103</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>104</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

vacated lot, the one next above the farm now owned by Merle C. Castner. This move was not entirely successful, since when the lot was vacated it reverted to the proprietor. This was Lot No. 11, recently the Walter Boggs place, and the Castners were compelled to repurchase it in 1774 of Samuel Waldo's son-in-law, for £13 6s. 8d.<sup>105</sup> Baltas died in 1774, leaving an estate valued at £110 13s. 3d.<sup>106</sup> According to family tradition he was buried in the old Lutheran Cemetery on the shore of Merle Castner's farm.

There were three children in the Castner family of whom any record has been preserved. Johann Anton, born at Königsbach, November 29, 1743, married Gottliebe ———, born at Broad Bay, 1746, died at Bethabara, North Carolina, April 25, 1773. Johann Anton moved to North Carolina in 1769 and joined the Moravian congregation in Bethabara. He was of a stormy nature and this led to his exclusion from the church, but he was reconciled to the Brethren again at his death. He married four times, had eleven children, and at the time of his death, March 17, 1817, had twenty-nine grandchildren and one great-grandchild.<sup>107</sup> Sophia Salome Castner, a daughter of Baltas, was born April 19, 1734, at Königsbach. She married Johann Georg Lagenauer who had come to Broad Bay in 1753, and on his death in 1757 she married Friedrich Kuenzel. They migrated to Friedland, North Carolina, in 1770 and remained there until her death March 10, 1816.<sup>108</sup> Ludwig Castner, born at Königsbach in 1751, remained at Broad Bay and became the progenitor of the Waldoborough Castners. He lived on his father's place and around 1790 built the Old Castner Homestead. Ludwig died January 14, 1822, and is buried in the German Protestant Cemetery. His wife was Anna Schwartz, daughter of Friedrich (died at Valley Forge) and Lucy Schwartz. There were thirteen children born to this union. The will of Willibaldus mentions only his wife, "Ustana," and his son, Ludwig; hence it is probable that there were no other children living in Waldoborough at that time. This family is a large one, now widely spread over the state and nation. There are still many bearing the name who live in Waldoboro.

KEIZER. The evidence on this family is most scant. It is not known when it came to Broad Bay, but by inference the suggestion may be ventured that it settled on the east side of the river. Miller lists a Franz or a Francis Keizer as being in the colony in the year 1760,<sup>109</sup> and in this case the probability is strong that this person was the immigrant Keizer. A Francis, possibly this Francis, ap-

<sup>105</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 25, p. 19.

<sup>106</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>107</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup>Miller, *History of Waldoboro.*



pears in the census of 1790 as a family head with five children. There is also the Philip Keizer (1743-1833) of the *Ludwig Genealogy*, who would have been a son of the original immigrant. This family, once more numerous in the community, still has a few descendants in Waldoboro bearing the family name.

KESLER. Johannes Kesler was probably the founder of the Kesler family at Broad Bay, but the evidence is meager. He was one of three witnesses to the will of Henry Benner, June 23, 1783,<sup>110</sup> and a constable in the town in 1788. He was also, according to the census, the head of a family in the town in 1790. Further than this there is no trace of this family known to me.

KINSEL or KINSELL. This has been anglicized from the German, Kuentzel or Kuenzel. Johannes Kuentzel, the immigrant, was born February 22, 1709, at Königsbach, Baden Durlach, Germany. He was a carpenter by trade and on June 21, 1735, married Maria Elizabeth Jung, born September 16, 1714, at Königsbach. To this union there were born five children in Germany and one at Broad Bay: John Friedrich was born February 22, 1737; Christina Barbara, September 14, 1739; Johann Bernhard, July 31, 1741; Maria Margaretha, May 4, 1744; Elizabeth, June 12, 1746, and the sixth child, John, at Broad Bay in 1755. In 1753 the Kinsels came to "Broad Bay in New England" bringing with them a copy of the church record<sup>111</sup> from which these data are excerpted. It concludes with a pious prayer: "God preserve the parents and five children in health and graciously lead them through his Holy Spirit with the protection of the Holy Angels to that place they anxiously desire." John, the father, settled on Lot No. 24, on the west side midway between the Falls and the Dutch Neck. Friedrich, a son, acquired Lot No. 16 on the summit of the old "Kinsell Hill," the farm now owned by Mark Smith. His house was built of the timber of the house erected by General Waldo to house the colony of 1753 during the first winter. In fact, it was moved from its original site near the junction of the Soule's Bridge and Winslow's Mills road. "The Old Long House on the Hill," as it was known, was described to me by Alice Waltz Morse who was in it as a girl. as follows:

As I remember the old house it must have been about sixty feet long and very narrow, so that each room represented the width of the house. There were two cellars, one deeper than the other with steps connecting. It was empty for many years after Charles (1832-1872), the last Kinsel to occupy it, moved with his mother to the small place on the Dutch Neck road now owned by Edith Eugley.

<sup>110</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>111</sup>In possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Med. Arts Bldg., Dallas, Tex.



Of the second generation, John Friedrich joined the Moravians and moved to North Carolina in 1770, where he died in 1816.<sup>112</sup> John Bernhard was a soldier in the French and Indian War, took part in the second campaign against Louisburg, and was possibly at Quebec. In 1772 he, too, migrated to North Carolina, but returned the next year and settled by the Duck Puddle Pond in Nobleborough on the farm now owned by Raymond Piercy. The Kinsell farms were all on the west side of the river and hence were repurchased of the Pemaquid heirs in 1764. John's was redeemed for £15 16s. 10d.,<sup>113</sup> Friedrich's for £10 16s. 8d.,<sup>114</sup> and Bernhard's for £6 15s.<sup>115</sup> The name Kinsel is now extinct in Waldoboro, but there are still those in the town who bear the blood of this family in their veins. Its known descendants in other sections are Doctor Benjamin Kinsell of Dallas, Texas, and Judge Dudley Kinsell of the Superior Court, Alameda County, California.

CLINE or KLINE. This has been anglicized from the German, Klein. The first Cline at Broad Bay was Christian, who came in the migration of 1753 from Nenderoth in the Province of Dietz, Germany. A son, George, was a captive in Canada during the French and Indian War. He eventually received land on the west side of the river, Lot No. 19 below Medomak Falls, which he repurchased of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for £12 17s. 24d.<sup>116</sup> This same son was a British sympathizer in the Revolution, in consequence of which his estate was appraised and confiscated in 1781.<sup>117</sup> Christian Cline died in 1783, leaving an estate appraised at £65 17s. Besides the son George the will mentions a wife, Elizabeth, a son, John, and a daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>118</sup> Some members of the family took up land in East Waldoborough when that portion of the town was settled, and were still in that section fifty years ago; but the name has now become extinct in this community.

CLOUSE or CLAUS. This has been anglicized from the German, Klaus. The first Clouses at Broad Bay were most probably Cornelius and his wife Anna Elizabeth, born in Germany in 1717 and died at Waldoborough in 1805. She was buried in the Lutheran Cemetery. Cornelius settled on the west side of the river in the general area of the Meetinghouse Cove and was living there in 1763 when he was compelled to repurchase Lot No. 31 of the Pemaquid heirs for £13 6s. 8d.<sup>119</sup> He died in 1775 and was probably buried in the old cemetery at "the Cove." He left an estate

<sup>112</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>113</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, 149.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 194.

<sup>117</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 199.

valued at £106 19s. 10½*d.*, and a minor daughter who for some unknown reason was placed under the guardianship of Captain Peter Hilt.<sup>120</sup> Miller mentions a George Clouse as being at Broad Bay in 1760. This may have been a son and the same listed as the head of a family in the census of 1790. The Clouses are represented today by only one family bearing their name.

KOEHLER. This name is an uncertain one, but a Heinrich Koehler was apparently an early settler, an adult in 1763, when he repurchased his Lot No. 39 on the Dutch Neck of the Pemaquid heirs for £9 6s. 8*d.*<sup>121</sup> The fact that he was a bricklayer is strongly suggestive of a trade learned in the Old World. The spelling is probably a variant for Kaler, and he may have been a son or a brother of the immigrant, Johannes, and possibly is the Henry Kaler who died in 1790.

COMERY. Comror, Cumerer, Comerer, are also anglicized forms of the German, Kommerich. Only a few facts in reference to this family have survived. The original immigrant, Joseph, came in one of the later migrations and seems to have lived in the Upper South Waldoborough area between the Will Ewell and Curry places.<sup>122</sup> Joseph Comery died prior to 1789, but was living in 1777, when he served as one of the three hog reeves of the town. There is but one Comery listed in the census of 1790, Joseph, Jr., whose death occurred in 1830.<sup>123</sup> This family has never been a numerous one, and Mrs. Jennie Comery Redlon, now residing in Waldoboro, is the only living descendant in the town who has borne the name of this family.

KRAUS. Not an original settler, Jacob Kraus (1752-1832), came to Waldoborough during or after the Revolution. He was a Hessian and settled in East Waldoborough on an eighty-six-acre lot which he mortgaged to William Thompson, January 7, 1738.<sup>124</sup> Kraus married Hannah Elwell and ultimately moved to Warren, residing there until his death at the age of eighty.<sup>125</sup>

CREAMER. Also used as Kremer, Cremer, Cramer, possibly Crammer, anglicized from the German, Krämer. This has been one of the most numerous families of the town. Unfortunately it has retained little in the way of records that would cast an entirely clear light on the first generation. Hence I am compelled to resort to

<sup>120</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>121</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 86.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 50, p. 141.

<sup>123</sup>Comery Bible (English) 1816, in possession of Samuel G. Goodhue, 242 Asbury St., S. Hamilton, Mass.

<sup>124</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 40, p. 166.

<sup>125</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 581.

reasonable hypothesis. There seems to have been two Creamer brothers, Peter (1726-1822) and Georg, who came to Boston in the migration of 1751 or 1752. Here, as was the case with a number of families, the brothers separated, Peter remaining in Boston and Georg taking land under Waldo at Broad Bay. He early located on Lot No. 17, containing ninety-three acres, below the Medomak Falls, perhaps the old Rodney Creamer farm. This he was compelled to redeem of the Pemaquid heirs in 1753, for £24 6s. 8d., a figure which shows it to have been one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the colony.<sup>126</sup> Peter prospered somewhat in business, then fearful of disturbances in Boston in the early days of the Revolution, sold his business, converted all his wealth into gold and came to Waldoborough. He acquired land on the east side of the river above Winslow's Mills, totalling about four hundred and fifty acres, and embracing the farm occupied by the late Joseph Jones.<sup>127</sup> Peter buried his gold somewhere on this farm, according to tradition, sometime thereafter became slightly deranged, and in consequence was never able to remember where he had buried his money. To this day it has never been recovered. George Creamer died *circa* 1786.<sup>128</sup> There were a number of sons of the two brothers now indistinguishable in the matter of parentage: Jacob, 1750; Christopher, 1761-1827; Charles, 1761-1851; John, 1762-1842; Frederick, 1767-1849; a second Jacob, 1769-1849, and a Henry Cremer who was elected a fence viewer in 1773. The census of 1790 lists Charles, Christopher, Frederick, Jacob, John, and Peter as heads of families. The descendants of this family must be listed in the thousands, and there are many of this name still living in Waldoboro.

KROEHN. Peter Kroehn was the immigrant bearing the name at Broad Bay. He was born March 22, 1772, at Eicfeld in the County of Castell (Kassel), Franconia, Germany, and from his father learned the trade of a cooper. He was reared as a Lutheran and served his time as a cavalryman in the army of the Emperor. On September 23, 1749, he married Elizabeth Fischer, from which union there were eight children. The family migrated to Broad Bay in 1753. In 1757-1758 he took part in the expeditions into Canada where he sustained severe injuries, in consequence of which he was discharged from the service. He joined his family in Boston, where it had taken refuge during the war. Returning to Broad Bay afterward, he became one of the converts of the Moravian, George Soelle, and joined the migration to North Carolina in the autumn of 1769. There he was one of the original settlers of Friedland

<sup>126</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 163.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 13, p. 259.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 47, p. 119.



and there he died on November 4, 1798, having survived his wife, Elizabeth, by twenty-two years. Three of his children and nineteen grandchildren survived him.<sup>120</sup> With the departure of this family from Broad Bay the name became extinct in the settlement.

KUBLER. This has also been anglicized to Kubel from the German, Kuebler. David and his wife Margaret were the first of this name at Broad Bay. Neither their home in Germany nor the time of their migration to this country are known, but a Michael Kuebler of Dertingen, Germany, came to Boston in 1751. He may have been a brother of David and if so the latter could be identified with the migration from Boston to Broad Bay in 1752. David affixed his name to the Schaeffer Petition of June 14, 1767. In 1770 this family migrated to North Carolina in the group under Soelle's leadership. Though it remained friendly to the Moravian Church, it never joined its membership.<sup>130</sup> There are no known descendants of this family now in Waldoboro.

KUHN. This is also variously anglicized to Kuehn, Kuehne, Keene, Cone, from the German, Kuhn. The name of the immigrant Kuhn at Broad Bay is uncertain. Miller lists a George Kuhn as being in the colony in 1760, but does not support the statement with evidence.<sup>131</sup> A young man by the name of Herman Kuhn appears to have been in residence on the east side in 1757 as a neighbor of John Henry Demuth. A Paul Cone signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767 and prior to this time had redeemed his farm, Lot No. 17 below Medomak Falls on the west side, for £10 13s. 4d., of the Pemaquid heirs. This conveyance of title speaks of Paul Kuhn, "Tanner,"<sup>132</sup> which suggests that he was the original immigrant since he would have hardly learned such a trade on this side of the water. This could not have been the Paul Kuhn (1751-1835) mentioned in the *Ludwig Genealogy*, but more likely was his son. Other sons may have been Herman, Jacob and Georg. This family has been a numerous one, and there are many in Waldoboro today bearing its name.

LABE. English variants are Laib, Leib. A Johann Labe is given by Miller as residing at Broad Bay in 1760. The existence of such a person finds confirmation in the fact that John Laib was a fence viewer in 1777 and a hog reeve in 1787. The wife of John Martin Reiser was a Labe and came with him from Saxony, possibly as early as 1740. It may be that John Labe, a younger brother of Mrs.

<sup>129</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup>Miller, *History of Waldoboro*.

<sup>132</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 148.

Reiser, came with this family to Broad Bay as a minor. His farm was located on the Thomas Hill ridge, the present Patrick Homestead, from which he sold a strip about twenty rods wide to Charles Sampson in 1805.<sup>133</sup> The family was never a large one, but the name has lingered in the town down to the present day.

LAGENAUER. Johannes Georg Lagenauer, an original immigrant, came to Broad Bay in 1753 from Königsbach in Baden Durlach, Germany; and with him came his wife, Sophia Salome (Kastner), a daughter of Willibaldus. There were three children born to this union. The father was drowned at Broad Bay on Christmas day, 1757. Two of the sons, Georg and Jacob, migrated to North Carolina following their mother who had married Friedrich Kinsel as her second husband. Juliana Rominger, a daughter of Philip, became Jacob Lagenauer's wife. She was born September 13, 1757, in Boston, where the family had taken refuge during the French and Indian War. In 1769 Juliana came back to Broad Bay to live with her sister, Elizabeth, wife of Johann Michael Seitz; migrated to North Carolina with this couple in 1770 and there became Jacob's wife on May 6, 1777.<sup>134</sup> There is no record of the third child of Johann Georg, who apparently remained at Broad Bay.

LASH. This has been anglicized from the German, Lasch, Losch or Lorsch. The immigrant Lash at Broad Bay was Casimir, who was killed by the Indians near his own home in the last Indian war. He was apparently of French Huguenot extraction and probably came to Boston in the Crell migration of 1751 and then in 1752 to Broad Bay.<sup>135</sup> He settled on the east bank of the river on Lot No. 16 embracing the land between the northern line of Harold Levensaler and the southern line of Raymond Jones. Lash was a signer of the Shirley Petition of 1754. Certain sons of the immigrant were Asmus (Erasmus), John (1745-1825), Paul, and Jacob. The latter was murdered at Waldoborough on the evening of October 14, 1776, by Andrew Kinckalius, a cordwainer, who for his crime was sentenced to be burned in his left hand, to forfeit all his goods and chattels, and to suffer six months' imprisonment.<sup>136</sup> In the census of 1790, Asmus, John, and Paul are listed as heads of families. A later descendant of this family, Willis W. Lash, married in 1889 the Countess Bertha Elizabeth Alexy of Hungary, who died in Boston, July 26, 1939.<sup>137</sup> There are descendants bearing the Lash name still living in Waldoboro.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup>*Lagenauer Memoir*, Morav. Archs. (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>135</sup>Bernard Fây, *Franco-Am. Rev.*, I, No. 3, pp. 276-283.

<sup>136</sup>Allen, *History of Dresden*, p. 251.

<sup>137</sup>*Boston Herald*, July 27, 1939.



LAUER. Anglicized forms of this name are Lowery, Lowry. Jacob Lauer, a farmer, and his brother, Anders, came to Broad Bay in 1752 from Langensteinbach, Baden Durlach, Germany. On April 19, 1753, he received from General Waldo Lot No. 6 on the east side of the river. This seems to have been the old Mary Howard Farm on Thomas Hill. On September 6, 1770, Jacob and his wife, Eva, sold Lots Nos. 6 and 7, containing two hundred acres, on the Thomas Hill ridge to Anthony Thomas.<sup>138</sup> Shortly thereafter the two brothers migrated with their families to North Carolina. One brother, probably Anders, and his wife, Susanna, took one of the original Friedland lots. Eva, a daughter of Jacob, born at Broad Bay on September 9, 1754, married Georg Willard in 1771 and died in North Carolina on February 1, 1783, leaving "a distressed husband and six little children."<sup>139</sup> Henry Lauer, a son of one of the brothers, seems to have remained at Broad Bay.<sup>140</sup> At the present time there are none of this name and no blood kin known in the town.

LEHR. This has been variously anglicized to Leghr, Lahr, Leigher and Leayer. The data on this family, while scant, would seem to show that Peter and his wife, Katherine Brotman, were the first of this name at Broad Bay. He served as a soldier in the Revolution and lies buried at North Waldoboro, probably on the farm where ultimately he settled. Among Peter's children were John, Henry, Margaret, Elizabeth, Susan, Nancy, Martin, Mary, Katherine, Peter, Matthias, and Frederick, who settled in the main in Jefferson, Washington, and Union. While no descendants of this family are residing in Waldoboro at the present time, there are said to be many Leighrs residing in Liberty who are descendants of the first Peter.<sup>141</sup>

LEISSNER. Variants of this name are Lissner, Lessner, Leistner. The first Leissner at Broad Bay was Karl Christoph Gottfried, who was born at Magdeburg, Germany, in 1724 and educated in law at the University of Jena. He was practicing law in the Province of Dietz in 1753, when he became active in recruiting colonists in this region for General Waldo, and was there appointed by the Count of Nassau as a commissioner to accompany the migration from his domain to America in order to see that the emigrants were accorded fair treatment. Following his arrival at Broad Bay in 1753, he became General Waldo's agent in the colony. During the

<sup>138</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 2.

<sup>139</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>140</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 13, p. 260.

<sup>141</sup>Based on data furnished by Mrs. Chester Overlock, Thomaston, Me., g. g. granddaughter of Peter Lehr.



French and Indian War he held a commission as captain and commanded a company of scouts raised locally for the protection of the settlement. At the close of the war he became the leading figure in the settlement, as adviser and magistrate; and according to the Moravian missionary, Georg Soelle, his word was the unwritten law of the settlement.<sup>142</sup> His farm, acquired from John Ulmer, Sr., was the present Jonas Koskela place; and his cabin near the shore was in 1760 the largest private residence at Broad Bay. He was also the wealthiest citizen. Charles Leissner died young, probably of pneumonia, on January 9, 1769. He lies buried under the spreading shade of an oak on a little point which juts out into the Medomak not far from the site of his cabin. His stone bears the following inscription:

"Here lies buried the body of Charles Christopher Godfrey Leissner, Esq., who died Jan. 9, 1769. Aged 45 years.

*The wide mouthed grave proclaims around,  
Attend Ye mortals to the sound.  
Now is the time for Death, prepare.  
Work, wisdom, nor Design is there.*

The stone is broken off diagonally at the base. According to Parker Feyler,<sup>143</sup> two local vandals, Ed Tarr and Ed McCain, used the stone many years ago as a rifle target and in this way broke it off near the base. The top of the stone lay for decades under a deep layer of humus. On August 26, 1938, Russell T. Cooney and I by virtue of sounding operations brought it to light and copied the inscription.

By his will Charles Leissner left the very considerable estate of £3433 16s. 1d., old tenor, which went to his widow, Mary.<sup>144</sup> From the available evidence it is believed that Leissner left two children, a son George, born at Broad Bay in 1758, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Cornelius Seider.<sup>145</sup> On his father's death George for some reason was apprenticed to a tanner in Boston. With the outbreak of the Revolution he enlisted in 1775 in a Massachusetts regiment and served through the entire war. At its conclusion he returned to Waldoborough and married Ruth, a daughter of Jabez Cole, and lived and cobbled for a number of years in the 1790's in a part of Cole's house. Later he purchased land on the Bremen road, where he built himself a small house, the old cellar of which is still visible just east of the old Isaac Waltz Homestead. In this house he practiced the trade of a cobbler; and here he lived with his wife, Ruth (1765-1828), and reared a large

<sup>142</sup>Data based on *Diary of Georg Soelle, 1760*, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>143</sup>Oral narrative.

<sup>144</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>145</sup>Little, *Genealogy of Maine Families.*

family of children, including Caleb, William, Charles, Ruth, who married Rufus Benner, and Polly from whom the Damariscotta Lessners are descended. Caleb inherited the farm on his father's death and built the house now standing on it.<sup>146</sup> The Leissners are now scattered, and the descendants of Charles are living in many different states. There are still blood kin of the Leissners in Wal-doboro, but none who bear the name.

LEVENSALE. The first Levensaler at Broad Bay was John Adam, a tailor by trade, who reached here most probably in the migration of 1753. To the town warrant of March 4, 1776, he affixed his name as Johan Adam Löwen-Zölner, 3rd Selectman. This name in German means toll or taxgatherer at Löwen. There is such a town located near Breslau in Silesia, from which ancestors of the family may have migrated into the Rhine country. John Adam's wife, Maria Eleanora (1732-1798), lies buried in the Lutheran Cemetery. This lone grave bears out the tradition that her husband died and was buried in Boston. The family Bible, Nüremburg 1765, in possession of Atwood Levensaler, lists the following children born to this couple: Christina, born August 4, 1755; Maria, November 17, 1761; Katerina, July 8, 1764; Anna Margaretha, September 30, 1766; John Jacob, November 8, 1768; Elizabeth, July 1, 1769 (married Andrew Hoffses); Georg, April 15, 1772; Adam, April 15, 1772 (married Mary Turner, daughter of Cornelius and Mical Sylvester Turner); John, January 30, 1775, and Peter, born April 16, 1778, and died in 1863.<sup>147</sup> After the last Indian war John Adam seems to have settled on the old Elias Hall farm, next north of the railroad station.<sup>148</sup> This family has been a large one and there are numerous descendants of the name living in the town today.

LIGHT. This has been anglicized from the German, Leicht or Licht. Johann Georg, a wheelwright, seems to have been the first of his name at Broad Bay whither he came in the early 1750's. He settled on the west side of the river on Lot No. 14, below Medomak Falls, a lot he was compelled to repurchase of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for £9 3s. 4d. At the same time his son, Georg, Jr., redeemed Lot No. 7, below the Medomak Falls, for £4 18s. 4d.<sup>149</sup> This son died in 1786, leaving an estate valued at £39 11s. A probable second son was Peter, who at the time of the Revolution was running the ferry from Merle Castner's rock on the east bank of the river, to the west bank, where the boathouse of Thomas Creamer stood in re-

<sup>146</sup>Based on oral narrative of Alice Waltz Morse, and on papers in her possession.

<sup>147</sup>Atwood Levensaler, 80½ School St., Concord, N. H.

<sup>148</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 36, p. 239.

<sup>149</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 4, pp. 88-89.

cent times. An Adam Light, possibly of the third generation, formerly owned the Andrew Storer place, and occupied on it a smaller house near the well, just northwest of the Storer home now owned by Ralph Hoffses.<sup>150</sup> The Lights have been rather a numerous family and there are still descendants of this name living in Waldo-boro.

LONG or LANG. Both forms are anglicized from the German, Lange. Heinrich was one of the little-known schoolmasters of Old Broad Bay, who probably came to this place in the migration of 1752, and has left a very scant record indeed. He signed the Schaeffer Petition of 1767, at which time he was living on the west side of the Upper Medomak on a five-acre lot of "fenced and improved land."<sup>151</sup> It is probable that Schoolmaster Lange did not have a long life, since nothing further in the settlement is known of him.

LUDWIG. The immigrant Ludwig was John Joseph, born in 1699 at Nenderoth, Province of Dietz, Germany. Nenderoth is a little village high in the Taunus Mountains at the source of the river Ems, between Königstein and Heftrich. John Joseph left Germany in 1753 with his wife, Katharina Klein, his two sons, John Jacob (1730-1826) and Joseph Henry (1740-1883), and his daughter, Katharine Elizabeth (1735-1824). The father died on the voyage to England and was buried on the Isle of Cowes, and the rest of the family came on to Broad Bay, arriving in September. Frau Ludwig survived her husband by a number of years and on her death was buried in the churchyard at Meetinghouse Cove. Jacob married Margaretha Hilt in 1755<sup>152</sup> and was allotted Lot No. 48 on the lower end of Dutch Neck, containing thirty acres.<sup>153</sup> He was energetic and aggressive and in the fullness of time became one of the few outstanding men among the original German settlers. Limited in his education, Ludwig possessed a degree of native intelligence that thrust him into prominence in the little community, led him to acquire ease in English speech and to function as the factotum for his slower and cruder brethren in an alien civilization. He participated in the campaigns in Canada and in the operations around Crown Point and Ticonderoga. He was a justice of the peace, road surveyor, town clerk, selectman, a captain in the expedition sent to Machias in 1776 and the first representative of the Waldoborough district in the General Court of Massachusetts. In 1790 Jacob Ludwig acquired of the Peter Crammer and Philip Schumann heirs, the old Ludwig Homestead of one hundred and

<sup>150</sup>Oral narrative, Isabel Lilly Boothley.

<sup>151</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 213.

<sup>152</sup>Data based on *Ludwig Genealogy*.

<sup>153</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 160.



thirty acres on the east side, the second farm above the railroad station, for £100.<sup>154</sup> He died on January 1, 1826, leaving ten sons and daughters. His brother, Joseph Henry, married Elizabeth Kaler and took up a farm on the upper Medomak, across the river from Jacob's property. He, too, was active in community affairs and was a sergeant in the Broad Bay company at Machias in 1776. Joseph died in 1833, leaving twelve children. This numerous Ludwig progeny in turn sired richly, and a large clan sprang up from these two brothers, scattered today throughout the nation. There are Ludwigs still living in Waldoboro.

MARTIN. This name of Germanic origin runs copiously through all early Broad Bay records. John Martin, Sr., may have been a German in the migration of 1742 or a Swiss who remained in the settlement. In 1744 he occupied a lot at the First Falls.<sup>155</sup> In the early 1760's John, Jr., was living on a farm in the southwestern section of the town.<sup>156</sup> He was a surveyor and did most of this work at Broad Bay in this period including the running of the town lines in 1773. An "Adam Martin of German origin," a possible descendant, lived at a later date "in Union near the Waldoborough line."<sup>157</sup>

MATCHLOFFE. This name clearly indicates a German ancestry. Residence in the Broad Bay district is a matter of record, but there is little more than this. Matthias Matchloffe settled on a farm near the Bremen line. He was possibly a migrant of the early 1750's or a Swiss who elected to remain in the settlement. His death in 1757 or 1758 suggests that he died in service or was killed by the Indians; for on March 25, 1758, James Hilton of Broad Cove was appointed "guardian unto Mary Matchloffe, a minor daughter of Matthias Matchloffe late of said Broad Cove."<sup>158</sup> No more is known of this family from Waldoborough records.

MELLEN. In 1773 or 1774 Hans Simon Mellen died in Boston where he apparently had taken refuge in the French and Indian War and had remained. The heirs were Abigail, his wife, Elizabeth Hilt, his daughter, the probable wife of John Hilt, Conrad Bornheimer and his wife, Katherine, a daughter of Mellen, all of Waldoborough. In settling the estate it was agreed that John Peter Hilt, Yeoman, Margaret, Mary and John Hilt, three minors under twenty-one years of age, and all children of John Hilt, late of Waldoborough,

<sup>154</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 160.

<sup>155</sup>Letter: Gov. Shirley to Col. Arthur Noble (June 5, 1744), Mass. Archives.

<sup>156</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 204.

<sup>157</sup>John Sibley, *History of Union*, p. 402.

<sup>158</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

deceased, should pay all of Mellen's just debts and in return the other heirs

do release, convey etc., unto the said John Peter, Mary, Margaret and John Hilt . . . all rights in the estate of Mellen, and more particularly a tract of land in Waldoborough, being Lot No. 35, 40 rods wide and containing 100 acres, bounded west on Broad Bay, north on land lately occupied by John Smith, dec., south on land occupied by Jacob Bornheimer to run back an east course until 100 acres are completed. (Signed November 4, 1774.)<sup>159</sup>

Mellen had purchased this lot of William Ross of Boston, October 13, 1761, for £14. Hans Simon probably came to Boston from Frankfurt in 1751 or 1752 with the Hilt, and to Broad Bay in 1752.

MILLER. This is anglicized from the German, Müller. There seem to have been two families by this name at Old Broad Bay — the Frank Miller and the Peter Miller families. Frank was the first of his branch of the family to settle on the Medomak. He was born in Germany in 1725, and if, as stated in the *Miller Genealogy*, he was born near the city of Bremen, he must have moved later to south Germany, as the same source gives his first child, Henry, as having been born in 1752 at Dillenburg in the Rhine country. Frank Miller's wife was Anna Gertssuth, born in 1730. They migrated to Broad Bay in 1753, where he was ultimately allotted a farm on Dutch Neck, Lot No. 35, of eighty-eight acres. By trade he is reputed to have been a papermaker, a calling he was destined never more to follow; instead he became a very successful farmer. In 1764 he repurchased his farm of the Pemaquid heirs for £11 14s. 8d.<sup>160</sup> During the Revolution he saw about one year of service, broken into several enlistments in the local militia which was stationed for most of the time at Machias for the defense of the coast against the British. Frank Miller died at Waldoborough, February 21, 1805, and his wife, Anna, on October 26, 1820. There was buried with her at her request the passport and other family records brought from Germany. To this union were born eight children from whom were descended many of the Miller family still so numerous in Waldoboro.<sup>161</sup>

There is considerably less known of the Peter Miller family. He too, was allotted a farm on Dutch Neck, Lot No. 40, containing eighty acres which he redeemed of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for £10 13s. 4d.<sup>162</sup> According to H. A. Rattermann, Peter Miller, in 1753, built a big house in which he had a retail store. This house

<sup>159</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 135.

<sup>160</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 4, p. 83.

<sup>161</sup>F. B. Miller, *Genealogy of the Miller Family*.

<sup>162</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 84.

was of one story, built of logs, but roomier than the others and covered with boards. For some time it was the finest house in the colony. The actual fact probably is that this house was also the store from which Waldo's supplies were dispensed to the migrants of 1753. Of his children nothing definite is known. A Henry Miller died at Broad Bay in 1768, leaving an estate valued at £40 2s. 10½d.<sup>163</sup> This could not have been Frank's son, Henry, since at that time he would have been only sixteen years old, which suggests that this Henry was a son of Peter. There were also other sons, now unknown; for the present Tom Winston farm in the northeastern part of the town was in early days a seat of the Miller family for several generations. The Millers descending from these two lines were firmly entrenched in the town by 1790, for the census of that year lists five as heads of families: Peter, Frank, Jr., Francis, and Henry, the son of the immigrant, Frank.

MINK. Variations are Minck, Mank, probably anglicized from the German, Minnich. The first Mink at Broad Bay was Georg, a husbandman, who with his wife Katharina probably came to the colony in 1752.<sup>164</sup> He was allotted a farm on Dutch Neck, Lot No. 38, containing eighty-four acres, which he was compelled to redeem from the Pemaquid heirs in 1763 for £7 4s.<sup>165</sup> A son, Peter, married "Mary Lissabot," a daughter of John Martin Gross. Other sons were Paul, Pascal, and Valentine. This family has been numerous, and the name is common in present-day Waldoboro.

NEUHAUS. The Neuhaus family apparently came to Broad Bay in 1753. After the death of Lorenz Seitz (Sides) in the French and Indian War, Christopher Neuhaus seems to have acquired the original Seitz farm, Lot No. 8, for many years the residence of Captain Albion F. Stahl, for on September 7, 1770, when Philip Vogler sold his farm, Lot No. 9, east side, his southern bound is described as the northern bound of Christopher Neuhaus. Later in the century this farm was acquired by Lorenz Seitz, Jr.,<sup>166</sup> and Neuhaus took up land at Goose River within the plantation of Medumcook, where he was living in 1784.<sup>167</sup> This seems to be the last trace of this family in our early history.

NEWBERT. This is also spelled Newbet, anglicized from the German, Neubert. This is a large Waldoboro family, and its dean at Broad Bay was probably Christopher. The *Newbert Geneal-*

<sup>163</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>164</sup>Oral narrative, Mr. Ed Whitney of Warren, descendant of George Mink.

<sup>165</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 167.

<sup>166</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 9, p. 265.

<sup>167</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 22, p. 15.



ogy<sup>168</sup> states that he came "from the walled city of Nürnberg in Bavaria in 1748, with his wife and four children, two boys and two girls." The boys were Christopher, born in Germany in 1736, who married Mary Gross and died at Waldoborough in 1829; and John, born in Germany in 1739, who married Elizabeth Benner, daughter of Henry, and died at Waldoborough in 1836. Other sons born at Broad Bay may have been Michael and Zacharias.<sup>169</sup> Newbert was an influential citizen. He donated the land on the east bank of the Medomak on which the present Lutheran Church was originally built and was also a member of the first board of selectmen in 1773. The date of his death is not known, but occurred probably sometime prior to 1790. According to tradition he lies buried in the old Lutheran Cemetery on the shore of his one-time farm. The sons, Christopher and John, both settled in North Wal-doboro and both lie buried in the old Newbert burying ground on the farm of Zolvina Mink at North Wal-doboro. There is a piece of the original lusterware brought by Newbert to this country in possession of Mrs. Ida Mallett of Warren, a descendant of Christopher Newbert. In the census of 1790, both sons are listed as heads of families.

ORFF or ORF. This is anglicized from the German, Orph. The first Orff at Broad Bay was Nikolaus, "a poor but well educated young man," who came to the settlement in 1752 with Hans Georg Hahn, having apparently been in the second migration under Crell. He was much under the influence of the Hahns and in consequence identified himself early with the Moravian movement in the community. The local odium of this affiliation clung to the family so long that those still living can recall the epithet, "old Herrnhüter," hurled at their grandfather.<sup>170</sup> Nikolaus is believed to have settled and lived on what is commonly known as "the old Orff place." This is the farm of which a part is now owned by Harold Rider. The founder of this family was still living in 1790 and at that time apparently had two sons who themselves had become heads of families, Friedrich and Christopher (1751-1856). The second generation of Orffs settled on lands in the upper valley, in what is known as the Orff's Corner district of the town. The name is still a common one in the community, and the number of its descendants is large.

OVERLOCK. Other variations are Oberlach, Oberlock, anglicized from the German, Oberloch. John Godfrey Overlock came to

<sup>168</sup>Compiled for Albert H. Newbert by Col. E. K. Gould of Rockland, Me., one-time State Historian.

<sup>169</sup>Data furnished by Mrs. Ida Mallett, descendant of Chris Newbert.

<sup>170</sup>Oral narrative of Florence Orff.

Broad Bay in 1752 and settled on Lot No. 50, containing twenty-two acres, on the lower end of Dutch Neck. He was born May 28, 1717, and his wife, Susannah Benner, was born in the year 1725. Of this union there were six children, and two additional ones to a second wife, Elizabeth Drible, born 1733.<sup>171</sup> This family has never been a large one in the town, many of the descendants having migrated into adjacent areas. The census of 1790 shows the following Overlocks as heads of families: John Henry, Charles, and Frank. Today in the town there are many families linked by blood to the original settler, but only one family still bears this name.

PROCK. This is anglicized from the German, Pracht, which in turn was a Germanization of an earlier French name, for the Procks were of French-Huguenot extraction and as such were earlier migrants into the Rhine country. The first of this name at Broad Bay was Peter, or Pierre Bracht, from Altzen, who landed at Boston, November 9, 1751, and came to Broad Bay the following spring.<sup>172</sup> The old name of Prock's Ledge suggests that Peter may have been allotted a farm on the west side of the river, in later times the old William Storer place. Sons of the immigrant Peter were John (1759-1844) and George (1765-1845). A Peter and a John appear in the census of 1790 as being heads of families in that year. This has been a large family, even though only a few bear the name in present-day Waldoboro.

RAMRER. This is an uncertain family name derived from an illegible orthography. Little more is known of it than the fact that on May 18, 1774, Joseph Ramrer, "husbandman of Waldoborough," in consideration of the sum of £13 6s. 8d., paid by Frank Miller of Waldoborough, conveyed to Miller his "right and interest" in a lot of land on Dutch Neck, thirty-seven rods wide and containing one hundred acres "with buildings thereon standing," bounded north on Henry Walk's lot and south on Henry Stahl's lot.<sup>173</sup> The holding of property in this area would identify Ramrer with the migration of 1752. Apart from the sale of this property there is no further reference to this family in local history.

RAZOR. Reisser, Razer, are other variants of the German, Reiser. The immigrant founder of this once prominent Waldoborough family was John Martin Reiser, a signer of the Shirley Petition of May 13, 1754. Family tradition records that he came from Saxony with his wife, born Labe. In this case there is a strong possibility that he was of the small migration of 1739. Reiser's farm was on

<sup>171</sup>Clerk's Records of Births and Deaths, Waldoborough.

<sup>172</sup>Fäy, *Franco-Am. Rev.*, I, No. 3, pp. 276-283.

<sup>173</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 12, p. 99.

the east side of the river just south of the built-up section of the present village. His original cabin may have been on the site of Alfred Storer's lumberyard, known in early days as "Razor's Point," or on the shore of the cove just south of it. John Martin was prominent in the early life of Broad Bay. He took part in the French and Indian War and in 1762 was commissioned a lieutenant in Captain Matthias Römele's "Broad Bay Rangers,"<sup>174</sup> and afterward rose to the rank of major. John Martin's *Book of Psalms*,<sup>175</sup> a beautifully bound and printed product of Christopher Sauer's Press, Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1739, records the birth of his children as well as his interest and faith in astrology, to wit, that the position of the planets at the time of a child's birth would make it possible to forecast his life.

The entries are as follows: "John Jacob Reiser, b. Jan. 1, 1752, 2:00 A.M. The planets Saturn and Venus are the signs of his birthday. Philip Martin Reiser, b. Sept. 12, 1754, 12 midnight." This son, Philip, was a soldier in the Revolution, and in the winter of 1776 was in camp at Prospect Hill, Colonel Bond's regiment, Captain Fuller's company, in which Philip Ulmer was a sergeant. Philip died of illness in the service this same year.<sup>176</sup> "Charles John Valentine Reiser, b. March 18, 1762 at 8:00 P.M., at the sign of Capricornus. The planets, Jupiter and Saturn are signs of his birthday. May the Lord give him a long life." George Martin Reiser, "born, Jan. 2, 1767 at 12 midnight."

Charles and George are buried in the Main Street Cemetery. The Razor property, *circa* 1800, embraced a fifty-rod waterfront running from just above Storer's Wharf to just south of the Button Factory and extending eastward over the hill. Charles in his later life resided on the top of the hill above the old Storer home. The family was at one time a large one. It married freely into Broad Bay families and into those from "other parts." A great-granddaughter, Mary, married Captain Hermann Kopperholdt; her sister, Emily, married John Robertson of Boston. There was also intermarriage with the Kinsells and later with the Allens. The town of Razorville derived its name from the second generation George of this family, who settled there in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

REED or REID. This is anglicized from the German, Ried. Johann Georg Reid was the immigrant and founder of this family at Broad Bay. He was a wagoner by trade and probably came to the settlement in 1752 with his wife, Magdalena Eichorn, from Langensteinbach, Baden Durlach, Germany.<sup>177</sup> He was allotted land on the

<sup>174</sup>Commission in my possession.

<sup>175</sup>In possession of Ethel Hazlewood, 14 Maxfield St., W. Roxbury, Mass.

<sup>176</sup>Letter of Feb. 28, 1776, also in possession of Ethel Hazlewood,

<sup>177</sup>Moravian Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



west bank of the Medomak, which he was compelled in 1764 to redeem from the Pemaquid heirs. Johann Georg died in 1776. Surviving him were his widow, two sons, Michael and Jacob, and three daughters, Eva, Sevilla, and Margaretha. Of these children, Jacob came with his parents to Broad Bay, where on December 14, 1760, he married Elizabeth Barbara Rominger. In 1770 this couple moved to North Carolina and became members of the Moravian Society at Friedland. Here a distinguished career opened up before him. He represented North Carolina in the Continental Congress from 1783 to 1785. Moving to South Carolina he represented that state in the Congress from 1795 to 1801. He was then appointed by President John Adams as a Federal Judge.<sup>178</sup> Upon retirement he returned to his old home in Friedland, where he died May 29, 1819. Jacob's wife, Elizabeth, followed him in death on October 19, 1829. This couple was "blessed with seventeen children, fifty-eight grand children, and fifty-four great grand children."

The other children of Johann Georg Ried remained at Broad Bay. Michael, born at Langensteinbach, 1729, died at Waldoborough in 1827. He secured eventual title to his farm on the west bank of the river by settling with the Pemaquid heirs in 1764 for £13 10s.<sup>179</sup> The daughters, Sevilla and Margaret, married a Gilbert and an Achorn. Michael and his son, Jacob, were listed as family heads in the census of 1790. The descendants of this family, with the name anglicized to Reed, should not be confused with the Puritan strain descended from Isaac G. Reed.

REFUSE. This is a family of uncertain identity. A John Refuse is listed by John North as a resident of Broad Bay in 1760. Otherwise nothing is known of this family.

REISAUS. This name is derived from an illegible orthography. A Seiffarth of this name was among the signers of the Petition of January 14, 1767, to Governor Francis Bernhard.<sup>180</sup>

REITTER. A Heinrich of this name also affixed his name to the Petition of January 14, 1767.<sup>181</sup>

REMILY. Other variations are Remilly, Remilee, Remily, Remly — all anglicized forms of the German, Rόμεle. Matthias was the immigrant of this family at Broad Bay, and he came to the settlement in 1742. He first settled on the east side of the river on Lot No. 16, the farm between the present northern boundary of Harold Leven-

<sup>178</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, xvi (Cincinnati, 1884-85), 359.

<sup>179</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 170.

<sup>180</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.

<sup>181</sup>*Ibid.*

salter and the lot of Raymond Jones. In 1771 he purchased Lot No. 24 on the east bank with the dam and gristmill. At the same time he owned Lot No. 25, north of the mill site, and probably lived on it.<sup>182</sup> He was a man who had had military experience in Germany and hence assumed a position of importance during the Indian wars. In May, 1797, he sold Lot No. 25 to Thomas Willett, and at that time he was already living in Thomaston where he had joined his old friend, John Ulmer.<sup>183</sup> His only child of whom we have any record, a daughter, was married to John Ulmer, Jr. He had blood connections with the Schwartz family, and this is the only known tie of this name with the present-day town.

RHODES or RODE. This is probably anglicized from the German, Roth. Little is known concerning this family. George Roth was settled on the west side of the river in 1763, when he was compelled to repurchase his land, Lot No. 22, below the Medomak Falls, of the Pemaquid heirs for £14 2s. 8d.<sup>184</sup> The name appears as Rode in the Kinsell passport of 1772.<sup>185</sup> George's death occurred in 1797 and his will, probated that year, mentions his wife, Rosanna, and an adult son, Conrad. The estate was appraised at \$602.00. A Cornelius Rhodes, possibly the brother or father of George, was a prosperous farmer at an early date at Broad Cove,<sup>186</sup> and was an active Tory in the American Revolution. Beyond these few facts this family seems to have left little trace in Waldoborough history.

RINNER. Philip was the immigrant of this name at Broad Bay, and he was probably of the migration of 1742. His one known act was to affix his signature to the Petition addressed to Governor Shirley, May 13, 1754.

ROMINGER. This family consisted of four brothers, David, Philip, Michael, and Jacob, who came to Broad Bay in different migrations. David was born September 17, 1716, in the village of Winterlingen in the Balinger district of Würtemberg. He was reared a Lutheran and learned the trade of a carpenter. He married in 1741 and the next year migrated to Broad Bay where he arrived under an indenture of £7 12s. 5d. — money used to pay for the passage and other expenses incidental to it. In the settlement he was assigned to Lot No. 13 on the east side, with a water frontage of twenty-five rods, extending into the back-country far enough to embrace one hundred acres. This lot includes the present-day

<sup>182</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 79.

<sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 39, p. 204.

<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 4, p. 183.

<sup>185</sup>Orig. document in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Med. Arts Bldg., Dallas, Tex.

<sup>186</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 266.

homestead sites of Ralph Hoffses and myself, and the blueberry barrens of the Fred Scott estate. In 1745 David joined the expedition under Pepperell and Waldo which captured Louisburg in June of that year. For three years he was in military service and returned to Broad Bay in 1748. In 1752, after the death of his first wife, he married a widow with a large family of children, "which rendered his life a difficult one." He had come to Broad Bay with definite Moravian leanings, in consequence of which he joined the migration to North Carolina in 1769 with his son Philip, one of the two children by his first marriage. His daughter married and remained behind at Broad Bay. Early in 1770 the second wife, who had remained at Broad Bay with her own children, joined him in North Carolina, where she died February 8, 1770. The next day he lost his son Philip, and on February 10, the son and step-mother were laid to rest in the "Broad Bay Burying Ground" in Salem. Thereafter David settled in Bethabara where he lived until the time of his death on April 3, 1777.<sup>187</sup>

PHILIP ROMINGER came from Winterlingen in Würtemberg to Broad Bay with his brother David in 1742 and likewise arrived under indenture. He settled on Lot No. 14, the farm next north of his brother David.<sup>188</sup> The old stonewalls on the east side of the road clearly mark the limits of Philip's farm. He, too, was probably in the Louisburg Expedition of 1745. During the French and Indian War he moved his family to Boston for security while he was serving in the field. There death came to him in 1762 and that of his wife took place likewise in the same city seven years later. Of this union there is a record left of only two daughters, Elizabeth, born at Broad Bay on September 29, 1743, and Juliana, born in Boston on September 13, 1757. The former became the wife of Johann Michael Seitz, and the younger sister the wife of Jacob Lagenauer. Both daughters migrated to North Carolina with their husbands around 1770.<sup>189</sup>

MICHAEL ROMINGER was born on March 16, 1709, at Winterlingen and in his thirteenth year was confirmed as a Lutheran. His biographer records that he followed the trade of a carpenter and adds that "he was a large, handsome man who was called in his twenty-fifth year to become a soldier in a Royal Regiment." After three years of service he deserted, and to avoid detection moved with his parents to Siegen in Baden Durlach. After the death of his parents he moved to Hoch Wettersbach where on December 26,

<sup>187</sup>*Memoir of David Rominger*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>188</sup>Deed, Sam. Waldo to David Rominger, Oct. 18, 1752, Linc. Co. Deeds.

<sup>189</sup>Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



1748, he married Anna Katharina Anton. In 1753 he brought his family to America and settled at Broad Bay. Here he joined the group interested in Moravian teaching. In 1770 he sold his lot, the present farm of Foster Jameson, to Nathaniel Simmons for £146 13s. 4d.,<sup>190</sup> and then migrated to North Carolina, where he settled at Friedland. On December 26, 1790, this couple celebrated the golden anniversary of their marriage. The wife, Anna Katharina, born in Durlach, November 22, 1717, died at Friedland on April 2, 1794. Michael followed his wife in death on August 31, 1803. This couple had eleven children, fifty-four grandchildren and twenty-six great-grandchildren.<sup>191</sup>

JACOB ROMINGER probably came to Broad Bay with his brother Michael in 1753. He settled on the east side of the river on Lot No. 9 (second numbering), which seems to have been the Charles Fish farm now owned and occupied by Clyde Sukeforth. Jacob apparently married a daughter of Martin Sidelinger either at Broad Bay or in Germany. She died prior to 1793, for an agreement among Martin's heirs in that year mentions "as an heir, one, Jacob Rominger, now living in North Carolina." Jacob had joined his two brothers in their migration to this southern state and was among those who signed the "Brotherly Agreement" at Friedland in 1773. These Rominger migrations left only those in the female line at Broad Bay, where the name has been extinct for one hundred and seventy years. According to a genealogy now being compiled, there are more than four thousand and five hundred known descendants of these four brothers in all sections of the United States.<sup>192</sup>

SARGERS. Isaac of this name was the original immigrant at Broad Bay, and it was he who painted the pulpit of the old Lutheran Church at Meetinghouse Cove. The children of this family married into other Broad Bay families, and occasional reference to this name occurs in the town and county records. The blood kin are still living in the town, but the name has been extinct for more than a century.

SCHAEFFER. "Doctor" John Martin Schaeffer came to Broad Bay in 1762 as the second Lutheran preacher in the colony, though he was neither a doctor nor an ordained minister as was his predecessor. In fact, he was an elaborate charlatan who took the fullest advantage of the hunger after righteousness characteristic of our early forebears. After the death of Charles Leissner in 1769, he

<sup>190</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 15, p. 166.

<sup>191</sup>*Memoir*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>192</sup>Dr. Charles Rominger, Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.

acquired the old Parker Feyler farm now owned by Jonas Koskela. His life came to its colorful end in the town of Warren in 1794. "Doctor" Schaeffer had no male descendants, but one of his daughters, Elizabeth, married Johann Gross in 1789, and the male descendants of this union assumed the name of Sheppard or Shepherd (anglicized form for Schaeffer). Through them the name was perpetuated in Waldoborough for several generations. The Robinson map of 1815 shows a lot of land between the old carding mill and the upper falls occupied by John Shepherd. During the 1880's Washington C. Shepherd, a descendant of John Martin, was living near Hoadlyville, Eau Claire County, Wisconsin. There were also male descendants at that time in Belfast, Maine; and a Mr. Arthur L. Cunningham of Newbury, Massachusetts, a descendant of Schaeffer, was a visitor to the town in 1949.

SCHENCK. The immigrant Schenck at Broad Bay was Andreas or Andrew. He was born in 1726 in the old Duchy of Franconia in Germany.<sup>193</sup> The fact that he did not come to these parts on reaching America furnishes some warrant for the belief that he was in the migration that came to Boston in 1751 or 1752. Like others in these migrations he came to Broad Bay somewhat later, possibly at the close of the French and Indian War. In 1769 he acquired the old lot of Captain Lane's in the Slaigo district, embracing "Schenck's Point" and extending around the border of the bay to the Slaigo, or as now known, the Gay Brook.<sup>194</sup> He was a tanner by trade and had a large tannery on the brook at the foot of Thomas' Hill.<sup>195</sup> In his time he was one of the most enterprising men in the German element in the colony. On his death on February 18, 1799, he left an estate appraised at \$4014.61, a good bit of wealth in these early days.<sup>196</sup> Surviving Andrew Schenck was his wife, Sarah, a daughter, "Sofiah" (m. John Fitzgerald), a daughter Katherine (m.—Cole), a son, James (1766-1838) and a son, George, died January 24, 1786, at the age of thirty-two, leaving the following children: James, John, Andrew, Mary, Christina and Lucy. The name of Schenck has long been extinct in Waldoborough, although there are a number of descendants bearing other family names, which include Mrs. Stuart Hemingway, and the children of Carroll and Russell Cooney.

SCHMIDT. Little is known of this family at Broad Bay. There were in the migration of 1742 either two brothers or a father and son of this name. The life of one came to a tragic end in 1749 at the

<sup>193</sup>Headstone, Slaigo Cem., Waldoboro, Me.

<sup>194</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 16.

<sup>195</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 148.

<sup>196</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

close of the War of the Spanish Succession. He had married the widow of either Dennis or Patrick Cannaugh and apparently had taken up residence on his wife's farm near Farnsworth Point. During the war he and his family took refuge in Burton's blockhouse at Cushing. On their return home in 1749 the family was trailed by Indians who killed both him and his wife in their cabin. His stepson Peter Cavanaugh, who took refuge in the cellar, was not molested.<sup>197</sup>

John Martin Schmidt, a son or brother of the above, was likewise of the immigration of 1742. On October 25, 1752, Samuel Waldo conveyed to this John Martin by deed Lot No. 10, the present Merle Castner farm, on condition that he "build a cabin 18 feet square and subdue four acres of land annually" and "pay a rental, he and his heirs, of one peppercorn every September 29th forever." John Martin apparently took refuge in the Boston area during the French and Indian War and remained there permanently, for on June 16, 1764, as residents of Dedham, Massachusetts, he and his wife, Mary Catharina, conveyed, for £53 6s. 8d., this lot containing one hundred acres to John Neubert (Newbert).<sup>198</sup>

SCHNEIDER. This name has been variously anglicized as Sniber, Snider and Snyder. The immigrant Schneider, Melchior by name, was born on April 23, 1717, in Baden Durlach and was reared as a Lutheran. In 1742 he migrated to Broad Bay and on the journey thither was united in marriage to Jacobina Doerfler. This wedding took place on the ship *Lydia*, in midocean, and was doubtless performed by the Reverend Doctor Philip Gottfried Kast. On reaching Broad Bay Schneider seems to have selected, or to have been originally allotted, Lot No. 12 on the east side, which is the old Dexter Feyler farm, now occupied by Mrs. Velma Scott. In the 1760's he became a member of the Moravian congregation at Broad Bay; and in 1770 he moved with his family of twelve to North Carolina and settled at Friedland. At the time of his migration he seems to have been in residence on Lot No. 8 (second numbering, east side), the farm now owned by the heirs of George W. Simmons. At that time this farm of one hundred acres had a forty-rod frontage on the "Slaes Brook, so called." This he sold in 1770 to Anthony Thomas of Marshfield, Massachusetts.<sup>199</sup> Schneider died in North Carolina on June 17, 1790, of tuberculosis, the disease of which so many of the early Broad Bayers were victims. Schneider left a widow and thirteen children. At the time of his death two sons, one of whom was Cornelius, and a daughter

<sup>197</sup>Colls., Me. Hist. Soc., VII, 326-327.

<sup>198</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 27.

<sup>199</sup>Deed, Malachi Snider to Anthony Thomas, Sept. 6, 1770, Lincoln Co. Deeds.



were living in New England. He was survived by thirty grandchildren.<sup>200</sup> This name has become extinct in Waldoboro although it is not improbable that there are still descendants living in this community.

SCHÖNEMANN. A late comer to Waldoborough and probably a Hessian who settled in East Waldoborough, Christian Schöнемann, on October 25, 1786, purchased the farm just north of the Levi Russell place in East Waldoborough of John Prior, for £45.<sup>201</sup> The fact that he was a Catholic provides an indication of the extent to which tolerance had advanced at this time.

SCHUMACHER. The immigrant Schumacher was Georg Adam, who came to Broad Bay from Würtemberg (year of migration unknown), and settled on the farm now owned by Andrew Currie.<sup>202</sup> His wife, either in passage across the ocean, or a little later, in the colony, died, leaving him with five children. In colonial times no man with a family could remain unmarried and cope with frontier destiny. Accordingly in 1765 Georg Adam married the widow Wohlfahrt. In the fall of 1769 they migrated to Wachovia in North Carolina with five other families. They were shipwrecked in transit on the Virginia coast and lost the greater part of their belongings. Eventually they settled about one and one half miles north of Salem. Schumacher never joined the Moravian Church, but remained friendly to it to the end of his life. He died on January 28, 1784, and was buried on his farm.<sup>203</sup>

SCHURZ. This has been anglicized to Shotes. John Schurz was living on the old Moses Burkett farm in 1752. A deed of this date in which Samuel Waldo conveyed to John Ulmer, Jr., Lot No. 5 (the James Castner farm) describes it as "lying between Capt. John Ulmer's Lott [the Parker Feyler farm] and John Shotes."<sup>204</sup> Schurz in all probability was of the migration of 1742. He disappeared early in Broad Bay history, migrating to other parts or possibly losing his life in the French and Indian War.

SCHWARTZ. This has been variously spelled as Schwarz, Swatz and finally anglicized to its English equivalent of Black. The name of the immigrant Schwartz at Broad Bay was probably Friedrich. He came as a young man in the migration of 1753 with his wife, Lucy Castner, a fact which would associate him with Königsbach

<sup>200</sup>Data based on *Schneider Memoir*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>201</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 20, p. 75.

<sup>202</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 88.

<sup>203</sup>*Memoir*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>204</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 168.

in Baden Durlach. He seems to have settled on the east side of the river on Lot No. 18 next north of the old Demuth place now occupied by Henry Hilton.<sup>205</sup> During the French and Indian War, he took refuge in Boston, but later served as a soldier in the Revolution. A numerous progeny was the fruit of his marriage: Anna, later wife of Ludwig Castner, Peter (1757-1839),<sup>206</sup> Katherine, Mary, Jacob, Friedrich, "Margrate," and Susannah. After the close of the Indian wars and the Revolution, this family started to concentrate in the northeastern part of the town, and in time developed a suburban area of its own known as "Blacktown." Friedrich's will, drawn up June 16, 1777, was administered by his wife Lucy, on May 13, 1786, at which time his estate was appraised at £200 18s. 8d.<sup>207</sup> All three sons appear as heads of families in the census of 1790, and in present-day Waldoboro there are numerous descendants bearing the name of Schwartz and Black. Both variations of name appear in old deeds and in town reports of the 1890's.<sup>208</sup>

SCHWEIER. This family was German, but not of the early settlements. Christian Schweier and his two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, came from Germany to Canada and from there joined the German settlement in Waldoborough around 1820. They settled on the Joseph Damon farm. In 1823 Christian was married to Lucy Borne-mann. He was an active Lutheran and for a time was secretary of that Society. The sister, Elizabeth, married a Turner. The mother of Roy Weaver was a daughter of this union. The grandson, Roy Weaver, a caulker in the old shipbuilding days, was living in Waldoboro in December 1939 at the age of eighty-eight. Later in his life Christian Schweier moved to a two-hundred-acre farm in South Norwich, Canada.<sup>209</sup>

SECHRIST. Variant anglicized forms of this are Secress, Seichrist. The immigrant of this name was Jacob, who reached Broad Bay in one of the later migrations. A son was killed by the Indians on Dutch Neck in the French and Indian War. According to Miller the immigrant left no descendants. This is clearly an error, as the name recurs in the old deeds which reach over into the early part of the nineteenth century. Old Jacob died probably in the 1780's. The town warrant of January 8, 1783, contained an article "to see if said town will take old father Sechrist's poor sarcomstances into consideration etc." In the meeting "it was voted that Mr. Sechrist

<sup>205</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 30, p. 92.

<sup>206</sup>*Ludwig Genealogy.*

<sup>207</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>208</sup>Town Warrant, Art. XVI, Town Report, 1891.

<sup>209</sup>Oral narrative, Roy Weaver, August, 1932. Also letter of James Schweier, 4238 McClellan St., Detroit, Mich., to me, Feb. 26, 1940.

affairs be left with the selectmen to do the best they can to separte to said family in the said circumstances." Descendants of the immigrant migrated over the years "to other parts," leaving none to carry on this name in the town.

SEIDERS. Variant spellings of this are Seider and Seiter. Conrad Seiders was in the migration of 1748 to Broad Bay, deflected from Philadelphia by Joseph Crell under the suasion of Samuel Waldo. With him from Frankfort am Main came his wife, Elizabeth, and his six-year-old son, Cornelius. He settled on the west side of the river just north of Eugley's Corner. The son, Cornelius, who married Elizabeth, a daughter of Charles C. G. Leissner, apparently owned land later in this district which he was compelled to redeem of the Pemaquid heirs in 1764 for £16 2s. 8d.<sup>210</sup> This may have been the original family lot. The only stones left in the old Lutheran Cemetery at Meetinghouse Cove are those of two members of this family.

The immigrant, Conrad, was one of the selectmen of the town in 1779. Among the sons of Cornelius, there seems to have been a Jacob (1768-1832), a Henry (1774-1839), and probably a Conrad. Certain descendants of Conrad Seiders have had distinguished careers. A Reuben Seiders of the third generation became a Unitarian clergyman and married a wealthy Massachusetts woman, Susan Austin of Cambridge. He took her surname and lived in what is now the oldest house in that city, the Cooper-Austin house, which is now preserved by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Especially noteworthy was George Melville Seiders, one of the able and distinguished lawyers of Maine. He was a farm boy, schoolteacher, Civil War soldier, lawyer, partner of Thomas B. Reed, State Representative, Senator and Attorney-General of Maine. He died in Portland on May 26, 1915. The descendants of Conrad Seider are today scattered throughout the nation. As early as the third generation, Ambrose and Edward, brothers of Reuben, migrated to Louisiana and Texas.<sup>211</sup> The only descendant bearing the name now living in the town is Captain Leslie Seiders of South Waldoboro.

SHUMAN or SCHUMAN. These are anglicized forms of the German, Schuhmann. There is little of certainty known of the origin of this family at Broad Bay. The most probable assumption is that the immigrant was John Bernard, "weaver," who in 1772 bought of John Hilt a lot on the east side of the river north of the village for £5 6s. 8d.<sup>212</sup> He was also a church warden of the town elected

<sup>210</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 251.

<sup>211</sup>Papers of George Melville Seiders, in possession of Mary A. Seiders, 45 Thomas St., Portland, Me.

<sup>212</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 222.



in 1774 and one of three men to make an inventory of the estate of Baltas Castner on September 19, 1774. Probable sons of the immigrant were Philip, one of the two first constables of the town elected in 1773,<sup>213</sup> and listed as a family head in the census of 1790; John (1768-1850), and Charles, 174—. <sup>214</sup> This family has been a large one with a goodly number of descendants in the present-day town bearing the Shuman name.

**SIDELINGER.** This is anglicized from the German, Seitlinger. Martin Sidelinger repurchased his farm, Lot No. 25 on the west side of the river, of the Pemaquid heirs subsequent to 1764 for £25 4s. 1d.<sup>215</sup> This would indicate that he was one of the largest landholders in the early colony, as it does that he was the first of this name at Broad Bay. He died in 1793. The heirs, according to his will, were his widow, Mary, the sons, Peter, George, Daniel (1753-1845), and Charles; the daughters were the wives of Andrew Storer, Charles Brotmann (Brodman), and Jacob Rominger in North Carolina.<sup>216</sup> In the census of 1790 Martin and his sons, Charles and Daniel, are listed as heads of families. There is a heavy infiltration of Sidelinger blood in Waldoboro families, and there are those bearing the name still living in the town.

**SIDENSPARKER.** This name is also anglicized as Seidenberger, Siden-spire from the German, Seitenberger. The immigrant of this name was probably Matthias, for the Moravian missionary, Georg Soelle, lists him and his wife Susanna as among his followers in 1764.<sup>217</sup> Matthias died in 1786 leaving a widow, Susanna, and two sons, Matthias and Michael.<sup>218</sup> The story is complicated, however, by the fact that the census of 1790 lists a Charles and a John as being family heads in that year. A possible answer is that Matthias and Michael were still under age and so would not be listed as family heads along with their older brothers. This family, once a numerous one, concentrated after the Indian wars in the eastern section of the town. Today, while there are many blood kin living in Waldoboro, the name has in the present generation become extinct in the community.

**SIDES.** This is anglicized from the German, Seitz. The immigrant Sides was Lorenz, who in the Shirley Petition of May 13, 1754, affixed his mark in the place of his signature. He came to Broad Bay in 1742 from Eidesheim in Würtemberg, Germany, with his

<sup>213</sup>Records of the Clerk, Waldoborough.

<sup>214</sup>*Ludwig Genealogy.*

<sup>215</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 89.

<sup>216</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>217</sup>Soelle, *Kurze Bericht*, etc., Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>218</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

wife and children. His farm was Lot No. 8 on the east side of the river, and was the residence in more recent times of Captain Albion F. Stahl. In 1745 Lorenz Seitz enrolled in Waldo's regiment and participated in the capture of the great French fortress at Louisburg. His death came in 1757 when he was ambushed and slain on his farm by Indians. Record is preserved of three of his children: Johann Michael, born in Eidesheim in 1736, who in 1761 married Phillipine Elizabeth Rominger, a probable daughter of Philip. This young couple came under Moravian influence and in consequence migrated to North Carolina and finally settled in Friedland, where Johann died on January 3, 1817. He left forty-five grandchildren and six great-grandchildren. His wife Phillipine was the earliest known child born in the German colony at Broad Bay (September 29, 1743). She died in Friedland on June 11, 1820. A daughter of Lorenz Seitz, Katharina, born in Eidesheim, Germany, married Philip Christopher Vogler in 1746 at Louisburg, Cape Breton, and to this union there were born ten children. This couple migrated to North Carolina in 1770, but Katharina never reached the Promised Land. She was ill of yellow fever when they arrived at Wilmington, and "passed out of time as they landed at Cross Creek, in believing trust in the redemption through Jesus."<sup>219</sup> The boy who was with his father and escaped the Indians at the time of his father's death was probably the youngest son, Lorenz, who is listed as a family head at Waldoborough in the census of 1790. The name of Sides, but not the blood kin, is now extinct in the town.

SILER. This derives possibly from the German, Seiler. This is a doubtful case. On June 21, 1765, John Martin, Jr., surveyed for a Mr. John Bernhard Siler a one-hundred-acre lot beginning on the west side about 30 poles up the river from the Mill Dam and extending from a river frontage of 25 rods about 640 poles back into the country.<sup>220</sup> Further than this Siler has left no record in Waldoborough history.

SMOUSE. Schmauss, Schmouse are English variations of the German, Schmaus. The origin of the Smouses at Broad Bay is uncertain. It is probable that they came to Boston in the migration of 1751 or 1752, for a George Smouse is listed among the glass workers in the Germantown works.<sup>221</sup> With the failure of this enterprise, he, as did others, may have joined relatives or old friends at Broad Bay *circa* 1760. On the other hand, some members of this family seem to have come to Broad Bay direct and prior to 1760,

<sup>219</sup>*Seitz and Vogler Memoirs*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>220</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 139.

<sup>221</sup>"Petition of J. Palmer to Gov. Francis Bernard, Feb. 26, 1761," Mass. Archives.

since a George Schmauss served in the St. George company during the French and Indian War.<sup>222</sup> Smouse seems to have settled on the west side of the river on the present Winslow's Mills road on the farm now owned by George Holden. He was first buried in the old cemetery in the field across the road from the Holden home. At least it is known that he was living on this lot in the year 1765.<sup>223</sup> The immigrant, George, whose remains were reburied in the Lutheran Cemetery in the 1930's was born in Germany in 1733 and died at Waldoborough in June 1810. His wife, Jane, was born in Germany in 1729 and died at Waldoborough in November 1808. This couple had a son, Captain George D. Smouse, and a grandson, George D. Smouse, III (1799-1880). Tradition records that "the old Smouse House" was built by Captain George in 1769 and that it was the first frame house in Waldoborough. This family in the second generation became prominent in the town, and George D. III became the first President of the Medomak National Bank when it was organized in 1836. He was also associated with his half-brother, Isaac Reed, and with Augustus Welt in the great shipbuilding firm of Reed, Welt & Company. There is no Smouse listed in the census of 1790, which is undoubtedly an error or oversight on the part of the enumerator. Another son of the immigrant George, John by name, was of Tory leanings in the American Revolution. He is in consequence listed as "an absentee" in the Wiscasset Records under date of January 6, 1781, when his estate, valued at £103, was confiscated. The name Smouse has been extinct in the town for three generations.

SNOWDEAL. Anglicized variants of this name are Schnaudiehl, Schaudéal, Snowdel, Snowdeal, and Deal from the German, Schnaudel. William was the immigrant Schnaudel, and he reached Broad Bay in the migration of 1753. Family papers include a record of his discharge from the German Army in 1753 and a receipt from a toll bridge passed over while he was migrating on his way to the port of his departure for America.<sup>224</sup> At the close of the last Indian war, the family moved into the northwestern part of the town and the cellar of the old Snowdeal Homestead can still be seen in the woods back of Lorenzo Achorn's house at Orff's Corner, along with a number of others marking the route first followed by the Jefferson road. This family name has been extinct in the town for several generations, but it is still borne by descendants in Camden, Thomaston, Rockland, and Rockport.

<sup>222</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*.

<sup>223</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 46, p. 66.

<sup>224</sup>In possession of Miss Enah Orff, 40 Yale St., Lawrence, Mass. Miss Orff's great-grandmother was a Snowdeal.



SOELLE. This name has been anglicized to Cilley. Georg Soelle, the Moravian missionary of Broad Bay, was born on November 6, 1709, on the Island Erroe in Denmark. From youth he was obsessed with a sense of sin, and his strivings to attain a personal relationship with the Christ were characterized by the emotional disturbances and the extreme sentimentality common to the period of which the Moravian Church is no longer proud. In 1741 he was, on the completion of his education, ordained as a Lutheran preacher, but it was not until 1742 that he found religious equilibrium through contact with those of the Moravian faith. In 1744 he joined the *Unitas Fratrum* at Marienborn, Germany; and in 1753, responding to an inner call, he came to America. He arrived at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on September 14 of that year and became an itinerant preacher of the Moravian Church, preaching at Oly, Lynn, Yorktown, and Philadelphia. In 1760 in company with a fellow missionary, Samuel Herr, he journeyed through New England and as far north as Broad Bay. He returned to the latter settlement in 1762 and remained there for eight years as the head of the Moravian mission. In 1770 he joined the Moravian migration from Broad Bay to Wachovia, North Carolina. From this point he continued his wandering and preaching until 1773. On May 4 of that year "he passed gently into the arms of Jesus." He lies buried in the Moravian churchyard at Winston-Salem.<sup>225</sup> He left no descendants.

STAHL. This family name has successfully held to its original German form with only occasional English variations such as Stole and Stall. The origin of the family at Broad Bay, however, is attended by some uncertainty. Miller lists a John Stahl in the colony in 1760. There is considerable reason for believing that John Stahl and his family came to Boston on the ship *St. Andrew* in 1752 in Joseph Crell's second migration; that he was a skilled glass blower; that he was either indentured or was hired to work at the new glass factory in Germantown (Braintree); that with the complete failure of the enterprise he migrated with others to the Broad Bay settlement *circa* 1760<sup>226</sup> and took up land on Dutch Neck, Lot No. 47, which his son Henry, a tailor, repurchased of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763.<sup>227</sup> Probable children of John were Henry (1737-1827), Philip (1743-1830),<sup>228</sup> and Jane who became the wife of Frank Miller, Jr.<sup>229</sup> John, Jr., a son of Henry, was the largest landholder on Dutch Neck at the turn of the century and was one of the incorporators of the German Protestant Society. The family

<sup>225</sup>*Soelle Memoir*, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem).

<sup>226</sup>Pattee, *History of Old Braintree and Quincy*.

<sup>227</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 161.

<sup>228</sup>*Ludwig Genealogy*.

<sup>229</sup>*Miller Genealogy*.

was strongly Lutheran. The third generation John Stahl (1778-1857), one of the strongest supporters of the church in its years of decline, was a shipmaster and shipbuilder on Dutch Neck in the 1840's. The old Stahl Homestead was located on the present Arthur Chute place. It was a large house, Cape Cod style, of one and one half stories, facing the road. When the old house was torn down, the more modern ell was left, and the present Chute home built from it.<sup>230</sup> Captain John B. Stahl (1778-1857) was the last of the family to occupy it. In early days the Stahls were concentrated on Dutch Neck and in the northeastern part of the town, from whence they spread over into Warren. Philip of the second generation settled on Stahl's Hill on July 4, 1797.<sup>231</sup> This family has been a sizable one and is now scattered throughout the United States. There are still a goodly number bearing the name in the town in the present day.

STEIN. This has also been anglicized to Stain. Jacob Stein appears to have been the immigrant of this name at Broad Bay, the earliest reference to him being the repurchase of his farm on the west side of the river of the Pemaquid heirs around 1764, for £7 12s. The family has never been a large one, and until recently there was one family in the town bearing this name.

STILKE. Of this family little more can be said than that a John George Stilkey of Waldoborough died in 1789<sup>232</sup> and that a son of the same name married Katharina Wagner on April 1, 1800.<sup>233</sup>

STORER. This is possibly anglicized from the German, Storerer. Evidence on the first generation of this family in the town is highly confusing. The presence of Storerers in the Braintree district would suggest that this family or families were in the Boston migrations of 1751 or 1752. In confirmation of this is the location on Dutch Neck of the original Storer lot. There may have been originally two or more brothers in this migration, or, what is more probable, a father and several sons. In this case, the immigrant Storer was Georg, a tailor, who lived at Broad Bay in the early 1750's on farm Lot No. 34 on Dutch Neck,<sup>234</sup> and took refuge in Boston during the French and Indian War. He repurchased his farm of the Pemaquid heirs on September 21, 1763. He, along with Matthias, a son or brother, signed the Schaeffer Petition of June 14, 1767, and Georg witnessed the will of John Martin Schaeffer of

<sup>230</sup>Letter, Linda Stahl Lord, dau. of Aaron Stahl, Dec. 27, 1938, in my possession.

<sup>231</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 40, p. 15.

<sup>232</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>233</sup>Clerk's Records, Vol. II, Waldoborough.

<sup>234</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 82.

August 6 of the same year.<sup>235</sup> A son, Andrew, was born in Germany in 1742 and died in Warren in 1799. Other sons seem to have been Charles, who settled on Dutch Neck, and a Matthias who lived in the Slaigo district along with Andrew. Georg sold his lot on Dutch Neck to a Christian Storer on July 1, 1784.<sup>236</sup> Andrew, Christian, and Matthias are listed as family heads in the census of 1790. All this is to mention only a few threads in the tangled skein. In the third generation the family became prominent in the town. William and Alfred were major shipbuilders and laid the foundations of sizable estates. Alfred's son, Leavitt, continued in the family tradition and built, among other ships, the *Governor Ames*, reputed to be the first five-masted schooner on the Atlantic seaboard. Leavitt's son, Alfred, for many years the President of the Medomak National Bank, is engaged in business in the present-day town.

SUKEFORTH. This is the anglicized form of the German, Suchfort. This is not one of the older German families in the town. Andreas Suchfort, a Hessian, taken prisoner in the Saratoga campaign and confined in the Boston district, was paroled to Andrew Schenck and brought by him to Waldoborough, where he eventually settled. On January 20, 1783, he purchased the Merle Castner farm on which John Newbert was then living, for £200, but held it for only a short time;<sup>237</sup> for on April 10, 1783, Newbert conveyed the farm to Church Nash and moved to North Waldoborough. Soon thereafter the Sukeforths settled in Washington, but in the present century have again returned to the town where there are three families in residence, one of which is that of Clyde Sukeforth, coach of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

TOZINER. This name is taken from a dubious spelling in the County Records. In an agreement effected on April 21, 1770, between John and Mary David the name of Jacob Lorenz Toziner in illegible script is affixed as a witness.<sup>238</sup>

TREUPEL. Conrad was the name of the immigrant Treupel at Broad Bay. He was one of the signers of the petition to Governor Shirley of May 13, 1754, which would afford some ground for holding that he was of the migration of 1742. His farm was located on the east bank of the river. After 1754 he does not appear again in our history, a fact which suggests that he may have lost his life as a soldier in the French and Indian War.

<sup>235</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>236</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 17, p. 80.

<sup>237</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 16, p. 115.

<sup>238</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 8, p. 69.



ULMER. The immigrants of this name were John Ulmer and his brother, John Jacob Ulmer, who came to Broad Bay in 1742 from Maulbronn in the Duchy of Würtemberg.<sup>239</sup> John settled originally on Lot No. 4, now the farm of Jonas Koskela.<sup>240</sup> His son, John, Jr., on becoming of age, was allotted the farm next north, Lot No. 5, the old James H. Castner farm.<sup>241</sup> Jacob settled on Lot No. 15, the boundaries of which are identical with the present farm of Harold Levensaler, but extending westward to the river. John, Sr., was at Louisburg in 1745, and tradition has it that on the night of May 2nd he led the Broad Bayers in the successful attack on the arsenal northeast of the harbor which contained great stores of military and naval supplies.<sup>242</sup> John Ulmer was a versatile individual with an eye always peeled for the main chance, and so it was that he sold his original lot to Charles C. G. Leissner and in 1765 acquired the property at the head of tide on the east bank of the river which ran from the first bridge in an easterly direction and included a substantial portion of the present village and of Main Street. This property he sold in 1794 to David Doane of Barnstable, Mass.<sup>243</sup>

Ulmer was by profession a schoolmaster and practiced his profession on a small scale in the early days. After Doctor Kast had abandoned the colony in 1743, Ulmer took over the office of preacher at Waldo's solicitation and in his pay. He was also the town's first known shipbuilder, having built in 1771 a brig of one hundred and fifty tons which was called the *Yankee Hero*.<sup>244</sup>

Jacob Ulmer moved to Marblehead during the French and Indian War, and his brother John found refuge with him there for a part of the struggle at least. In 1760 Jacob sold his Lot No. 15 and never returned to the settlement.<sup>245</sup> After the sale of his properties in the town in 1794, John Ulmer moved to Rockland. His large family of thirteen children has made the name of Ulmer a common one in the Penobscot area, but in present-day Waldo-boro there is no family left bearing this name.

UMBERHINE. Variant spellings are Umberhind, Unbehind, Unbehinde, from the German, Unbehend. The data on this family is scanty. A Jacob seems to have been the immigrant in the Broad Bay colony. His original home and the time of his migration are unknown. In 1764 he redeemed his farm on the west side of the river, Lot No. 18 below Medomak Falls, of the Pemaquid heirs for £12 8s.<sup>246</sup> In 1776 he was a member of the Revolutionary Com-

<sup>239</sup> John Ulmer's letter in possession of Mrs. J. E. Greeley, Dover, Maine.

<sup>240</sup> Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 168.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. 22, p. 207.

<sup>242</sup> Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, 66 Jahrgang.

<sup>243</sup> Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 32, p. 12.

<sup>244</sup> Joseph Ludwig, a contemporary, cited by Eaton in *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 148.

<sup>245</sup> Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 90 and Bk. 22, p. 207.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. 4, p. 169.

mittee of Correspondence and Safety, and in 1783 he was one of those making an inventory of the estate of Christian Kline.<sup>247</sup> Through error or oversight the name does not appear in the census of 1790, for descendants of this family bearing the name have been in residence in Waldoboro down to recent times.

VANNAH. This has been variously anglicized as Warner, Varner and Vannah from the German, Werner. The original representatives of this family at Broad Bay were two brothers who probably came to this area in 1753. The older of the two was Georg, who acquired the property at the Great Falls of the Medomak on its west bank. The lot was surveyed for him by John Martin on July 31, 1766, and the bounds were given as extending westward to the Kaler Pond. The gristmill was located on the present site of the old Medomak Flour Mill and "Werner's house was just south of the mill run."<sup>248</sup> He died in 1794 bequeathing one third of the income from the mill to his wife, "Sadoney." To his sons-in-law, John Kinsell and Daniel Achorn, he left the gristmill and "other lands and properties."<sup>249</sup> This will furnishes warrant for the inference that Georg had no sons. The other brother was probably Henry whose name appears in early real-estate transactions at Broad Bay,<sup>250</sup> and it was he from whom those bearing the name of Vannah in this community are descended. The census of 1790 lists in addition to Georg, Andrew, Charles, John, John, Jr., all probable descendants of Henry, as heads of families. The omission of the name Henry would warrant the belief that he was no longer living at that time. I recall from boyhood days that a number of Werners were buried in the old Lutheran Cemetery on the shore of Merle Castner's farm. This family has been a large one and there are still numerous Vannahs living in present-day Waldoboro.

VOGLER. This has also been anglicized to Fogilar, Foglar, Fogler from the German, Vogler. Hans Georg Vogler, along with his grown-up son, Philip Christopher, came to Broad Bay in 1742 from Gundelsheim in the Rhenish Palatinate.<sup>251</sup> They arrived under a bonded indenture of £6 10s. 9d. each, payable to Sebastian Zuberbühler on September 24, 1747.<sup>252</sup> Philip was born April 7, 1725, was reared a Lutheran, and along with farming learned the trade of a tailor. This family settled on the east side of the river on Lot No. 9, the present Davis dairy farm.<sup>253</sup> During the Fifth Indian

<sup>247</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>248</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 83.

<sup>249</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>250</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 13, p. 253.

<sup>251</sup>*Vogler Memoir*, Morav. Records (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>252</sup>York Co. Reg. of Deeds (Alfred, Me.), Bk. 25, pp. 44-45.

<sup>253</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 252.

War Philip Christopher participated in the campaign against Louisburg and remained there four years, marrying in 1746 Katharina Seitz, daughter of Lorenz Seitz. The family became early converts at Broad Bay of the Moravian missionary, Georg Soelle; and when the Moravian mission was built in 1762, it was erected on the shore of this farm.<sup>254</sup> Hans Georg seems to have "passed out of time" in the 1760's, for in 1770 Philip with his wife and children migrated to Friedland, North Carolina. Their eldest son, John, however, returned to Broad Bay prior to 1773 and continued the family line in the Waldoborough area. In 1788 he bought of Martin Razor, for £18, the old Fogler farm in East Waldoborough, now owned by Ivan Scott. This remained the family seat down to the death of the last Fogler in the town.<sup>255</sup> Philip Christopher died at Bethania, North Carolina, August 20, 1790. He had in all twelve children, ten of these by his first marriage, and at his death twenty-seven grandchildren. The name of Fogler has now been extinct in the town for two generations, Charles of East Waldoboro being the last in the town to bear this name.

WAGNER. William was the immigrant of this name at Broad Bay, and he probably was of the migration of 1753. The earliest reference to him comes in the conveyance of a lot "already held by him as a settler," which was an exchange of farms with Matthias Achorn, on September 21, 1761, involving a hundred-acre lot on the west bank of the river, somewhere between the lower and upper falls.<sup>256</sup> He and his wife, Katherina, were followers of the Moravian, Georg Soelle.<sup>257</sup> The Wagners later in the century settled in the Orff's Corner area, where there is still a Wagner meadow near the bridge in that area which is still known as "the Wagner bridge." The family was never a large one; in the census of 1790 only two Wagners, William and his son, Andrew, are listed as family heads. The last of this family in the area is believed to have been Andrew, a town charge, who was buried November 18, 1890.<sup>258</sup>

WALCK. Also used as Walk, from the German, Walch. There is some uncertainty in reference to this family, but the first at Broad Bay was unquestionably John, and a brother or son, Peter. They came in the migration of 1751 or 1752 and took up land on Dutch Neck, where John, who was a potter, was compelled to redeem his Lot No. 52 on September 21, 1763, of the heirs of the Pemaquid proprietors.<sup>259</sup> John died in 1789 leaving to his widow, Anna

<sup>254</sup>Jasper J. Stahl, "Diary of a Moravian Missionary at Broad Bay, Me.," *N. E. Quarterly*, Dec., 1939, p. 759.

<sup>255</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 13, p. 44.

<sup>256</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 170.

<sup>257</sup>Soelle, *Ms.*, *Kurze Bericht*, etc., Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>258</sup>Report of Town of Waldoborough, 1891.

<sup>259</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 162.



Ebbet, an estate appraised at £55 9s. 8d.<sup>260</sup> Peter died in 1795 leaving a widow, Jane. The census of 1790 throws some light on the second generation. Apart from Peter, there were still living in 1790 Charles, Christopher, Henry, and John, Jr., as family heads. The Robinson Map of 1815 shows Charles living on a farm of one hundred and twenty acres, the last but one on the tip end of the Neck, which seems to have been the original Walck farm. Christopher was in residence on a lot of seventy-five acres, lying between the farms of John Stahl and Charles Overlock. There are descendants of this family still residing in the town; but Almore, who died on Dutch Neck in the autumn of 1939, was the last in the town to bear the family name.

WALLIS. The original German spelling of this name is uncertain. The Waldo deed of October 25, 1752, conveying Lot No. 10 (the Merle Castner farm) to John Martin Schmidt states that this lot is bounded on the south by the farm of Philip Vogler and on the north by lot of Michael Wallis.<sup>261</sup> The deed of Schmidt of June 16, 1764, conveying the present Castner farm to John Newbert shows the Wallis lot in the possession of Baltes Castner. These documents would identify Michael Wallis with the migration of 1742, and would show that in the intervening twelve years he had either abandoned the place, been killed in the Indian wars, or had sold his improved land and moved elsewhere.

WALLIZER. This has been variously spelled as Walleazor, Waliser, Wallis, and probably anglicized to Wallace. There is little definite data on this family. The most certain fact is that the immigrant at Broad Bay was "Doctor" John Christopher Wallizer, who, according to the *Ludwig Genealogy*<sup>262</sup> was born in Germany in 1730 and died at Waldoborough in 1819. His family connections seem to show an especial penchant for widows, for the clerk's record of December 25, 1784, records the fact that "John Christopher Wallizer and ye widow, Getreout [Gertrude] Minken" were published on that date, and the Wiscasset records register a conveyance of real estate in 1807 by "Rozina Wallizer, a widow of Georg Roth and wife of John C. Wallizer, surgeon." Where "Doctor" Wallizer came from or when he came to Broad Bay is unknown, and the problem of following his later descendants in the town is rendered confusing by the fact that the later anglicized form of the name cannot be differentiated from that of other Wallace families in the town.

<sup>260</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>261</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 25.

<sup>262</sup>Augusta, Me., 1866.

WALTER. This is an anglicized form of the German, Walther or Walder. This family, though German, was not connected with the early migrations. Its founder was Johannes Petrus Walder, who was born in Braunschweig, Germany, in 1734 and died at Waldoborough in 1830. A Hessian under Burgoyne at Saratoga, he was, on the collapse of this campaign, sent as a prisoner to Boston. Here he was paroled and made his way into "eastern parts" with General Denny McCobb. According to tradition he was a well-educated man, proficient in several languages. He settled in Waldoborough and married Maria Woltzgruber, the half-sister of Conrad Heyer, and became the progenitor of the Waldoborough Walters. The Robinson Map of 1815 shows him occupying Lot No. 7 in the northeastern part of the town. Walter's cabin stood by the river and his one hundred and forty-three acres ran east from the upper Medomak to the western boundary of the Knox Patent. Adjoining his lot on the north was Lot No. 6, the one hundred and twenty acre farm of his son, Peter; adjoining it on the south, Lot No. 8, the one hundred and nineteen acre farm of his son, Christian, or, as is alleged by some, his brother. If so, Christian was probably a Hessian soldier who joined his brother in the town at the close of the Revolution.

WALTZ or WALZ. This was variously corrupted in early times to Wolz, Woltz, Walts, Wulz and Wults. The origin of this family in Waldoborough contains some uncertainties. There may have been originally a father and several sons, or two or more brothers. The weight of evidence favors the first hypothesis. The immigrant Waltz was clearly Jacob, possibly John Jacob, although he signed his name simply as Jacob Waltz to the Shirley Petition of May 13, 1754.<sup>263</sup> The fact that he was a signatory of this petition would associate him with one of the earlier migrations, probably that of 1742, certainly not later than that of 1748. An Andrew Waltz, a housewright and a possible son of Jacob, redeemed his farm, Lot No. 33 on Dutch Neck, of the Pemaquid heirs in 1763.<sup>264</sup> This was clearly the hayward of 1773. His name also appears as a family head in the census of 1790. Another possible son of Jacob was Matthias, born in 1756 and died May 8, 1827, who lies buried in the East Waldoboro Cemetery. Jacob settled on the lower east side, possibly on the present Patrick Homestead. He died *circa* 1770, for on October 7, 1771, his widow, Mary Moners, remarried to John David, deeded her part of this land to Charles Samson, "our right being one third of said land, an interest which the said Mary has in said land by her late husband, Jacob Waltz of the

<sup>263</sup>Mass. Archives, XV A, 240-242.

<sup>264</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 140.

same place deceased."<sup>265</sup> This family has been a large one and numerous descendants still bear its name in present-day Waldoboro.

WEAVER. This has been variously corrupted as Wiebege, Wibiege and early anglicized to Weaver from the German, Weber. The question has been raised whether this family is of German or English origin. Some of its older living members affirm their faith in the tradition that the Weavers were German. On the other hand, a very complete *Weaver Genealogy* states that John Weaver was of the sixth generation of Weavers in America, that he was born November 25, 1733, at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and "is believed to have settled in Waldoboro, Maine." A descendant of his brother, George, is said to have had records, not now preserved, which established this fact.<sup>266</sup> This undocumented datum must be recorded as a tradition and not as a fact. On the other hand, Joseph Weaver, a blacksmith, was in early times in possession of Lot No. 37, on the west side of the river. This he redeemed of the Pemaquid proprietors in 1763, and two years later he and his wife, Magdalen, conveyed the same to John Heidenheim and to this document he affixed the name in badly written script of "Johen Jost," John Joseph.<sup>267</sup> Later he moved to the lot known as "the old Weaver Homestead" between Grant's Quarry and the railroad track. In 1807 this farm was conveyed by Charles to John Weaver and in the deed is denominated as the lot "on which his father lived."<sup>268</sup> John Weaver's known sons were John, born 1765, and Charles (1767-1863). John, Jr., married the daughter of Bernhard Kinsell (1762-1862). John, Sr., was prominent in the affairs of the town and was a member of its first Board of Selectmen. He died in 1790 leaving to his widow, Molly, an estate appraised at £51 18s. 3d.<sup>269</sup> In the census of 1790 George Weaver, a probable son, is listed as a family head. There are descendants in the town today who bear the Weaver name.

WELLER. This is not a common name in Waldoborough history, but the family was certainly a part of the original Broad Bay settlement. The immigrant founder was Andrew who came here probably in 1753. Ten years later Andrew Weller, cordwainer, redeemed his lot which was No. 8, below Medomak Falls on the west side, of the Pemaquid proprietors for £6 13s. 4d.<sup>270</sup> The immigrant died relatively young, in 1770 or 1771; for on May 31, 1771,

<sup>265</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 223.

<sup>266</sup>Lucius E. Weaver, *Weaver Genealogy* (Rochester, N. Y., 1928).

<sup>267</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 166.

<sup>268</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 67, p. 11.

<sup>269</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>270</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 84.



"George High [English equivalent of the German Hoch], of a place called Broad Bay," was appointed guardian "unto Lehn Weller, minor daughter of Andrew Weller," and on June 5, 1772, William Kahler (Kaler) of a place called Broad Bay was appointed guardian "unto John Weller, minor son of Andrew Weller, late of Broad Bay."<sup>271</sup> Where the Wellers came from and what eventually became of them are facts buried in obscurity. On April 26, 1784, George Clouse and Mary Weller<sup>272</sup> were "published," and in 1791 John Weller married Sarah Burnheimer of Waldoborough. Thereafter the records furnish no further evidence of this family.

WELT. There are uncertainties connected with the first generation of the Welts at Broad Bay. According to the family tradition, there were two brothers named Welt<sup>273</sup> who came to Broad Bay in 1748. At the close of the Indian wars they settled in the North Waldoborough district. One of these brothers was John. During the Revolution he was enlisted in Captain Philip Ulmer's company and participated in the attack on the British at Castine. Induced by promises of land and money, he joined the British cause. In turn he deserted from them, was captured by the colonials, court-martialled, and sentenced to receive "a thousand stripes save one." He died under the lash.<sup>274</sup> One of his known sons was John William.

The second brother who came from Germany may have been Pleosus, who is the only Welt listed as the head of a family in the census of 1790. The Robinson Map of 1815 shows Lots Nos. 26, 27 and 28, in the northeastern section of the town, occupied by Charles, Matthias, and John Welt, sons of John and possibly of Pleosus. The family has been a numerous one, and there are descendants bearing the name in present-day Waldoboro. The most distinguished member of the family locally was Augustus Welt, a son of John William. He was one of the major shipbuilders in the Great Days, a selectman for successive terms, a representative in the State Legislature, and a promoter and large stockholder in the Knox & Lincoln Railroad.

WEYL. John Jacob of Boston, laborer, for £36 paid by George Light, Sr., relinquished his claim to a tract of land, Lot No. 14, below Medomak Falls on the west side of the river, this lot being "the same as Light bought of Drowne." This transaction took place September 27, 1762.<sup>275</sup> Weyl like "Air" apparently had left Broad Bay during the French and Indian War and never returned. He

<sup>271</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>272</sup>Town Clerk's Records, Waldoborough.

<sup>273</sup>Oral narrative, Mrs. Rose Welt Davis, g.d. of Augustus Welt, Rockland, Me.

<sup>274</sup>Data from Boston Public Library, investigated by Mrs. Frank Welt.

<sup>275</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 185.

was probably of the migration of 1753, since on April 2, 1754, Matthias Achorn who had taken up Lots Nos. 1 and 2 of Samuel Waldo, April 17, 1753, on the west bank, sold Lot No. 1 to John Jacob Weyl in 1754.<sup>276</sup> To these documents are affixed the signatures of Jacob Weyl and his wife, Elizabeth.

**WILLARD or WILLIARD.** The origin and time of settlement of this family at Broad Bay is an uncertainty. The name in its recorded form is not German, but probably represents an anglicized form of a German name that had come into use in the second generation. The first of this name at Broad Bay was Andrew, who died in 1769. He left at least a grown son and a minor daughter Margaret, who was placed under the guardianship of Christopher Cline on June 5, 1770. Willard left an estate appraised at £82 12s. 9d.<sup>277</sup> The son, George, moved to North Carolina in the Moravian exodus and signed the "Brotherly Agreement" at Friedland on July 21, 1771. He married there in the same year Eva Lauer, who was born at Broad Bay, September 9, 1754.<sup>278</sup> The name has long been extinct in Waldoboro, but descendants of the daughter, Margaret, are a possibility in the town.

**WINCHENBACH.** This has been variously anglicized to forms such as Winchenbaugh and Wincapaw and in modern times abbreviated to "Wink." This is one of Waldoboro's most numerous clans, and one that in one way or another is linked by blood ties to most of the old families in the town. The immigrant at Broad Bay was Friedrich who was in the Boston migration of Joseph Crell of 1751 or 1752, came to the settlement in 1752, and settled on Lot No. 39, on the upper end of Dutch Neck. This Friedrich was compelled to repurchase his farm of eighty-three acres of the Pemaquid heirs on September 21, 1763, for £11 1s. 4d.<sup>279</sup> He was also a signer of the Schaeffer Petition of June 14, 1767.<sup>280</sup> Among his children were Jacob, born in Germany on May 15, 1742, and died at Waldoborough in 1825, who signed the Schaeffer Petition with his father in 1767, and who seems to have remained on the paternal farm on "the Neck." Other known children were John (1754-1847) and Henry (1762-1831). Friedrich died prior to 1790, or was living at that time as a dependent with his son Jacob, for the only Winchenbachs appearing as heads of families in the census were Jacob, John, and Henry. The descendants of Friedrich today are numbered in the thousands, and the name is still a common one in the township.

<sup>276</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 3, p. 75a.

<sup>277</sup>Patterson, *Lincoln Co. Prob. Recs.*

<sup>278</sup>Adeliade Fries, State Historian of N. C., a descendant of the Broad Bay Voglers.

<sup>279</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 4, p. 90.

<sup>280</sup>Mass. State Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.

WOHLFAHRT. This family name has been extinct in Waldoborough for upwards of two centuries. The incidents of its life at Broad Bay are set forth here in some detail only because in their tragedy and pathos they are typical of what so many families endured in our early history. The immigrant, Johann Jacob Wohlfahrt was a native of Castell (modern Kassel), a district in the old Duchy of Franconia, Germany, where he owned vineyards. In 1746 he married Sophia Vogt of Castell, who was born February 26, 1722. They came to Broad Bay in 1752. This union was blessed with one daughter and three sons, one of whom died at sea but was near enough to the American coast to receive a land burial. John Jacob died in military service in the French and Indian War in 1759, and for six years thereafter his widow served in various families until her marriage to Adam Schumacher in 1765. In 1769 this couple, with her daughter Elizabeth, migrated to North Carolina, and resided near Salem until the death of her second husband in 1784. One of the sons by her first marriage, John Jacob, Jr. (born August 9, 1755, at Broad Bay and for a number of years bound out as an apprentice to a baker in Boston), joined his mother in 1769 in the migration to North Carolina where he learned the trade of a millwright. Later he became active in the Moravian church and in 1801 became a minister and was the first Broad Bayer to serve the Friedland parish. Eventually he became a missionary in the Cherokee country in Georgia. He died August 4, 1807, leaving behind his widowed mother who had become blind.

In August of this year she heard with deep sorrow that her beloved son had been called unto the eternal homeland. Mild tears streamed from her sightless eyes, showing her grief. . . . On the other hand, in the following years she had the pleasure to hear from her son, George, whom she had left in New England, of whom she had heard no word for thirty-five years, and whom she believed to be no longer in this world.

The widow Schumacher died July 24, 1816, leaving sixteen grandchildren and eleven great-grandchildren.<sup>281</sup> I know of no blood kin of this family now in the community although it is possible that the son, George, may have left descendants.

WOLSGROVER. This has been variously spelled in anglicized forms from the German Woltzgruber. This family seems to have come to these parts in 1752 under the headship of Christoph, a name shortened by his contemporaries to "Stoffel." His wife apparently died in the early 1750's. Christoph settled on Lot No. 42, at about the center of Dutch Neck and in 1763 "Strophel Woolscrofer" was compelled to redeem his fifty-five and one-half acre farm of

<sup>281</sup>Data based on the *Memoirs* of Sophia Schumacher and Johann Wohlfahrt, Jr., Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



the Pemaquid proprietors for £7 8s.<sup>282</sup> A Christopher is listed as a family head in the census of 1790. This may have been the immigrant or his son. There was also a son George who moved to the Friendship side of Goose River in 1773. On April 22, 1791, this George acquired of Christoph Neuhaus for £27 the property in Goose River Bay, a nine and one-quarter acre island, known to this day as Wolsgrover's Island.<sup>283</sup> He, too, had a son Christopher who had a mill at Goose River. The name Christoph ran through this family to the last Wolsgrover in the town, a Christopher who lived on the property under the high ledge on the Bremen road. On the roadside opposite his house, "Chris" had his blacksmith shop, which I recall from early boyhood. Chris' dwelling burned in 1878 and the present little house on its site was built from some of the lumber of "the old long house on the hill" which was in part the structure erected by General Waldo in 1753 to house the Germans of this migration during the first winter.<sup>284</sup> The name of Wolsgrover has long been extinct in the town, but there are descendants living in Lewiston and Portland.

ZUBERBUHLER. Sebastian Zuberbühler had early and intimate connections with Broad Bay history. He was born at Linden in the Canton of Appenzell just south of Lake Constance in Switzerland. In 1734 he went to South Carolina and engaged there in various land and colonizing enterprises. In 1741 he appeared in the Rheinpfalz as General Waldo's agent and recruited the colony of 1742 with which he came to Broad Bay in late October of that year. He remained in the colony until December, aiding in the surveying and assignments of lots. During the next two years he was in and out of the settlement and had a home on the east side which was a large fortified cabin that became "the Middle Garrison," during the Indian wars.<sup>285</sup> In 1745 he joined the Broad Bayers in the expedition against Louisburg, where he was commissioned a captain in the field.<sup>286</sup> After the capture of the fortress, he did not return to Broad Bay but joined the German colony at Lunenburg. Here he became a magistrate and died in good financial circumstances, as appears from the inventory of his and his daughter's possessions.<sup>287</sup>

NOTE: This chapter is the only one in the *History of Old Broad Bay and Waldoboro* which has been a chore. It covers the sole genealogical problem of interest to me, to wit, those sturdy souls of the first generation who gave up their homes in the Old World,

<sup>282</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 170.

<sup>283</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 27, p. 214.

<sup>284</sup>Oral narrative of Alice Waltz Morse, neighbor of the last Wolzgrover family.

<sup>285</sup>Letter, Gov. Shirley to Col. Noble, June 5, 1744, Mass. Archives.

<sup>286</sup>H. C. Burrage, *Maine Louisburg* (Augusta, 1910), p. 65.

<sup>287</sup>Der Brisay, *History of the Colony of Lunenburg*, pp. 69-72.

made the long trek across the sea, hacked this town out of a wilderness, and for a generation imparted to their new home the flavor-some quality of an ancient feudal culture — an enterprise redolent of what Macauley has called the romance of history. To track each one back to the lair of his birth, to label him with his significant dates, to restore to him his rightful name and to associate him with his own original bit of soil in this town has involved patient labor in an area of detail so vast that here and there too thinly drawn inference will undoubtedly have lapsed into an error. Consequently I have drawn around myself a bulwark of over two hundred and seventy-five documentations, and in my arsenal there are still others, withheld here in order to spare my readers an overload of wearying detail. In case those who know better will delve in sources not available to me and discover sound evidence for revising some of these conclusions, this chapter will have served its good purpose. Somewhere in old trunks or chests, lying forgotten, are documents which will confirm or disprove some of the positions taken here on the basis of partial evidence. To examine or re-examine such is a worthy task, for to know one's ancestors that one may honor their worth and memory should be a matter of family initiative and pride. Fittingly, indeed, it has been said that "those who take no pride in the achievements of their ancestors, near or remote, are not likely to accomplish much that will be remembered with pride by their own descendants."

## XV

### LIFE AT OLD BROAD BAY IN ITS FEUDAL PERIOD

*Hath not old custom made this life more sweet  
than that of painted pomp?*

SHAKESPEARE

BY THE YEAR 1760 BROAD BAY was at peace, even though the war had not been officially terminated. The long-standing score with the French had been decisively settled and their Indian allies had had enough. The crowded and regimented garrison life of the past six years was at an end, and men and women were free to move back into their own houses and there continue to work out, in their new environment, the ancient cultural patterns which had given texture, form, and color to their lives in their ancestral homes across the sea. In this short period Broad Bay was a uniquely colorful spot in the history of northeastern America. Her people were exclusively German; their social inheritance was that of a very ancient culture, still feudal in its attitudes and concepts. The only modes of living they knew were the ancestral ones developed and handed down to successive generations through many centuries. Their agricultural, economic, domestic, political, social, and religious life all followed an archetypal pattern set in centuries long removed. It could not have been otherwise, for Broad Bay was just a big clearing in an immense wilderness, protected by an isolation almost total from the contagion of alien cultural forces. The civilization of eighteenth-century Germany was all that they knew. There was nothing like it in all New England, for in other centers of the northeast wherever Germans had settled, with the possible exception of Frankfort, they found themselves in the midst of an alien culture where their own was soon submerged and lost. And so it was that old German feudal culture flowered at Broad Bay before any major modifications were effected through contact with the restless Puritans.

At the beginning of this decade, the settlement in many of its externals was little changed from what it had been in 1750. In fact, some of the cabins of 1742 were still sheltering their same



families, while those built in 1748-1749, to replace the ones destroyed by the Indians in 1746, were still by the riverside. During the intervening years of war there had been no point in constructing new or larger cabins, and so it was that the decade opened with the old cabins in the old locations. The one major change was in the five garrisons and the cleared areas reaching a considerably greater distance back from the river into the forests; for the work of clearing land in order to feed the Boston fuel market had gone on all through the war.

This work of clearing land was a much slower task for the Germans than it was for English settlers. The latter would fell trees over a considerable area, trim them, let them dry out through the summer, then drag the logs together in great piles and burn them with the slash. The German was more economic and systematic. Every bit of wood removed served a useful purpose. Every tree was carefully trimmed, sawed into log or cordwood lengths, or into rail lengths, and split for rail fences. Underbrush was not only cut out, but the roots were grubbed out as well as the stumps of trees. When a German finished clearing an acre of land, it was as ready for planting as it would be twenty years hence.<sup>1</sup> The rocks, too, were removed and with prodigious toil placed in position for constructing line fences. In this the Germans followed the practice of their English neighbors.

If the beginning of this decade witnessed the wilderness by the river side studded with the same old cabins, "18' x 18'," or their equivalent in size, the decade also witnessed a period of active building. At Broad Bay the German aimed to keep his buildings close to the junction of his field and pasture in order to avoid driving his cattle to their grazing areas through his grassland and planted fields. So there followed an era of building new and larger cabins, at the junction of field and pasture, ever farther and farther away from the river as the land was cleared and turned to crops or grass, until finally farm buildings reached their present locations near the edge of pasture land, or near enough so that the farm could tie up with the pasture land by lanes confined on both sides by stonewalls.

The Germans had a saying that "a son should always begin his improvements where his father left off," namely by building a larger house. All the farms along the river in an earlier day bore evidence of this practice in the number of old cellars, each farther removed from the river. As a typical example, there may be taken the old James H. Castner farm, where between the shore and the present homestead the remains of three old cellars were once visible.<sup>2</sup> The eminences in the fields not far from old springs fre-

<sup>1</sup>Benjamin Rush, *Notes from Manners of the Old German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1789).

<sup>2</sup>Oral narrative, Daniel Webster Castner, died 1909.

quently mark the successive locations of these cabins. My boyhood home on the old Loring Sides farm is thus marked in succession by a spring, another spring, and then a well. The new cabins of this decade were larger. All contained cellars or partial cellars, lofts, boarded or planked floors, and fireplaces laid up with stone and lime. Cellars were accessible through a trap door and ladders led to the lofts. Before the cabins there was usually an out-of-door fireplace where the cooking was done, for the most part, from spring until autumn.

The Germans at Broad Bay were of the very flower of German peasantry — men and women with courage for adventuring and the willingness to face hardship to secure economic betterment. They were sturdy of frame and strong of muscle, and accustomed by the tradition of centuries to the hard life of toil and little in the way of comfort and earthly possessions. An example to be cited in such matters was Andrew Suchfort, a Hessian captured at Stillwater, who eventually came to this district. Of him it is reliably related that he lugged two bushels of salt on his back over rough roads from Waldoborough to Union,<sup>3</sup> a feat before which most modern hearts would quail. From the beginning and for long after, life at Broad Bay was an affair to cause the stoutest hearts to quail; for many there were who were terribly impoverished. By 1760 some of the older colonists had achieved a degree of security and comfort, but for many of them life was still a bitter struggle.

In 1767 and 1768, when some of them were pondering the question of migrating to North Carolina, Georg Soelle, their Moravian missionary, commented on the spot in respect to the migration and in the words of one settler, as follows: "I have here in rich measure what I need. It flows into my house."<sup>4</sup> Describing two other families Soelle observed: "Their poverty is so great and their children so numerous — each has seven or eight who are naked and who cannot help themselves."<sup>5</sup> Addressing Bishop Ettwein on another occasion he added: "There are three families among them for whom the moving would be most difficult, since each has seven or eight children. They are so poor that they could scarcely give one another a drink of water: At this time [November] the children have nothing on their bodies except a little shirt, and will get nothing else during the winter."<sup>6</sup>

Despite the lack of clothing, shoes, furniture, and other creature comforts there were few who went hungry in the 1760's. Once the method of procuring food had been worked out, Nature was

<sup>3</sup>John L. Sibly, *History of the Town of Union* (Boston, 1851).

<sup>4</sup>Letter of Georg Soelle without address, from Newport, Aug. 27, 1768, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Soelle, Letter to Bishop John Ettwein, Nov. 2, 1767, *loc. cit.*

lavish in her supply. Bears and deer abounded on the outskirts of the settlement and furnished a supply of meat through summer and autumn, as well as skins for clothing, rugs, and coverings. Great herds of moose frequented the northern sections of the settlement and had their yards around the ponds in the outskirts of the district and in the great bogs in the northeastern and northwestern areas of the town. Thither went the men in the late autumn and secured great quantities of meat, which was smoked Indian fashion for winter consumption. Hunting parties also went out in midwinter whenever fresh meat was wanted, and the families kept it for weeks, or even months, in a frozen condition. Small game such as hare and partridge abounded throughout the year, while the annual visits of the pigeons provided the settlers with an almost never-ending luxury. These birds which came in millions were shot and snared by the hundreds and laid down in their own fat for winter use. The shores and river beds were overcrowded with shellfish, while the salt water in every season of the year gave up fish in such quantities that the Germans fed them to their swine<sup>7</sup> — salmon, alewives, shad, herring, mackerel, cod, hake, flounder, smelts, frostfish, and eels ran in turn the gamut of the four seasons and provided for the energetic a rather ample security against hunger.

This happy abundance of Nature was not matched by the fruitfulness of the native soil, for the agricultural economy of these days was a matter of endless labor and scant returns. Crops were limited to rye, barley, hay, potatoes, cabbage, beans, peas, and roots.<sup>8</sup> Here the lack of plenitude was largely a matter of tools. There were no ploughs in the settlement.<sup>9</sup> As soon as the land was cleared, it was put under cultivation. Every bit of sod left after roots had been grubbed out had to be turned over by hand with a hoe or mattock, a fact which greatly restricted the size of the crops. Once the sod had rotted over the winter, the harrowing could be done with a crude handmade harrow with wooden teeth drawn by oxen or cows. The rye and barley was then sown and harrowed in by dragging a small birch tree over the seeded ground. Rye was the principal grain used in baking. Such wheat as was used came from Boston, and this was imported throughout the year in small quantities as it was needed by those who could afford its use.<sup>10</sup> There was little fruit cultivated. Such a luxury was limited to berries native to the district.

The pride of the German in his livestock was traditional. In Pennsylvania they were commonly charged with devoting greater care to it than to their own children. This pride was also true of

<sup>7</sup>Soelle, *Report of a Visit to Broad Bay, 1760*, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, *Report to Bishop John Ettwein covering May and June, 1767*, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, Letter to Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, Aug. 28, 1764, loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*



the Germans at Broad Bay, a fact which led Soelle in 1760 to the overstatement that "I can clearly see that this folk here is more concerned about its cattle than about the souls of its children."<sup>11</sup> Considering the struggle in these years for survival and a small measure of well-being, such an attitude may be understandable as well as traditional. There was livestock in the settlement just as soon as the Germans could get it. One German farmer, in order to procure a cow from the Georges, gave his wife as security for the animal until such time as he could redeem her by payment. Even in the 1750's there were cows, oxen, swine, and poultry in the colony; and the 1760's witnessed the advent of the sheep and the horse.<sup>12</sup> There were as yet no frame barns and each farm's stock was housed in log sheds and log lean-tos. Since these could contain only a limited amount of stored hay, this fodder was stacked in the open near by and fed to the stock as needed.

The three major agricultural developments in the life of the community in this decade were the growing of flax, the introduction of sheep, and the cultivation of the first Indian corn in the colony. A little flax had been grown prior to 1760,<sup>13</sup> but from this time on, it was cultivated on a much larger scale, and it brought to each household an ever increasing supply of light clothing for summer wear and linen for household use. Samuel Boggs was the great livestock specialist and trader of the district. He raised and sold in a market that extended from the Penobscot to the Medomak, and his stock of cattle would run as high as thirty head. From Boggs' farm on the Georges River the first sheep, imported from Pemaquid, came to Broad Bay in 1760, providing a new food, and of greater importance, meeting a most urgent need of material for clothing, blankets, and other household fabrics.<sup>14</sup> Lastly in 1764, Daniel Fielhauer commenced the cultivation of Indian corn on his farm on the west side of the Medomak.<sup>15</sup> The effect of this experiment was instantaneous. In a season everybody was growing maize. This provided a basic food cereal which lent great variety to human diet and added fodder and grain for the feeding and fattening of stock and poultry, placing animal husbandry on a secure and flourishing basis. This all meant an increased supply of milk, cream, butter, eggs, salted and smoked meats, tallow for candles, hides for robes, shoes, and harnesses — all of which added markedly to the development of economic well-being, and led Bishop John Ettwein, on his visit in the spring of 1767, to observe that "people are beginning now to get along better."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Soelle, *Report of a Visit to Broad Bay, 1760*, loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup>*Memoir of Michael Jung*, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>13</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed. (Hallowell, 1851), pp. 112, 128.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ettwein's Report*, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

The improving economic status brought no abatement in toil. The men performed the acts of husbandry with few, crude, and limited tools. Money was scarce. The few luxuries and necessities that could not be produced from the farm were imported from the Boston market. Cordwood and lumber remained throughout this decade as the exportable surplus and provided the only income for a reserve and for what Broad Bay itself could not produce or fabricate. The women worked with their men in getting out cordwood, in getting eelgrass and rockweed on to the land for fertilizer, in the planting, the haying, and the harvesting. One season Elizabeth Kaler, later the wife of Joseph Ludwig, worked eight days (1771) hoeing potatoes for John Ulmer at eight pence a day. A man's wage at this time was two shillings.<sup>17</sup> The truck patch was under the special care of the women, as were all the innumerable concerns of the household. Families were large and all the children worked. There was so much to do to provide everything that was needed for consumption that it could not possibly have been accomplished had there not been many hands. Children were an economic necessity, and in most families they came in an unbroken regularity about every second year until the number reached a maximum of from eight to twelve. With three or more to a bed, the loft and trundle bed were never empty.

The furniture of these early households was meager. The table which served all family purposes was the familiar sawbuck type with the top overlaid with rough boards. The seats were rough benches made of a plank supported by four legs. The cooking dishes were of iron, and the accessory dishes were limited to the supply of family pewter brought from the Old World or secured in Boston. Iron was scarce in colonial times, and its scarcity forced the settlers to the rather general use of wood. The first ploughs, of which there is one still preserved in the town,<sup>18</sup> were made of wood and later fitted to an iron tip. It was a time-consuming chore to make everything that came into use in an agricultural economy, but wood it was in harrows, cartwheels, shovels, rakes, barrel hoops, firkins, tubs, and churns. Dishes, trays, and spoons, too, were fashioned under the art of these "whittling" Teutons. Gourds fitted nicely to the concepts of dippers, bottles, and bowls, while clamshells could serve as spoons, and the boles of birch trees be made into brooms such as I myself have seen and used.

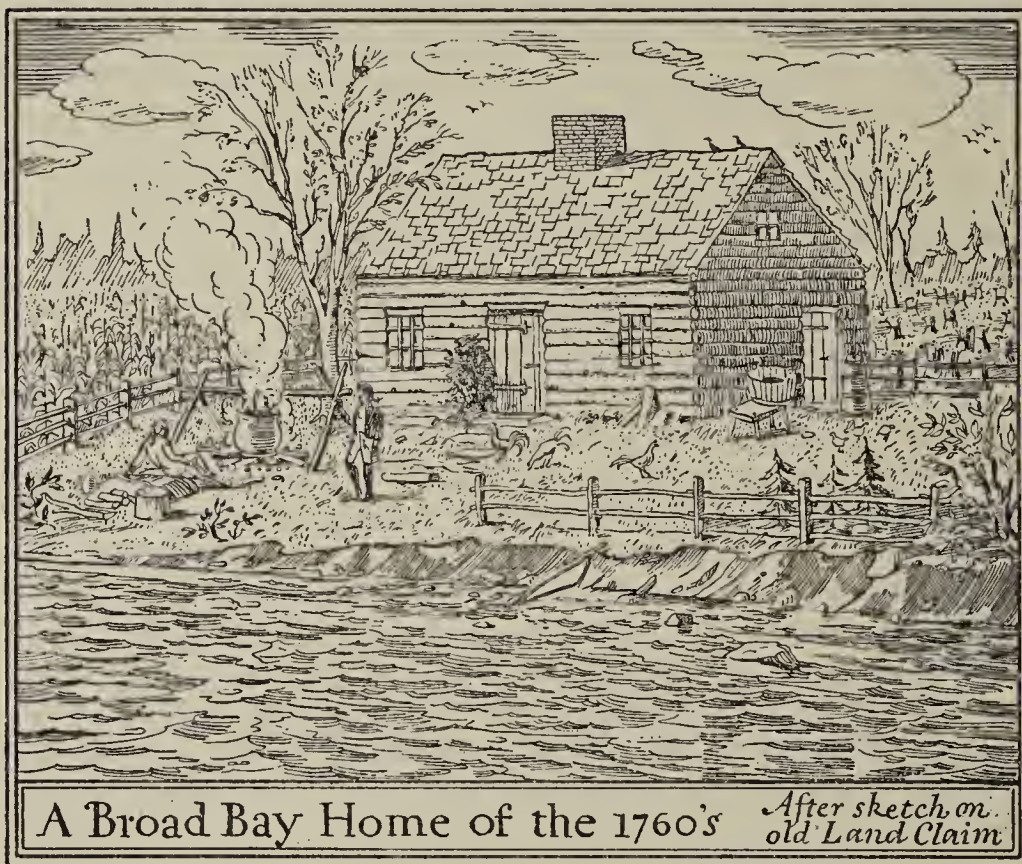
The role of the women in these years and for many years to come was a combination of hard outdoor labor and the domestic arts of the household. The earliest cooking was crude, largely a matter of such food as was available. There were at first no ovens

<sup>17</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 155.

<sup>18</sup>Owned a number of years ago by Mrs. Martha Eugley.



and the preparation of meals was by the varied uses of an open fire. With the new and larger cabins in this decade, ovens were adjoined to the fireplaces and cooking was expanded to include the dishes prized by the German in his ancestral home. Fire came from the tinderbox with flint, from the sunglass, and from the flash of powder in highly combustible material. In some cases coals were borrowed from neighbors, but in a thrifty household there was always fire, for at night the burning log could be carefully covered with ashes and the embers thus preserved for the coming



morning. Before the end of the decade, the menu of a well-ordered German home at Broad Bay began to include such old familiar dishes as potato soup and meal soup, sauerkraut and fat pork, dried apples and doughbuttons, filled pig stomach and sauce, scrapple, sausage and liver pudding, apple fritters and funnel cakes, fat cakes and Shrovetide cakes, dried apples and sugar cakes, gingerbread and rusks, vinegar punch, and homemade wines and beer.<sup>19</sup> Roasted barley was widely used as a more nutritious substitute for coffee, and in addition there were the more local dishes whose use had grown out of the necessities of the strenuous days.

<sup>19</sup>F. J. F. Schantz, *The Domestic Life and Characteristics of the Pennsylvania German Pioneer*, The Penn. German Soc. Pub., Vol. X.



The early bread was made of rye flour and was of three kinds known as Schwarzbrot (black bread), Kümmelbrot (bread with caraway seeds), and Pumpernickel (Westphalian rye bread). The latter was the favorite and it was thought to be the most strengthening. It was made of unbolted rye flour into loaves weighing up to fifty pounds. The dough for such bread was set without yeast or leaven and then baked in the oven from ten to fourteen hours. The finished loaves were very dark and heavy and encased in a hard, thick crust; with persons whose teeth were well whetted and whose stomachs were staunch, the constant use of this bread proved an invigorating experience. Then, too, there was a further merit, for a baking could last a family from two to three weeks. All food was prepared by the women of the household; and with the crude modes of baking and cooking in use, it was a long and toilsome task. The daughter's share in this work was a preparation for her own future married life, and often she would serve an apprenticeship with another family in more affluent circumstances, where she could acquire additional skill in the art of good cooking. Such a practice was too common and too well thought of to be looked upon as a disgrace.

In an isolated social unit such as Broad Bay, compelled to seek an economic self-sufficiency, men skilled in trades were indispensable factors. Fortunately there were a goodly number of such hands in the community, skilled in the basic services. These included the carpenters, Georg Hahn, David Rominger, Michael Rominger, John Kinsell, and David Holzapfel; Peter Kroehn, the cooper; Georg Reid, the wagoner; John Adam Löwen-Zöllner and Georg Storer, tailors; Paul Kuhn and Andrew Schenck, tanners; Hans Peter Gross and Willibaldus Kastner, blacksmiths, and Peter Light, the wheelwright. The two essential trades lacking were cobblers who could fabricate the available skins into footwear, and weavers able to make the finer heavier materials used in outside garments. So far as the records afford light on this need, there was not a single cobbler in the colony and only one weaver. This was Matthias Hoffses, an artisan of such rare skill that the story was long told at family reunions that he once wove a tablecloth which at a little distance looked exactly like a table fully set with dishes and smoking food.<sup>20</sup> The loom of one weaver, however, could cover only a small fraction of the bare bodies at Broad Bay. Georg Soelle frequently deplored this basic lack and in one of his letters to Seidel observed: "A brother [Moravian lay preacher] would get along very well here, were he a shoemaker or a weaver."<sup>21</sup>

As things were, the burden of weaving the material for clothing, coverings, blankets, and household material fell in a large

<sup>20</sup>Oral narrative by Geo. W. Singer of Damariscotta, descendant of Matthias Hoffses.

<sup>21</sup>Letter, Soelle to Seidel, April 2, 1764, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

measure on the women, and it was a most laborious task. The men, to be sure, could plant the flax, but it was after that, that the real work began. After the plants had reached their maturity, they were pulled up by the roots and thoroughly dried in the sun or by fires. Then the seed bolls had to be removed by passing the stalks through a heavy comb. They were next tied together, immersed in water and allowed to soften and rot, and after a second drying they were threshed in the cumbersome flax break. The next step was to separate the woody fiber from the flax — the scutching process so called — through the use of a knife on the swingling block. Then came the processing with the hatchel in which the coarse and refuse parts of the flax were separated from the fine and fibrous threads by the teeth of the hatchel. These in turn were placed on a clockreel and spun into long even threads. There then followed the bleaching, settling, rinsing, and final drying. The material was then ready for the weaver.

The proper preparation of wool was not such a long and detailed task, but skillful spinning could only follow long and arduous practice. The spinner, holding in the left hand the roll of carded wool, wound with the right hand the end fibers on the point of the spindle, started the wheel, and quickly moved back three steps, holding up the long yarn. At the proper time she would advance as the yarn wound on the spindle. This procedure continued well-nigh endlessly, the spinner standing long hours at the wheel or until the yarn was all spun. The dirt and grease were then removed by fulling and the texture made more compact by the moistening involved in this process. After these long preliminaries, the flax and wool were ready for the loom. This was an entirely new process and there was much teaching and learning among the women of Broad Bay before this essential art was generally practiced in the houses, and the numerous children could cover their nakedness from the stinging realities of a Maine winter.

While the supply of wool in the colony was still limited, as it was in the early 1760's, the web was often the product of flax and the woof of wool. This product was known as linsey-woolsey, and it became the staple material of wearing apparel at Broad Bay for many years. Some of the Germans wore their linsey-woolsey trousers through the winter, and most of them at other seasons wore them to church without shoes or stockings.<sup>22</sup> The styles were those of old Germany. Fashions were nonexistent for many years. When cloth was once fabricated into a garment, it was worn until it was fit for nothing but rags. This was, in short, a decade in which concern was not so much with food as with cloth in order to protect human nakedness.

<sup>22</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 151.

Shoes were a greater luxury than clothing at Broad Bay and not so generally worn. In summer they were used only on special occasions such as Sunday worship, when they were carried in the hands by churchgoers until the vicinity of the church was reached. There it was the practice to sit down by the wayside, put them on, and go to church. When out of sight of the church, they were removed and the journey home ended barefoot. This practice continued well down into the nineteenth century. I recall my own father and older neighbors relating times of their childhood when this practice was generally followed.<sup>23</sup> It unquestionably had its origin in days when shoes were scarce, and was continued as a phase of New England thrift. And shoes were scarce in Old Broad Bay because of the long hours of labor that went into the fabrication of even a single pair. There was ample material, but since there was no cobbler in the settlement, people were forced to depend on the cobblers from adjacent towns for such shoes as they could afford.

Such artisans made periodic visits at Broad Bay. There were many families who made their own cobblers' benches, while others would borrow, and the cobbler would come and live with a family until he had shod all who were in need of footwear, or had made as many pairs as a family could afford. The leather came from the skins of the moose and deer, or from the cattle killed for food. They were cured by local tanners in vats of hemlock-bark soup, but often the farmer tanned his own leather. The linen thread used was homespun from home-grown flax. The cobblers' wax was made from pitch or resin and from beef and mutton tallow.

In winter the work bench would be placed by the kitchen fireplace and the craftsman would don his leather apron, measure the feet requiring shoes, and beat the soaked leather with a broad-faced hammer upon his lap until it was pliable. Then he would cut out from patterns the required pieces, which had to be laid upon a board and pared or skived with a sharp knife until of the required thickness. A wooden vise or clamp was used for holding the pieces while they were being sewed together. Holes were punched in the leather with an awl, and seams were sewed with the sticky waxed linen thread, led and guided through the holes by hog bristles.

The loosely-spun thread used in sewing shoes was so strong that it was hard to break it by a direct pull. With his hands the cobbler would unroll it upon his knee until the strands became untwisted and would part with a gentle pull, leaving long, silky fibers extending to a very fine point. After a thorough waxing, this hairlike point was rolled around the middle of a stiff bristle until it led to the full body of the thread which now terminated in

<sup>23</sup>Oral narrative, Capt. Albion F. Stahl and Mrs. Emma Johnston.



a bristle-pointed end. When both ends of the thread were thus prepared, the bristle points were both inserted in each hole at once and from opposite sides. They were drawn carefully through and the thread drawn tight with both hands to form a double stitch. In detail such were the operations required to shoe a family, and they render it amply clear why footwear was treasured and why both old and young at Broad Bay travelled barefoot when and where possible.

The fondness of the German for domestic animals and the pride he took in his stock have been mentioned as a tradition of long standing. This feeling extended to the cat and the dog, both of which served a highly useful purpose in his domestic economy. With the poison baits and the traps of the modern day unknown, and with his bins full of the autumn harvest of barley, corn, and rye, cats were the farmer's major protection against the inroads of rats and mice on his food supply. Everything at Broad Bay in this early day worked for a living; cats were no exception to this rule, and they were fully as numerous as the farmer's children. Dogs were just as useful. Bears, wildcats, and wolves were still plentiful, and the dog served his purpose well by warding off their attacks and passing on the word by night to his master when such destructive pests were prowling about the sheepfold or the pigsty. Swine were the earliest of the domestic animals in the colony, probably because they were a favorite food staple with the German, and more important, because in the earliest days they were able to forage for themselves through the spring and summer and to fatten on the rich supplies of acorns in the autumn. Butchering days were always important in the life of the pioneer, for they provided an occasion when a few related or neighboring families would get together and assist one another in slaughtering, dressing, cutting up, smoking, and preparing the winter's supply of pork.

The Broad Bay barnyard was a noisy and colorful place. Apart from hens there were ducks and geese, prized because of their ability to fend for themselves, to add variety to the farmer's diet, and best of all to provide great quantities of feathers and down for filling the feather beds under which the German and his children could sleep warm during the coldest nights of winter.<sup>24</sup> In this active and varied barnyard life, the peacock held the place of honor. He was the farmer's pet and pride, largely perhaps because his beauty and brilliance provided the owner a mode through which to compensate for the daily drabness of his own existence. Peacocks as farmyard birds survived despite their uselessness down into my lifetime. The last peacock in Waldoboro was owned

<sup>24</sup>This is an old German practice still in use in modern times. I used such a covering during my student days in Germany and can attest the fact that in lightness and warmth it cannot be surpassed.

by Moses Burkett and was one of the wonders of my boyhood days.

It has been pointed out that families were large in Old Broad Bay and that once established they were freely fed from the farm and the abundance of the forest and the shore. In general people enjoyed robust health except for the contagious diseases which would run through families like fire through dry grass. Of these maladies tuberculosis was the most dreaded scourge. Crude folk remedies were powerless to cope with it, and in consequence it was invariably deadly. As scant as the records are in such matters, it is clear that among its many victims were John Friedrich Kinsell, Melchior Schneider, John Michael Sides and Eva Williard.<sup>25</sup> Such medicines as they possessed were derived from the oils of the barnyard and herbs from field, pasture, and woodland.

Among the Germans, schoolmasters were held in veneration next to the pastor, and from the earliest times Broad Bay had an impressive number of those representing this profession, although during the hectic years of Indian warfare their functions were only sporadically discharged. In the face of such conditions, parents taught and assisted their children in their groping efforts to secure a smattering of learning. In the long winter evenings the family table was oftentimes the school, where the children in some cases were given a bit of reading, writing, numbers, and religious instruction. The catechism was taught by the head of the family, and hymns and passages of Scripture were learned.

Infant baptism was a prized and indispensable rite.<sup>26</sup> Sin, punishment, heaven, hell, and eternal glory were vivid realities. The rod was also used as an instrument of education and religious training, and best of all, there was basic virtue induced through the discipline of regular and responsible toil. Children were taught early in life to work; boys and girls had their daily duty. Farm labor or a trade, usually both, were learned by all the boys, and the girls were thoroughly schooled in all the manifold duties of a complex domestic life. Family control was thoroughly patriarchal. The son was paid nothing for his work at home; and every penny he earned outside up to the age of twenty-one might be taken by the father: but once the son had reached his maturity, it was common practice for the father to establish him on a farm, help him build his cabins, and equip him with the livestock to make his start. This social practice is clearly illustrated by the case of my great-grandfather, Captain John Stahl, who acquired land on Dutch Neck and settled his sons, Aaron, David, John, and Silas on their own farms.

<sup>25</sup>Family Memoirs, Morav. Archives (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>26</sup>Jasper J. Stahl, "Diary of a Moravian Missionary at Broad Bay in 1760," *N. E. Quarterly*, Dec., 1939.

The care of the aged had the force of a religious rite, even though such social morality was economic in its origins, for every German felt that if he lived long enough he would find himself in his old age in a condition of helplessness and poverty. Hence he aimed to do as he hoped to be done by. After a day of toil, it was held a privilege, as well as a duty, to visit, sit with, and cheer the aged and infirm. Hospitality was marked, since need and suffering makes all men near of kin. Strangers were welcomed, and unexpected visitors were never turned away from even the humblest household. *Gott lobet euch für eure Freundlichkeit* was a formula in common use.

In the social life of Broad Bay infant baptisms, marriages, and funerals were occasions for special observances. Death especially brought many ancient customs into play. As soon as it occurred the windows were opened in order that the soul of the deceased might be released for its flight to the skies.<sup>27</sup> The body was carefully prepared for burial and in season was frequently laid on a strip of grass sod, as this was supposed to slow the processes of decomposition. Still in vogue in my boyhood were watchers each night in the house of mourning. In a small place such as Broad Bay invitations to the funeral were quite general. There was first a short service in the home consisting of a hymn, a short address, and a prayer. The plain wooden coffin was then placed on the shoulders of the bearers, or on a wagon or sled, and a procession made up of all the relatives, friends, and neighbors accompanied the body to God's acre or to the place of burial. Here the top was removed from the coffin, and the "remains viewed" for the last time. The committal service was then spoken by the pastor, and the coffin placed in the grave. Thereafter the company would repair to the church or a barn, depending on the location of the grave, and a long funeral sermon would be delivered based on a text sometimes selected by the deceased long before death.<sup>28</sup> After this service the mourners and friends would betake themselves to the residence of the deceased where a bountiful funeral feast was held in memory of the departed.

The early weddings at Broad Bay were more circumstantial even than the funerals. In the period here under discussion, they frequently lasted a week, but by the end of the century they were limited to three or four days, and in subsequent years grew progressively briefer. Traces of old bridal customs at Broad Bay are to be found in — strangest of all places — the records of the Bureau of Pensions in Washington. From these records many of the early Germans speak to us again in their own words across a wide

<sup>27</sup>I recall this belief as having been related to me in childhood.

<sup>28</sup>At a "Pennsylvania Dutch" burial service I listened to a two-hour sermon.



bridge of time and inadvertently touch on the marriage customs of their day.

Mary Clouse, aged seventy-six speaks:

I was present and saw the marriage of George Michael Achorn by the Rev. Dr. Schaeffer at his house in Waldoboro—I remember Mr. John Prock and Mrs. Dalheim, now living in Waldoboro, were also present and saw the marriage. Mrs. Catherine Creamer was also at the wedding, but whether she went to Mr. Schaeffer's house and saw the marriage I am not certain. The party assembled at Mrs. Achorn's father's house and then went together to Mr. Schaeffer's where the marriage took place. They afterwards returned to Mr. Schmause's.<sup>29</sup>

John Prock, aged seventy-nine, speaks:

I remember that it was in January and when I was about eighteen or nineteen years old. We were near neighbors and I was present and saw the marriage. I well remember the festival and many incidents connected with it.<sup>30</sup>

Conrad Heyer speaks in reference to the wedding of Jacob Bornheimer and Mary Hoffses:

I, Conrad Heyer of Waldoboro,—of the age of one hundred and four years,—was present when Jacob Bornheimer was married to Mary Hoffses at Waldoboro, in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-seven—by a minister by the name of Croner, who was a German preacher of the gospel. I well recollect many of the circumstances connected with the wedding. It lasted four days, which was not unusual in those times.<sup>31</sup>

Jacob Ludwig, Jr., speaks:

I, Jacob Ludwig of Waldoboro, of the age of seventy-seven years, was present at the marriage. They were married by Frederick Croner, a German Minister of the Gospel. I was eleven years of age and well recollect the marriage which was in the fall of the year. The fact that the wedding lasted some three or four days (as was the custom in those days) fixed the fact pretty strongly in my memory.—The wedding of said Jacob Bornheimer and said Mary was the last wedding, that I attended, which lasted four days.<sup>32</sup>

These depositions cover the efforts of the widows of old Revolutionary soldiers to secure pensions. Their main difficulty lay in successfully establishing the fact that they were ever married. This was due to failure to keep such records during the Revolutionary period and also to the fact that "records for the period between 1773 and 1794 are much torn, defaced and the principal part of them lost and destroyed."<sup>33</sup> In these testimonies a clear

<sup>29</sup>Pension No. W. 23394, Bureau of Pensions, Wash., D. C.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>Pension No. W. 3501, Bur. of Pensions.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>Sworn affidavit of Isaac G. Reed, Dec. 11, 1838, Pension No. 23394, Bur. of Pensions.

distinction is drawn between the term marriage — the rite performed by the minister — and the term wedding, a period of a week filled with a wide variety of quaint festivals and ancient folkways. The bridal couple not only reigned for a week, but they were also the objects of endless pranks. Honor was done them by all the arts of cookery — the fattest calves or lambs and tenderest chickens, homemade wines, milk, butter, honey, and the finest breads were theirs, spread forth in an abundance revealing and befitting the social status of the parents. During this time the couple was attended by eight “waiters,” four pretty girls and four comely young men, if such were available. These served at the wedding feasts and guarded the bride’s slipper, which was a focal point of intrigue, for if the slipper was stolen the bride could not dance until it was restored. The slipper, in fact, provided much of the mystery and merriment on such an occasion, serving as an object of plot, counterplot, cunning concealments, and endless and valiant quests. As in modern times the lavishness and detail of such celebrations varied with parental affluence.

What may be called the normal and usual social life at Broad Bay had its root in practical motives based upon the principle of mutual aid — the erection of buildings, the raising of barns, wood-chopping bees, cornhusking, butchering days, rag-carpet and quilting parties — all occasions when people gathered to aid one another. Such gatherings were major social events that ended in feasts at which the best in food and drink were freely furnished. On such days those present heard the small talk of weeks and months of doings in the more remote parts of the settlement as well as the news of the outer world. To these occasions must be added the old folk festivals as observed in the fatherland, such as Hallowe’en with its old folk customs — the ticktacks on the windows, the knocking at doors and then disappearing, the lifting of gates, and the lofting of carts and wagons. The parade of the mummers or horribles on May Day was still observed by the children in my youth. The returning of a wedded couple to their home after the ceremony was celebrated by a serenade of the neighboring folk, and the din ceased only when all were invited in to a treat. This practice, too, so common a half century ago, seems now to have passed into the limbo of things forgotten. Christmas was a more intimate family festival and was observed in these early days according to the pattern practiced in the old homes across the seas.

By way of contrast with present-day attitudes, mention should be made of the rigid ethical principles which characterized their simple pioneer life. Honesty was the order of things in all dealings. A promise was a solemn obligation to which God was a witness, and honor was accorded a man whose word was as good

as his bond. Debt while oftentimes necessary was generally feared and the Broad Bayer would spare himself nothing to discharge his obligations. Failure to do this even in the most minor matters was inevitably punished by imprisonment and the seizure of enough property to cover the debt due.

For more than thirty years following the arrival of the first Germans at Broad Bay, the plantation was without any form of organized political and social control. These decades may be regarded as the feudal period, and as such they provided a unique social situation in New England. To be sure, the Germany of the early eighteenth century, from which their forefathers came, had evolved out of the economic frame of feudalism, but its political and social traditions and its mentality were still medieval. At no other point in western Europe was this cultural lag so clearly in evidence, and this was more especially true in respect to the peasantry. Consequently the Germans at Broad Bay brought with them from the Rhine the age old social forms and attitudes which had been theirs and those of their fathers before them. Thus in the isolation of this wilderness-girdled settlement an alien culture was planted and developed. In Germany they had known no other law than the will of their petty prince, and his edicts. Disciplined by oppression, they were in the fullest meaning of the word conformists. In their mind, their rights were definitely limited by tradition; their class was fixed; their economic status predetermined; their obedience to the word of the ruler complete; their attitude to authority one of obsequious respect. They might petition for favors but not demand them. They were inured to a tradition of receiving little and expecting little.

On coming to New England they had simply transferred allegiance from their petty prince to a new lord, in this case Colonel Samuel Waldo. To them he was in the fullest degree the Hereditary Lord of Broad Bay. Following the feudal principle of the delegation of authority from the higher to the lower, above Waldo was the Governor in Boston, and above the Governor, the King in England. From Waldo they received their land, in many cases as tenants, and to him they paid the land rent of a shilling or a peppercorn. If the conditions of tenancy were not fulfilled, the land reverted to the proprietor. In a measure it was thus held in fief. Their attitude to authority is most clearly revealed in the Petition to Governor Shirley of May 13, 1754. To them he was the "most noble born, most noble grave, most honored Governor," who is begged to "excuse the liberty" taken in addressing "our most humble petition" to him. They would "never dare to prescribe to his Excellency, what to do or in what manner he should save them." His wisdom will suggest by what means they must be supported.



They are in the utmost subjection, His Excellency's most humble and most obedient subjects.<sup>34</sup> The servility expressed in this phraseology plainly indicates an Old World conception of the state as an unquestioned Absolute in human affairs.

At Broad Bay, this feudal tradition provided the only restraints existing in early social and economic life. So deep seated was respect for authority that it rendered exercise of authority superfluous. There was no bürgermeister, no selectmen, no officers of the law, in short, no form of political organization. The only symbol of authority was Waldo's representative, Charles Christopher Godfrey Leissner, in his lifetime, and thereafter the representative of the next in succession, Colonel Samuel Waldo, the General's son. Georg Soelle described Leissner as "a kind of magistrate among these people."<sup>35</sup> So far as the exercise of any law was necessary, that law was the word of Charles Leissner. In case questions arose that required in settlement the official stamp or sanction of the law of the land, the parties would repair to a justice of the peace in Damariscotta, and half the colony would flock thither to hear the difference argued out.<sup>36</sup> In the main, however, the Germans at first under the impetus of an inherited tradition carried on in civil matters quietly and cooperatively, a record marred only by a period of bitter religious persecution, in which the persecutors unfortunately were supported by the local regent, Captain Leissner. This fragment of an ancient tradition was carried on in its New World setting until the invasion of the Puritans around 1770 started Broad Bay in its evolution along lines of the more democratic English tradition.

The colony on the Medomak was not only stabilized in its early days by its religious and political traditions, but its Old World superstitions, folkways, and beliefs exercised strong regulative control on social life, not to mention the color which they imparted to it. The overlay of English culture in present-day Waldoboro is so complete that it is not a simple task to resurrect the great body of beliefs and superstitions which once held sway in the minds and created strange behavior patterns in the lives of our founding fathers. But our own folklore can, in a considerable part, be reconstructed by having recourse to the Pennsylvania Germans. They came from the same districts of Germany, at the same time, were of the same class and of the same level of education as the people of Broad Bay, and with them they brought the same beliefs and superstitions. They came in far greater numbers, however, and covered whole counties in Pennsylvania to an extent that their ancient culture to this day has resisted all assimilation. Today their

<sup>34</sup>Mass. Archives, XXV II, 240-242.

<sup>35</sup>Stahl, "Diary of a Moravian Missionary," *N. E. Quarterly*, Dec., 1939.

<sup>36</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 1st ed.

folkways and beliefs are still as clearly defined and as intact as the hex symbols painted on their red barns.<sup>37</sup> Here among these people we can find in their primitive form the superstitions, folk beliefs, and folk medicines of the Broad Bay Germans of the 1760's.

The beliefs and superstitions of these "Pennsylvania Dutch" have been collected and classified by Edwin M. Fogel who in 1915 published the results of his research in this field in a doctoral dissertation containing two thousand and eighty-five superstitions still extant among Pennsylvania Germans.<sup>38</sup> There are, in this state, twenty-eight counties with distinctively Pennsylvania German settlements. The dialect in which their superstitions are phrased is strikingly similar to that spoken in the Rhenish Palatinate at the present time. Doctor Fogel went further into the question of their German origin and checked with German sources to see if these folk beliefs were still extant in contemporary Germany, thus establishing their German origin and source.

The two thousand and eighty-five folk sayings were collected from fourteen of the most densely populated German counties of Pennsylvania with a German population of more than 1,250,000, where the Germans still cling to the customs and beliefs their ancestors brought from the Fatherland in the eighteenth century. In Fogler's collection less than one hundred sayings are of purely British origin and only two hundred and sixty-nine are common to both Great Britain and Germany. There can be no doubt that most of these superstitions were once current in Broad Bay.

From the great number of folk beliefs it would not of necessity follow that our German ancestors were an excessively superstitious people, but rather that they lived in a period of human history when there was no other explanation of the multifarious phenomena in their daily lives except that provided by folk beliefs. These provided an answer to many things and experiences that otherwise would have remained unanswerable. In our own time science provides so many exact answers to perplexing phenomena that superstitions are fast disappearing.

In my younger years, science as we know it was in its youth; and many of the old beliefs were still rife. The following superstitions have their counterpart among the Pennsylvania Germans; however, only those have been included which have been collected from old folks in this locality, and with which I was familiar in the Waldboro of a half century and longer ago. These came to me down the ancestral line of the Hilts, the Stahls, Winchen-

<sup>37</sup>The red barn was once common to Waldborough, also, and was numerous within the last century.

<sup>38</sup>Edwin M. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Penn. Germans* (Phila.: Am. Germanica Press, 1915).

bachs, Heaveners, Heyers, and Hahns and were still current in my boyhood home. Especially was the mind of my uncle, George A. Keene (born 1842), richly stored with such ancestral lore. Naturally, many here mentioned are no longer current in Waldo-boro.

#### FOLKLORE HAVING TO DO WITH CHILDREN

- A child born with two cowlicks will be smart.
- A child born with a double crown on his head will eat bread in two kingdoms.
- Permitting a child to sleep with an old person saps its vitality and shortens its life.
- The stork brings the children (English and German).
- A child born posthumously possesses the power to cure diseases simply by looking at the patient.
- A seventh son will be a famous man.

#### COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

- A four-leafed clover is a potent attraction of the opposite sex.
- Take home a piece of wedding cake. Before retiring put it under your pillow and the person you dream of will become your future husband.
- When you pare an apple, throw the whole paring on the floor over your left shoulder, and the letter formed will be a lover's initial. If it breaks in pieces, you will die an old maid.
- Postponing a wedding brings bad luck.

#### LUCK, DREAMS, OMENS, AND WISHES

- Relate a dream before breakfast and it will come true.
- What you dream the first night you sleep in a strange house will come true.
- Making a sharp or pointed gift will create trouble with the recipient, unless a penny is given in return.
- Bubbles on a cup of coffee signify riches.
- A wish made during the fall of a shooting star will come true.
- When you pass a load of hay, make a wish without looking at the hay again, and the wish will come true.
- If two persons wash their hands at the same time in the same basin, they will quarrel before night.
- When your ears burn someone is thinking of you.
- Killing a spider brings bad luck.
- Looking over another person's shoulder into a mirror brings bad luck.
- It is unlucky to pass under a ladder.
- Opening an umbrella indoors will bring bad luck.
- It is better to turn back if a black cat crosses your path.
- A cricket in the house brings good luck.
- Picking up a pin from the floor when the head is toward you brings good luck.
- A five-leaf clover brings much luck.
- Grief will follow the breaking of a mirror.
- When you see the new moon for the first time over your left shoulder, wish and your wish will come true; or if you have money in your hand, you will get more money.

#### DEATH

- If a dog howls near the house of someone sick the person will die.



If the clock stops suddenly there will be an accident or death.  
A green Christmas means a full churchyard.  
A bird flying into the house is an omen of bad luck or death.  
If thirteen sit down together to a meal one will die within the year.  
Immediately after a death open the window of the chamber to give the  
soul its release.  
A corpse should be laid on grass sod to check decomposition.

#### WEATHER

The weather of the last Friday in the month will determine that of the  
following month.  
Pain in a scar or the joints is an indication of bad weather.  
Thunder in the morning means unsettled weather all day.  
When the robin cries, rain is coming.  
Rising smoke is a sign of clear weather. Falling smoke means rain.  
Thunder showers cause milk to sour.  
Thick husks on the corn foretell a severe winter.  
A new moon with the horns downward is a wet moon.  
When the cat lying on its side turns the head upward, rain will come.  
A circle around the moon indicates rain, and the number of stars within  
the circle denotes the number of days before rain will fall.

#### MEDICAL LORE

Drink a concoction of water and sheep dung to bring out the rash in  
measles and scarlet fever.  
Cobwebs will staunch the flow of blood.  
A coin pressed on the back of the neck will stop nosebleed.  
A bag containing camphor worn about the neck during the winter will  
ward off disease.  
A woolen string tied around the finger will stop nosebleed.  
A key hung down the back on a string will stop nosebleed.  
Touching a toad will cause warts to grow on the hands.  
Three potatoes carried in the trouser pockets will cure rheumatism.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

A Saturday move means a short stay.  
It brings good luck to throw a lucky egg over a building.  
Trees felled on the increase of the moon will sprout again.  
A snake's tail will not die until sunset.  
If bushes are cut down on the full moon in August, when the sign is at  
the heart, they will not grow again.  
It is lucky to pick up a horseshoe.  
If you play with fire, you will wet the bed.  
Speak of the devil and you will hear the flapping of his wings.  
Cold hands betoken a warm heart.  
If you spill salt throw some over the left shoulder to ward off harm.  
In leaving a house go out by the door in which you entered.  
The pow-wow will lose its effect if not handed on to a person of the  
opposite sex.  
If the breastbone of the roast fowl shows dark on the whole, the winter  
will be severe throughout; if mottled or variable, the lighter aspects  
betoken snow and the darker, frosts.  
If the bone is transparent there will be an open winter, the front part  
showing what the season will be before Christmas and the inner part  
the weather after Christmas.

The folk beliefs and practices here listed are limited, as has been indicated, to those extant and identifiable at Waldoborough in the past half century. They are simply vestigial elements that remain of a folklore once as rich and colorful at Broad Bay as in Pennsylvania. Many of the older readers of this chapter will be conscious of shadowy memories, welling up from the source from whence come things long forgotten, and will perhaps recall the times in childhood when they threw the lucky egg over the ell or shed and then dashed around to the other side to see what had befallen their luck. To the younger reader these beliefs and practices will tell only a quaint and simple story of a life he has never known.

From the many folk tales springing from these old ways of believing and behaving, only a few will be recorded here. The first has to do with the belief that vigor and vitality could be sapped by a too-close and constant contact with an old person, or by witchcraft. The first of these is drawn from the northwestern section of the town.

About a hundred or more years ago Jane Anne Hoch lived in the northern section of the town. She died in the full bloom of youth and according to the common custom of those days was buried in the family lot on her father's farm. Sometime thereafter her younger brother suffered a decline in health and pined along for years, with no one able to diagnose his trouble. After about twenty years the family purchased a lot in the common burying ground, and it was decided to remove the remains of Jane Anne to the new resting place. Exhumation showed that the process of decay had followed its natural course, with the exception of "the liver and lights," the tissue of which was fresh and living. The whole situation immediately became clear. These tissues were drawing the source of their life from the ailing brother. They were burned on the spot, and the brother, with this drain on his vitality removed, effected a quick recovery.<sup>39</sup> Among those to witness this strange phenomenon was Mary Light, the grandmother of Miss Ada Winchenbaugh.

The second illustration of this character is drawn from the village area. Witchcraft and the possession of special gifts of healing were potent agents in the folk medicine of Old Broad Bay. A person posthumously born was gifted with the power of healing many ailments by looking on, or by the laying on of hands. Such a person was my great-great-grandfather, Conrad Heyer, the posthumously born son of Martin Heyer, who had died of exposure at Broad Bay during the winter of 1749-1750. Such a power was greatly sought after, and Mr. Heyer exercised it from time to time.

<sup>39</sup>Oral narrative of Maria Prock Dermott, past the age of ninety years on Aug. 29, 1939, when this episode was related to me and Miss Ada Winchenbaugh.

Tradition tells of a wonderful cure thus effected on the daughter of a rich Bostonian. The girl's family would have rewarded Mr. Heyer generously; but according to formula, he rejected the reward, for to have accepted it would have involved the loss of this special gift.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the magic and the secret trysts of these days, however, occurred in East Waldoborough, an area sparsely populated, densely wooded, and studded with ledges and boulders, a sort of Walpurgis milieu, where solitude and somber forested recesses suggested spooky communion of the human with the darker and capricious forces of the Hidden and the Unseen. This district was also the home of the Minks, or, more exactly, the home of the Paul Minks. This branch of the family was poor, peppery, picturesque, and psychic. Old Paul was looked upon with humorous liking. An annual event were his expectant calls on Christmas morning to his more prosperous neighbors to offer his greetings:

“Wish you Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year,  
A pocket full of money and a belly full of cheer —  
Rum, whisky and pranty<sup>41</sup> enough to last all the  
year!”<sup>42</sup>

— and to receive his Christmas handout. His consort, “ole Miss Paul,” was a more vigorous spirit and versed in the lore of the occult. One of her charms by which she prepared herself to receive the emissaries of the Unseen has come down to us in the following form:

“I takes my broom and goes into my front [front hall  
or room],  
And I raps three times and then sez I —  
My soul and my body come together.”<sup>43</sup>

It is not known whether “ole Miss Paul” was disposed to use her power more beneficently or maleficiently. Perhaps it was both, but it has been only the good that has lived after her in one recorded case of healing. A Mrs. Maney who lived many years ago in Thomaston used to relate that her son had some malady for which he got no help until she took him to Mrs. Mink, who told her that she could do nothing for him for a week as court was in session. The next week, however, she would be sick herself with chills

<sup>40</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed., p. 85.

<sup>41</sup>Possibly the attempt of a German tongue to pronounce the English word *brandy*.

<sup>42</sup>Data furnished by Mrs. Agnes Boynton of Thomaston, whose ancestors of the Fitzgerald family were contemporaries and neighbors of the Minks.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*



and fever, after which time her son would have no more trouble; and thus it proved.<sup>44</sup>

The prince of all Broad Bay wizards, and one who, to a large degree and over many years, stood in an especially intimate relationship to the Evil One, was a member of this same Mink family. It is to this congenial camaraderie between man and Devil that we owe the richest single item in our local folklore, which for rather obvious reasons I have entitled:

#### THE FAUST SAGA OF OLD BROAD BAY

The Faust legend is one of the favorite themes of old German folklore. During the seventeenth century, the strange and unaccountable doings of Doctor Faustus were the subject of many folk tales and a favorite theme in the folk books of the period. In the eighteenth century Goethe made use of the theme in his *Faust*, one of the major creations in world literature. In its simplest form this legend is the tale of a man who made a pact with the Devil, whereunder the Evil One agreed to provide the man during his lifetime with everything that his heart desired, and the man agreed on his part at the end of his life to forfeit his soul to the Devil. Broad Bay, too, had its Faust, though not a Faust who was a great spiritual leader to whom the Evil One showed and offered all the kingdoms of this world provided the man would fall down and worship him; nor a Faust who was a great scholar, the range and magnitude of whose wishes were such as even to tax the ingenuity of Satan to fulfill. This Broad Bay Faust was "Uncle Faltin<sup>45</sup> Mink" (1778-1832), a lazy, whimsical individual with a keen appreciation of the funny. He was much like the Doctor Faustus of the folk books, whose fun in living was largely derived from the jokes and pranks he could play on friends and acquaintances, and on the success he might achieve in constantly outwitting those whose intent it was to thwart him in his easy and lazy modes of living.

Uncle Faltin had a double claim to fame, for *he* was the seventh son of a seventh son. He was of the third generation of Minks and lived deep in the wooded recesses of East Waldoborough, about one and one half miles in on the old road leading by the farm of Clyde Sukeforth. Uncle Faltin made his pact with the Devil as did Faust, but in so doing he did not seek the kingdoms of this world, rather the power to enable him to get along easily and pleasantly, to play weird pranks on his friends, and to bewilder and confound those who for any reason sought to circumvent him. As the seventh son of a seventh son, Uncle Faltin possessed considerable of the black art in his own right. To this the Devil freely added such

<sup>44</sup>Data furnished by Mrs. Agnes Boynton of Thomaston.

<sup>45</sup>The German proper name Valentin, shortened to Valtin, and then anglicized to Faltin.

power as was needed to enable his apostle to gratify his simple wishes, and in return Uncle Faltin agreed on death to surrender his soul to the Evil One.

Many tales connect themselves with Uncle Faltin's doings. Some of these have been related to me by one who received them direct from an acquaintance and eyewitnesses.<sup>46</sup> The directness of such evidence lends a weird realism to the activities of this local Faust. These eyewitnesses were present at scenes where Uncle Faltin's occult powers were much in evidence. These were often brought into play at country dances where Uncle Faltin's violin<sup>47</sup> furnished the tunes. His power was such that by altering the mood of his music, he could convert a merry dance into an ugly brawl and thus create a spectacle highly amusing to himself.

The power of his music was especially felt in his own "breakdowns." These were parties or dances held at his home in East Waldoborough. The old gentleman loved company and frequently invited groups of the younger generation to his home. On these occasions the Evil One would lend his full power and charm to the sounds emanating from Uncle Faltin's strings. The old fellow would play the instrument with complete abandon, and the madness of his music would enter the very blood of the dancers and cause them to sway and whirl in passionate ecstasy, until they collapsed from dizziness and exhaustion. When, in the late hours, the swains would repair to the barn to hitch the horses in the pungs for the journey home, to their amazement they would find the barn and barnyard in a state of dire chaos and confusion — horses wild eyed, lathered with sweat and quivering; horses with tails braided together; horses harnessed to the wrong sleds; horses hitched in with their heads at the whiffletree ends and their tails at the thill ends. While Uncle Faltin's inspired music had been working strange miracles in the house, his accomplice had been working comic effects in the barn. Thus the "breakdowns" would break up amid scenes of mirth and wild confusion.

Uncle Faltin was an exponent of the easy life. He was also a good neighbor who believed in helping those who were confronted by situations involving labor and strain, which he so detested. The story is told how he moved Jack Russell's barn with a rooster and a piece of string. Jack was one of Uncle Faltin's neighbors. In arranging to change the location of his barn, he had dug a cellar, rocked it up, and prepared everything for the major task of moving the structure. To this end he had set the day and invited all his neighbors to a "moving bee." Uncle Faltin chafed at all these laborious preparations and humorously observed that he could move

<sup>46</sup>Oral narrative, Mrs. Susan Castner, daughter of Anne Mink Smith (1847-1930).

<sup>47</sup>Uncle Faltin's violin is in the present possession of his great-grandnephew, Merle Castner.

Jack's barn with a piece of string and his rooster. But why with a rooster? Ever since the cock crew nearly two thousand years ago marking the Christ's betrayal by Peter, this bird has been connected with the powers of darkness and has stood in ill repute. True to his word, and on a day when the Russells had all gone to town to insure adequate refreshments for "the bee" on the next day, Uncle Faltin was seen sneaking down the road, in the direction of the Russell farm, with his rooster under his arm and a piece of twine dangling from his pocket. When Jack returned from town, he found to his amazement the barn on its new foundation with all its timbers true and in plumb. What happened in Jack Russell's absence has never been determined with entire exactitude, but *the barn was moved*.

Uncle Faltin not only used his power in a kindly, humorous way to aid his friends, he also used it in an ironically humorous way to get the better of those who sought to thwart him. The story of the old man's barrel of flour is a case in point. It is related that one day he went to town to get a barrel of flour. There he made his wishes known to the grocer, but since Uncle Faltin's credit was none too good his request was tersely rejected. The old fellow protested and demanded to know the reason why. "I'm not giving flour away to anyone too worthless to work for his bread," replied the grocer.

"But I have the money and I'll pay for the flour," said Uncle Faltin.

"You'll get no flour till I see the money," rejoined the grocer. "Where is it?"

"Why! There it is," said Uncle Faltin, pointing to the barrel head.

The grocer looked and there lying on the barrel were three bright, newly minted silver dollars. The grocer took the money and gave Uncle Faltin the flour and his change. That night when the dealer counted his receipts for the day, he could not find the shining silver dollars. They were not in the till. What he did find were three round, wooden chips of dollar size.

In such a manner did the Evil One go on through life with Uncle Faltin providing for his simple needs and gratifying his craving for fun. But no man lives forever. On his deathbed Uncle Faltin sent for "Aunt Hattie Mink"<sup>48</sup> and wanted to transmit his original gift, which was his by virtue of being the seventh son of a seventh son, to her. She rejected it and suggested that he transmit it to his son, Alden. This he stated he could not do, since if it were to retain its potency, it had to be transmitted to a female, and in turn by her to some male in the family line, possibly *her* son, Elmus.

<sup>48</sup>Mrs. Henry J. Mink.



Aunt Hattie, however, rejected the offer flatly, and it has never been known what became of Uncle Faltin's strange power.

The contract with the Devil was faithfully kept. His spirit hovered about Uncle Faltin's deathbed and remained in the house until the old man's remains were underground. His presence was attested by the fact that the Evil One is known to abhor light and to love darkness. From the moment when the old man breathed his last, it was impossible to keep a candle lighted in the house until the remains were buried. Thus it was that in all the land there was no hand that could kindle a flame to light the departure of Uncle Faltin on his strange, dark journey.

## XVI

### RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE EARLIEST DAYS

*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,  
Eine gute wehr und waffen  
Er hilft uns frei aus aller not,  
Die uns itzt hat betroffen.*

MARTIN LUTHER

THE FIRST GERMANS TO SETTLE in the Waldoborough area of whom there is any detailed record were predominantly Lutheran, but among them there was a small group with Moravian leanings and a few from Würtemberg who were members of the Reformed Church. In this modern day of waning church influence, it becomes increasingly difficult to understand the role played by religion in the lives of these founding fathers who experienced it with an intensity that few of us today can sense. To them it was an ever-present and ever-vital force in their living. Salvation was as real as the sun and stars, and the Church was its sole instrument.

To leave their native land was not too difficult, but to leave their church and remove to a new world was, to many of them, an unthinkable project. Hence it was the practice of agents while recruiting emigrants, wherever possible, to take along the nucleus of a church by securing a clergyman to accompany each migration. In all senses the pastor was a real shepherd of the flock. His was an office which for generations and through centuries had ministered the consolations of religion to a people which had had little else in the way of enduring satisfactions. His leadership was unquestioned. He was the guide and counsellor, "the shield and buckler against the terror by night and the destruction that had laid waste at noonday." From the pulpit and in the quiet of the home, it was his word which showed the way to the living; which brought peace to the dying; which insured salvation to the new-born and brought sweet assurance to the aged and bereaved. He was so essentially a part of the experience and need of these early Broad Bayers, that life without a church and pastor as the living symbols of God's love and mercy was a most unacceptable and impossible state.

In view of these simple facts, it is to be expected that the church would be coeval with the first German settlement on the Medomak, and such was pretty nearly the case. From the contract entered into between Mr. Waldo and the colonists of 1742, it is clear that the erection of a meetinghouse was a specific promise made by Waldo to these migrants before they left their old homes.<sup>1</sup> As stipulated in this contract, there was to be ready on their arrival at Broad Bay two large barracks or dwellings, and at the same time, a church in the building of which Mr. Waldo obligated himself to lay out two hundred pounds sterling. To be sure, the church was not there when the Germans reached Broad Bay, nor were the dwellings. Most probably it was the plan of the Colonel, shrewd as always, and at this time financially embarrassed, to supply the material and to have the labor furnished by the colonists, or at least to have the buildings constructed by the forty-odd immigrants under probable indenture to him for passage money.

A minister of the Gospel was likewise provided for in the terms of the contract and had, in reality, accompanied the migration. This was the Reverend Philip Gottfried Kast, *Doktor der Theologie*, and unquestionably a man of culture and learning if not of high spiritual heroism. The first winter at Broad Bay, as heretofore described, was a period of suffering and hardship. In this experience Doctor Kast was in all respects a co-sufferer and doubtless discharged his pastoral obligations under conditions which in his judgment were not far removed from martyrdom. He was not, however, a silent sufferer, and the following spring in May 1743 placed before the General Court of Massachusetts a petition in behalf of himself and, as he alleged, of his Palatine brethren on the shores of Broad Bay, although none of these were co-signers.<sup>2</sup> This document, couched in clear and dignified English, charged Waldo with a breach of contract, stating in some detail the grounds for the charges and concluding with a plea for relief. In time he was summoned to appear before a committee of the Court investigating his complaint against Mr. Waldo.

The Reverend Doctor, in fact, seemed to have a passion for litigation, for at about this same time another case was called in a suit previously initiated by him against Mr. Zuberbühler to recover a sum allegedly due him (Kast) on a note which he held against the latter gentleman. It seems highly probable that Kast had prostituted his pastoral influence by using it to aid Zuberbühler in recruiting emigrants in the Palatinate at so much per head — a practice not uncommon among the ruthless Neuländers — and that he had accepted Zuberbühler's note as covering payment for this

<sup>1</sup>This contract is set forth in full in Chap. VII, pp. 100-102.

<sup>2</sup>The Petition is discussed in detail in Chap. VIII, pp. 116-120.



service. The evidence brought out in this trial was so embarrassing that Doctor Kast never returned to Broad Bay, but disappeared from our history, leaving his parish on the Medomak a flock without a shepherd. To allay the disaffection and unrest among the settlers arising from this seemingly unchristian abdication, and because of the utter need of some spiritual headship in the colony, Mr. Waldo enlisted the services of John Ulmer, the schoolmaster and a good Lutheran, who, in the dark days to follow, assumed the spiritual mentorship of the little community and was paid by the proprietor for this service. Of the four chief men who had come with the colony of 1742, the engineer had died the first winter, the doctor and the minister had abandoned the settlement the following spring, and only the schoolmaster stood fast by his brethren in their darkest hour.

From these facts of early history, it is clear that there was preaching at Broad Bay from the very beginning of the German settlement — the earliest services being held in the groves by the river and in the cabins of the settlers. Only a little later, in 1743, came the first church, considerably earlier than heretofore believed. Our knowledge of this edifice is scant indeed and is derived largely from information conveyed in a military order of Governor Shirley to Colonel Arthur Noble. On June 5, 1744, the Governor instructed the Colonel, in the face of impending Indian warfare, to take steps for the defense of Broad Bay. Among other provisions there was one to assign ten men "at ye new Block House on ye River, being the Dutch Church."<sup>3</sup> This brief reference makes clear the fact that in 1744 the church was "new," and that with war at hand it was converted into a garrison. It was probably little more than a super log cabin which could be turned into a blockhouse by surrounding it with a stockade and digging a well within the enclosure. It was built in 1743 and in all probability converted into a fort in the spring of 1744. The lumber could well have come from the two sawmills which Waldo had under construction as early as April 1743 at the falls of the Medomak.<sup>4</sup>

The exact location of this church-blockhouse is not a matter of entire certainty. From the order, however, we may infer that it was on the west bank of the river somewhere between the head of tide and the "McGuyer brook."<sup>5</sup> Since there was at this time one defense post at the First Falls, the second one on the west side, for sound strategic reasons, would have been farther down the river and most probably near the ferry. This inference, if correct, would place the church on the shore of the farm formerly owned

<sup>3</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Documentary Series, XI, 296.

<sup>4</sup>Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. VI, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>On the shore of the old Rodney Creamer farm.

by Rodney Creamer and in the general proximity of the old site of Thomas Creamer's boathouse. For religious purposes this location would have been as nearly central as possible for the settlers on the west bank and conveniently close to the point where the river was commonly crossed for those living on the east bank. Supporting this conclusion is the fact that the early settlers regarded this as the most central location in the early colony, since, when the third and present Lutheran church was built, it was erected exactly opposite on the east side of the river. It was this building, then, that was the scene of John Ulmer's preaching from 1743 to 1745, and in all likelihood was destroyed in May 1746 when the Indians made the most devastating of all attacks on Broad Bay.

From 1746, when the settlement was in part laid waste, there was a cessation of any central worship in the colony until 1748, when the scattered people returned to their former homes from various points of refuge. It was at about this time that John Ulmer came back from Louisburg and resumed his duties as vicar at Broad Bay, preaching in the larger cabins in the colony since there was now no church, and the peace was too uncertain to warrant the settlers assembling other than at points that were central, in their own immediate neighborhoods.

Such religious services were merely stopgaps. A spiritual life under the leadership of a lay preacher could not satisfy the real soul longing of these traditionally devout and simple people. In their old homes such a man could not administer the rites and sacraments of the church, nor was he authorized to do it in their new homes. Had he attempted it, it would have been lacking in that essential quality of grace which could come only of one ordained of God. Such a condition existing in the colony presented an issue that affected everyone's contentment and peace of mind. Waldo, interested above all other things in the permanency of his settlements, recognized it and sought through the agency of Joseph Crell, Commissioner for Massachusetts Bay recruiting emigrants in Germany from 1750 to 1752, to secure the services of a bona fide Lutheran minister. Crell was not able to enlist the services of an ordained clergyman for this distant post, but a Candidate in Theology, Stöltzner by name, was induced to accept the Broad Bay mission. This young preacher was fitted out, through the generosity of Counsellor Luther of Frankfort, with a little library of books, and in 1751 he accompanied the first migration under Crell as far as Holland. He apparently was a man of rugged Christian principles, for in Rotterdam he quarrelled with Crell over the treatment of those emigrants who were to be transported free of costs, and dissatisfied with the latter's good faith, abandoned him and



joined a migration to the Carolinas.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence of this unfortunate disaffection the Broad Bay settlement was left for the next forty years largely to the religious ministrations of laymen and quacks.

The new migrations which reached Boston in 1751 and 1752 and the Medomak in the latter year brought no regular clergymen. However, among the new arrivals were three schoolmasters, members of the Reformed Church, and Hans Georg Hahn, who with his wife, Barbara, had decided Moravian leanings. Hahn was the stormy petrel whose coming presaged an end to the religious peace of the settlement, although doctrinal differences were to receive no acute emphasis until the closing years of the French and Indian War. In the last of the four main migrations, that of 1753, came Hahn's arch religious enemy, the Lutheran, Charles Christopher Godfrey Leissner, a former student at the University of Jena and a lawyer from Dietz. As the man appointed by his Prince to protect the interests of his migrating subjects and as Waldo's agent, Leissner gradually assumed both civic and religious leadership in the colony. The long hard years of the French and Indian War were just ahead and all thought of erecting a building for common worship had to be laid aside. The people continued to assemble in small neighborhood groups, and each unit quite naturally attached itself to a leader sympathetic to its own doctrine. The Moravians met with Georg Hahn and those of the Reformed Church with their schoolmaster preacher. John Ulmer, too, continued to lay-preach, but no longer in Waldo's pay, for Leissner had now taken over the proprietor's services. In this way the community was broken up into dissident groups, and the seed was sown which, after the return of peace, was destined to flower into a period of petty religious persecution as the colony once more sought to shape its spiritual life in a common mold.

Even before the return of peace to the colony, while the war was dragging on into quieter years because of the exhaustion of the Indians and the crushing blows sustained by the French, the Broad Bayers, relieved in a measure of the dark threat from the forests, again were able to turn their thoughts to their own spiritual affairs, which presented a forlorn aspect. The new conditions brought by the peace seemed to warrant the erection of a church, even though as yet there was no minister to preach the word of God from its pulpit. In one respect things had become different. The distribution of the population in the settlement had changed since the first church had been erected on the west bank of the ferry. The colony had increased greatly in numbers and had spread

<sup>6</sup>Letter of Hofrath Luther in Frankfort to Samuel Waldo in London, Mass. Archives, XV A, 200-211.



into South Waldborough, Back Cove and the lower end of the Necks.

To meet this new expansion of the settled limits, a more central location had to be sought for the church. It had to be somewhere along the river bank, since all cabins were along the shore, and transportation and travel were still by water. The site fixed on was the meetinghouse lot of one hundred acres, originally promised by Waldo and confirmed by the Pemaquid Proprietors in the land adjustments made on the west side in 1764. The shore frontage of this lot was on the cove which today bears the name of Meetinghouse Cove. Here on the waterfront rose the second Lutheran church at Broad Bay, at a point to the east of the present highway and about north by east of the junction of the Dutch and Gross Neck roads. The rough stone foundation of the church is now overgrown with brush and covered with humus that has been accumulating for the last century and a half. The cemetery lay adjacent to it, but the stones which once marked the last resting place of the early fathers are now laid low by the force of the frost and acts of vandals. Only two remain standing in a little stone enclosure marking the graves of Cornelius Seiders and his wife, Elizabeth Leissner. Some day, perhaps, an awakened civic conscience may restore these buried slabs to their erstwhile dignity of marking the graves of our founding fathers. Meanwhile the silver horse<sup>7</sup> continues to ride the adjacent highways on moonlit nights, its hoofbeats noiseless, but its flanks and mane palely shimmering, a fearful symbol to the late wayfarer, perhaps, of the restless grief of the dead over the indifference and neglect of their descendants.

The details of the construction of this church and of the first services held within its walls are happily a matter of record left by one which could sketch its genesis from firsthand sources, Judge Nathaniel Groton, who was born in Waldborough in 1791 and died in Bath in 1858. In his later years Judge Groton published in the *Bath Times* a series of historical articles, one of which dealt with the old church at the Cove. This structure was still standing in the Judge's boyhood, which gave him familiarity with the details of its architecture, and he was of course in a position to glean all additional facts from among those who were the first to worship there.

According to Judge Groton, this church was built "without money," both labor and material being provided by the settlers themselves. It was twenty-eight by thirty-six feet and

was built of spruce and hemlock logs, hewn and dove-tailed at the corners to strengthen and keep the walls which were twelve feet inside in the clear; the floor was of hewn logs and as smooth as their German

<sup>7</sup>A local superstition that has been handed down by the credulous to the present day.

axes and other tools could make it; the roof was of frame work covered with long pieces of stuff split out of logs and so laid on with birch bark that it guarded against letting in water. The pews were of logs, hewn out something like the old wooden horse blocks. The pulpit was the ornament of the house; it stood about six feet from the floor and was ingeniously contrived, large enough to hold the preacher and so light that a strong man could carry it. It was at the top semi-circular; the front was of plaited work and gracefully centered to a point below. The pulpit ten years after the house was built, was painted by one, Isaac Sargers, who was the first of his trade at Broad Bay. The windows at first were made of sheep-skin.

This building was erected in the summer of 1762. In the spring of that year a number of Broad Bayers while in Boston had listened to the eloquent preaching of Johannes Martin Schaeffer and had invited him to pay a visit to Broad Bay. He first came to the settlement in June 1762 and undoubtedly gave the Germans a sample of his pulpit oratory, for he was promptly hired and shortly thereafter left the settlement to return in November and take up his ministerial duties.<sup>8</sup> These data are based on the testimony of Georg Soelle, but there are good reasons to believe that Schaeffer was in the settlement as early as June 1760 for on the 11th of this month, he negotiated with John Ulmer for Lot No. 15, the old James Little farm of 1736 to which Ulmer was not able to give a clear title until December 9, 1762.<sup>9</sup> This was in all probability Pastor Schaeffer's first home at Broad Bay, and he probably took up his residence on this site in November 1762, the month the first service was held in the church and the structure dedicated.

Mr. Groton has happily made a brief description of this service a matter of record, and from this source the following account is taken:

The small house was crowded. The choir was organized by Frank Miller, Senior, and was composed of male and female singers. Among the youngest was Conrad Heyer then about fifteen years old. The service was all in the German language. Dr. Schaeffer read from the 137th psalm and preached from the 5th and 6th verses of the same. These pious people, many of whom in their own country, had worshipped in gorgeous churches, rejoiced that after so many years they were permitted to assemble in their rudely built meetinghouse and worship the same God under the same form of religion they did in Germany.

The people of Broad Bay, however, were not particularly fortunate in their choice of Doctor Schaeffer, nor, in fact, of any of their early preachers. This was in no sense strange since there were few genuine Lutheran clergymen anywhere in New England. The priestly caste in the Lutheran church was made up largely of

<sup>8</sup>Soelle, *Kuerze historische Bericht des Häufleins zu Broad Bay, Morav, Archives* (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>9</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 5, p. 231,

foot-loose and unscrupulous schoolmasters who had wandered in from Pennsylvania, and were quite willing to fake a clerical role. Muehlenberg, who was the leader of the Lutheran church in Pennsylvania, was wont frequently to inveigh against the quacks and half-preachers who flooded that colony, exploiting the spiritual hunger of the German settlers for their own selfish and personal ends. It was definitely to this class that Doctor John Martin Schaeffer belonged. He was neither a Doctor of Theology, nor of Medicine, but he preached the one and practiced the other. He had apparently come to America as an adventurer, or possibly as a refugee from justice, for he was reputed to have abandoned his wife in Germany and to have seduced the very beautiful wife of another man and brought her to the colonies along with his own daughter. He was first active in Pennsylvania; then preached for a time in New York, from whence he finally reached Boston. Quite naturally a man of Schaeffer's mercenary cut would not have located so deeply in the wilderness as Broad Bay unless the pecuniary rewards were attractive. They were indeed quite amazingly so. He was to receive a farm of one hundred acres,<sup>10</sup> and from the head of each Lutheran family three pounds and two days of free labor each year. In addition to this, he was to practice medicine, which meant a substantial addition to his income since there was no doctor in any of the adjacent settlements. Certain it is that no preacher in the history of the town has ever been so handsomely compensated.

It was said of Dr. Schaeffer by the Reverend Alexander McLean of Pemaquid that he was an ignoramus and a quack. He was most certainly a quack, but with equal certainty not an ignoramus. On the contrary, he was a man of keen perception, highly adaptable and resourceful. As a preacher he was quick and eloquent in the pulpit and a splendid singer. The ministry, however, was for him merely one of several avenues to money-getting. Tradition records that he had a fixed fee, payable in advance, for every funeral, marriage, and baptism. This was unveneered exploitation, for any German in Broad Bay at this time would sooner have done without food and clothing than to have dispensed with any one of these essential sacraments. In the matter of his money-mongering, Schaeffer was quite frankly cynical and was wont to speak of his activities with humor and realism as is evidenced by his oft quoted remark: "*Wenn ich meinen schwarzen Rock anhabe, dann bin ich Prediger; und Sie müssen tun was ich sage; aber wenn ich meinen grünen Rock anhabe, dann bin ich Doktor.*"<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Probably the farm in the Slaigo district later sold by him to Andreas and Matthias Storer. Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup>"When I have on my black coat, then I am a preacher and you must do what I tell you; but when I have on my green coat, then I am a doctor."



As a physician Schaeffer enjoyed high repute not only among the Germans but among the English as well in a circuit of thirty miles, but it was a repute based largely upon a studied appeal to the credulity and superstition of his clientele. His room or office was furnished with astrological instruments, skeletons, and other weird equipment, such as snakes preserved in alcohol, in order primarily to impress the peasants.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, their gullibility seems to have been a gold mine for this clever fakir, who fabricated and propagated one medical fad after another to his own profit. At one time he was a strong believer in the periodic inspection of urine, and at another in the periodic practice of bloodletting. So thoroughly did he sell the Germans on this latter idea that there was much bleeding every spring in the colony. Fifty cents was the fixed fee for such a service, and often a man would work a week for the doctor in order to pay the bloodletting bill for a single family, whereas for a protracted illness a whole sloop load of cordwood was often required in payment of the bill.

The versatile doctor was also able to mingle his ministerial duties with his medical functions in emergencies without even taking time out to change his coat. Schaeffer's flexibility in such cases is aptly illustrated by the tale of how he got Mr. Dahlheim's doubloon. It was during the Revolution, when Georg Dahlheim, an honest old soldier,

returned home from the army, sick, with a Spanish doubloon in his pocket. Learning that his family had been sick, too, during his absence, and that Dr. Schaeffer, their family physician, had been very kind and attentive during their illness, Dahlheim hastened to discharge his obligation while he had money. He found the doctor at home and in a very brief way introduced the subject and threw down his doubloon upon the table. The doctor looked about and began to sum up as follows, as he did not keep books: "Vel, ven your vife vos sick, dot vos den doler, next dime vos your dotter; den your poy vos sick, dot vos vun doller und vun half doller." Finding that the doubloon was not wholly consumed, he began to scratch his head to quicken his recollection and then announced, "Ach! Your last schild, I christened dot, da ish anoder half doller." But there still was another half dollar unappropriated, and the doctor who from the beginning seemed not to be satisfied with anything short of the whole, began to ransack his brain a second time, looked wiser than before, and presto the idea came. "Ach! Now I got it," said the doctor, "vun dime ven ve dink your vife vill die, I gift her de sacrament; dot vos anoder half doller." And picking up the doubloon he passed into another room relieving poor Mr. Dahlheim of any further care about his money.<sup>13</sup>

In the face of such mercenary behavior, the wane of Schaeffer's religious influence was inevitable. This was observed by the

<sup>12</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XVI Jahrgang (Cincinnati, 1884-85).

<sup>13</sup>Conversation recorded by Dr. M. R. Ludwig: *Ludwig Genealogy* (Augusta, 1866), pp. 53-54.

Moravian leader, George Soelle, as early as the mid 1760's when a number of the Pastor's followers deserted him.<sup>14</sup> Defections at this time, however, were not numerous, since the sorely felt need of some sort of spiritual leadership was paramount in most minds, and there was no other Lutheran leader available.

In the course of the colony's growth in numbers and in economic activity, Doctor Schaeffer's duties became a decidedly incidental interest in his own career as his business and political activity increased. Engaging in shipping and transportation, he acted as a sort of commission merchant in wood and lumber, handling these commodities for the Germans and "liquidating their accounts in his own peculiar way." He also had wide interests in real estate and during the sixties and seventies bought and sold lands throughout the county. Politics and the law, too, carried their appeal, and early in his ministry he got himself an appointment as *Friedensrichter*<sup>15</sup> in order to enable himself to perform marriages and transact other business with acceptable legality. As Schaeffer's parish duties drew to their close, he shifted his activity to politics and served as second selectman of the town from 1784 to 1786, and as town treasurer from 1786 to 1788. To the degree that he became successful and wealthy the mask dropped, restraint was thrown off, and he became profane and intemperate. It is difficult to determine exactly when Schaeffer's ministerial duties came to an end. Certainly this was some time during the Revolution after his influence had been further weakened by his strong Tory stand. During the struggle he had declined to read the Declaration of Independence from the pulpit, or to pray for the success of the American arms, saying that the pious folk in England had prayed at least four hours earlier for the success of British arms, thereby cynically implying that the first to place their petitions before the Throne of Grace would be the first to be served.

It is clear that after 1770 Schaeffer was tolerated as the parish head only because no one could be secured to replace him; at least no regular minister, even though several seem to have paid short visits to Broad Bay in these years. In the summer of 1772 the Bachelor of Arts and Candidate in Theology, Christoph Nickolaus Homeyer, was in the colony in some clerical capacity, for at this time he affixed his signature to a passport for Bernard Kuentzel, who migrated this year to North Carolina.<sup>16</sup> Schaeffer had originally organized the parish into two branches, Lutheran and Reformed, and with the return of peace the doctrinal breach between the two had widened and the Reformed group was giving evidence

<sup>14</sup>Soelle, *Kurze historische Bericht*, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup>Justice of the peace.

<sup>16</sup>Original document in possession of Dr. Benj. Kinsell, Med. Arts Bldg., Dallas, Tex.



of dissatisfaction with Schaeffer and of a decided tendency to secede and establish their own church. In any case Homeyer's stay in the settlement seems to have been a short one.

Following Homeyer's departure, the effort was made to secure the services of a really eminent Lutheran divine. Among the old documents at Hartwick Seminary,<sup>17</sup> there is a call dated May 28, 1774, and addressed to the Reverend John Christopher Hartwick, pro. tem., "pastor of the church at Boston, and Superintendent of sundry Evangelical Congregations scattered up and down in America." This document interests us in two respects. In the first place it describes the church at Waldoborough as being "like a sheep without a shepherd, destitute of the Ministry of the Gospel, and scattered and fainting for want of spiritual pasture, to the great detriment of its spiritual state." These are revealing words and bespeak a desperate determination on the part of the parish or of a prominent dissident group, probably the Reformed element, to be rid of Schaeffer and to establish a church of their own. In the second place, it informed the Reverend Hartwick that he had been unanimously elected pastor of the church at Waldoborough, and that if unable to accept he was authorized to send a substitute and the parish would accept unanimously anyone of his decision. He visited Waldoborough in July 1774, and held services in the newly built church on the eastern bank of the river, but probably did not remain long since there is no further record of his ministry.

It is doubtful if this spiritual restlessness of the parish, or of at least a part of it, gave Doctor Schaeffer undue concern. His many activities assured him financial independence, and he was always ready to don "his black coat" and fill the pulpit when it was occupied by no one else. By the year 1775 he seems again to have been preaching regularly to a part of the parish.

The Doctor's career in Waldoborough came to an end in 1790 when he moved to Warren. There he practiced medicine in his own house, lived high, drank heavily, went out little, enjoyed a reputation of great wealth, and entertained the younger generation with his flip parties and his picturesque speech. In 1793, while on a trip to Boston, his house was broken into by four masked men. The women were bound and locked in the cellar, the house ransacked, the Doctor's chests broken open, and his gold and silver stolen. No trace of the robbers was ever found. In rage and despair Schaeffer plunged deeper into intemperance and died on April 20, 1794. Just prior to a trip which he made to Germany in 1767, while still living at Broad Bay, he had made a will bequeathing his estate to his wife, Margaret, and his daughters, Margaret and Mary. By

<sup>17</sup>A Lutheran Theological Seminary, organized in 1816 and located four miles south of Cooperstown, N. Y.



the time of his death his riches had taken wing, and the net estate totalled only \$1557.44, an average estate for the time and place, but certainly a mere fraction of the Doctor's one-time possessions. In South Warren, in a little cleared lot by the riverside marking the sight of the resting place of the early Warren dead, a little slab, moss-covered and weather worn to the point of barest legibility, bears the name and dates of Dr. John Martin Schaeffer.

In the summer of 1772, during one of the interregnums of Pastor Schaeffer, the decision was reached to build a new church. This plan apparently had long been brewing. There were several good reasons for this decision, one that was most compelling: the older house at "the Cove" had already become too small. Families had increased in number, and with the Indian menace renewed, old and young were wont to gather at one central point from far and near for worship on the Lord's Day. But above all other reasons the idea of a new church represented a split in the congregation and the withdrawal of the Reformed group for doctrinal reasons and because they were no longer willing to tolerate Schaeffer in the pulpit. It seems to have been a well thought out plan to be rid of him, for the site of the new church was bought by a group and the edifice built by the same group. Thus the land and building was their property and the decision on all parish matters, including the hiring of a minister, would rest solely in their hands.

This fact may explain why Candidate Homeyer was in the colony in 1772, and it may explain the call to Doctor Hartwick in 1774, and the depiction of spiritual conditions in the town as "dire and destitute," which formed the basis of the appeal to Hartwick. It is also of interest that the thirty-two new builders were with few exceptions east-siders. From earliest days this had been the most important division of the town. Here from the beginning resided the leading men, and in 1772 they were apparently strong enough to form a parish of their own. Under such circumstances, their church would naturally be located on the east side, and as of yore the ferry offered the logical site. It was central and it was the main artery of travel east and west. The site purchased was a shore lot on the farm owned by John Newbert, now the property of Merle Castner. The old deed of Conveyance containing the names of the thirty-two dissidents and other matters of interest reflecting the religious temper of early days follows here in part:

I, John Neubert, of Broad Bay; yeoman, in consideration of the just sum of £2, lawful money, to me in hand paid before the delivery hereof by Martin Reiser, gent., Bernhard Shuman, yeoman, George Demuth, yeoman, Georg Talheim, yeoman, Frantz Eisele, yeoman, Ludwig Castner, yeoman, Christopher Neubert, yeoman, Christopher Neuhaus, yeoman, Lorentz Seitz, yeoman, Zacharias Neubert, yeoman, Christopher Neubert, Jr., yeoman, Gottfried Feiler, yeoman, Matthias Storer, yeoman, Andreas Storer, yeoman, Andrew Schenck, yeoman, Georg Wer-

ner, yeoman, John Loeb, yeoman, Jacob Jung, yeoman, Fred Schwartz, yeoman, John Werner, yeoman, John Henry Benner, yeoman, Martin Hoch, yeoman, John Weibes, yeoman, John Adam Loebensaller, yeoman, Philip Shuman, yeoman, Christopher Loebensaller, yeoman, John Martin, yeoman, Georg Schmaus, yeoman, Arasmus Loesch, yeoman, John Benner, yeoman, Caleb Howard, yeoman, and John Hahn, all of Broad Bay, aforesaid, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, have given, granted, bargained and sold . . . a certain tract or parcel of land lying in Broad Bay aforesaid, being a part of the lot No. 10 on the eastern side of Broad Bay river, containing one and one half acres, bounded as followeth, to wit: beginning at a stake and stones at high water mark by land of John Martin Schaeffer,<sup>18</sup> thence running up sd. river N. 14° E. ten rods to an oak stump, thence N. 35° E. ten rods to a stake and stones, thence E. 8° N. eight rods to a pine stump, thence S. 7° E. nineteen rods to a stake and stones, all by land of sd. John Neubert, thence W. by land of the aforesaid John Martin Schaeffer to the bound first mentioned, being for the express purpose, use and design of erecting and building a House for the publick Worship of Almighty God, *which worship in the sd. house is constantly and at all times to be celebrated according to the rites and ceremonies of the Protestant Reformed Churches and congregations tolerated in this land and not otherwise.* To have and to hold the sd. granted and bargained premises, together with all their appurtenances free of all encumbrances whatsoever, to them the said Martin Reiser and others, . . . their heirs and Assigns as an absolute Estate and Inheritance in Fee-Simple forever for the purposes aforesaid.<sup>19</sup>

This document makes it clear that the dissident group was of the Reformed branch of the church; that the new structure was to be first of all a *Reformed* Lutheran church; that other congregations would not be unwelcome, save Catholics who were forever barred. The new church stood on the shore south of the old ferry landing and near a little brook which runs into the Medomak on the Castner farm. East of the structure was the burying ground, where, in my boyhood a half century ago, many of the slate slabs were still standing. If there are any left today, they lie like those at "the Cove" under a thin layer of mould, but soundings made with a bar a few years ago did not locate a single stone, which adds color to a long-standing neighborhood rumor that years ago the cemetery was desecrated and pilfered of its stones which went to cover the clay bottom of cellars in certain habitations.

The construction work on this site was begun in the late summer of 1772, and the exterior was completed before the snows of winter. The first service may well have been held in that year with the Reverend Homeyer preaching the first sermon in the church, even while Doctor Schaeffer continued his exhortations in the old church at "the Cove." How long Homeyer served the Reformed group is not known, but he was no longer there when Doctor Hartwick received his call in 1774, visited Waldoborough,

<sup>18</sup>The present Lawrence Davis Dairy Farm, one of Schaeffer's land speculations.

<sup>19</sup>Deed executed at Broad Bay, Aug. 19, 1772, Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 90 [*italics mine*].



and preached in the church in July of that year. Now seemingly there were two German parishes in the town. The church on the west side at "the Cove" had been built just ten years before and Doctor Schaeffer was still to hold forth there intermittently for a number of years. The dissidents, with their new church, would undoubtedly have secured a regular pastor, but the war intervened with its unsettled and stormy years, leaving Schaeffer alone and supreme in the spiritual sphere, to the chagrin of those who had aimed to rid the community of a religious charlatan.

The new church, in its early years, was the present church only in its externals. Decades were to elapse before it was to become, in its inner details and finish, the structure as it is known today. The walls were unplastered, the seats were rough benches, the present pulpit had not been installed and the galleries did not form a part of the interior. This condition did not, however, interfere with its use for religious and civic purposes. The first Town Meeting of the town was held in the church at the Cove, September 21, 1773, and the second one at "the easterly church" on Castner's shore on October 19th of the same year.<sup>20</sup> Thereafter the meetings were held alternately in the two churches until the new Courthouse on Kinsell's Hill displaced, around 1788, "the westerly meeting house" as the scene of such Town Meetings as were held on the west side of the river.

The early ministry at Broad Bay had at first been supported by General Waldo, and thereafter by agreement between the pastor and the parish, each member obligating himself to a contribution in money or kind. In the New England of that day this was neither a common nor an accepted practice, for each town was required under Massachusetts law to have a settled Protestant minister supported by monies raised by taxation, just as our own public schools are maintained in the present day. When Broad Bay became Waldoborough, in 1773, this method had its instant appeal for the thrifty "Dutch," for it assessed the ungodly as well as the godly, the Puritan as well as the Teuton, and equalized in a very decided way the burden of the latter. In 1773, the plantation having become a town, there were those who moved immediately to make the support of the ministry a matter of general tax levy. This move may have been made by Schaeffer's parishioners or by the dissidents. If by the latter it is difficult to believe that they would have been willing to have had any part of such monies set aside for the support of the gospel on the west side. It is a possibility that the inability of the two parishes to agree on an apportionment of funds may have been the reason why the proposal came to nought, as it did in the Town Meeting of March 15, 1774, when

<sup>20</sup>Records of the Town Clerk, Waldoborough, 1773.



the citizens voted that "there shall be no money for preaching or schooling." Again, on July 9, 1776, a feeler was inserted in the warrant in order "to see if the town will raise money to have the gospel preached for six, eight, or twelve months." These alternatives ranging from six months to a year seem to have been designed by someone as an entering wedge to induce the town to take the first small step in the direction of a tax supported ministry. Since at this time there was no one else to preach or to profit from such a tax other than Schaeffer, there is the possibility that it was a move engineered by him. In any case, it was promptly checked, for in the meeting of July 28th the citizens voted "not to raise money for preaching in the town." The next year the wily pastor may have tried a new tack and gained his objective, for on October 6, 1777, it was voted "to excuse Dr. Schaeffer of his taxes while he is employed as a minister in the town." To the realtor, Schaeffer, who was one of the largest landholders in the whole district, this was as acceptable as a direct appropriation of the town for his pastoral salary.

This move was just about Schaeffer's last trump. The shadow of big events far away fell athwart the troubled religious scene in the tiny town. Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga, and the captive British and Hessians were moving overland to a Boston prison camp. Among the latter was Doctor Ernst Friedrich Philip Theobald who was born at Dörnigheim near Frankfort-am-Main, December 2, 1750, and who had received his doctorate in 1772 at the University of Göttingen where he had been matriculated as a student in Medicine and Theology. A few years thereafter he had come to this country as a chaplain to the Hessians in Burgoyne's army. These Hessians were, of course, fellow countrymen of the Broad Bayers as well as of the Germans at Dresden, and in consequence a goodly number of them found their way to Maine on parole to some of the local patriots. Doctor Theobald first appeared at Dresden and shortly thereafter at Waldoborough. In all this one may either suspect Providence or the hand of the east side Reformed group, desperately in want of a preacher. In either case, in 1778, the Doctor was installed as minister in the new church.

It should not be assumed that the new church on the east side was a closed corporation. As a matter of fact, all good Protestants, either east- or west-siders, were welcome to its services of worship, and they seem to have flocked to the new church and the new pastor from all quarters. The coming of Theobald, while not marking the end of doctrinal schism in the congregation, did bring an end to Schaeffer's regular ministry, for the next year, on July 9, 1779, it was voted in Town Meeting that "Dr. Schaeffer shall pay rates [taxes] for the present year." There is in this simply worded

entry in the Clerk's record an unmistakable emphasis which bespeaks the end of the Schaeffer regime.

The ministry of Doctor Theobald seems to have extended to the year 1781 when he apparently was drawn back to Dresden through his love for Sally Rittal, whom he married on February 22nd of that year. The balance of his life was passed in Dresden, where he died in 1809. In the year 1780 the town voted for the first time to raise money for the support of the minister, and in 1781 it was voted "to hier a minister and to raise £20 lawful money for the support of the same." This vote to "hier a minister" would seem to indicate that this was the time when Theobald retired from the scene.

The decision on the part of the town to support the ministry by taxation raised a new and knotty problem in the religious life of the community, one which was to trouble the waters of the pool for many a long year, and ultimately to bring about the end of the Lutheran church in Waldoborough. This was the language issue raised by the rapid increase of the Puritans in town. These Puritans paid taxes as well as the Germans, and not many of them could understand a German minister too well. Thus the question rose why should they not have a minister of their own, who likewise would be supported from the town budget? The Germans being in the majority in these days were in a position to apply the veto, a power, however, which they did not always use directly. The question was raised each year and frequently in open meetings the German vote would support the reasonableness of the Puritan position, but in the committees empowered to find and hire a man who could preach in both languages they regularly used their majority power to perpetuate the old language tradition in their religion.

Forty years were still to pass before a Lutheran clergyman at Waldoborough was to use the English language in the pulpit, and by that time it was too late to forestall the collapse of their church. The old Germans were especially obdurate on the question of language. To them God spoke from the Good Book in but one tongue; the words and tunes of the old hymns were freighted with the precious traditions of their past, and incarnated in their present a bit of poetry for which their hearts so deeply yearned. To abandon that language which expressed their faith in rich and understandable terms was a thing which they could not, and never did, do. In this one respect they failed to realize that they were ringed in by an alien culture which was commanding the fealty of their children, and would make their children's children entirely its own, and that when the time came that these children no longer knew the ancestral language, that hour would signalize the end of a church seeking to perpetuate itself in a forgotten tongue.

When the Hessian Theobald left his Waldoborough pastorate, the Puritans raised the issue of their religious rights and of some spiritual return from a ministry supported by community taxation. Clearly a minister who could preach in both languages, if such could be found, would solve the problem through his ability to administer to the religious needs of both groups, and, another weighty consideration, such a solution would be easier on the town budget. On April 1, 1782, the step was taken and it was voted to raise £100, and, "to get a minister that can preach English and Dutch." The committee for hiring such a man was Jacob Ludwig, Anton Dahlheim, Georg Demuth, Nathanael Simmons and Ezekiel Vinal. Clearly the power to hire lay with the three Germans, and the man produced was Mr. John Kanzer (Canser). On July 29, 1783, it was voted to hire him "for the arms of nine months on tryal." Next to nothing is known of Mr. Kanzer, of his background, or of his qualifications for this ministry. At the least it can be said of him that he was tolerated, for at the end of the trial period his pastorate was extended for another year, which for some reason he did not complete.

The successor to Mr. Kanzer was the Reverend Friedrich Grühner, who, it is believed, was recommended by Doctor Theobald. In this case it is not improbable that Kroner had served in some capacity among Burgoyne's Hessians. At the meeting of August 22, 1785, it was voted by the town "to have Mr. Kroner<sup>21</sup> to preach ye gospel in ye town for a period of twelve months for 28 shillings per Sabath which ye town agreed to give." Kroner seems to have been at hand to assume his pastorate immediately and to have continued it in the general Schaeffer tradition. He was born in the Frankfort area in Germany, and as a scholar was well versed in the graceful tradition of Latin and French. By training he was a teacher and, like many of his kind, was licensed to preach the Gospel. His qualifications for the Waldoborough pastorate were tested by a committee made up of Doctor Wallizer, Jacob Ludwig, Joseph Ludwig, and Conrad Heyer. Since Kroner had already proved himself graceful and eloquent in the pulpit, these gentlemen approved his orthodoxy and started him on his pastoral duties.

At this same August meeting, the Puritans after long and oft repeated demands were for the first time accorded their minority rights in the religious sphere. These were recognized and approved in a long and somewhat obscure motion which is cited here in full:

Voted to raise £120 to pay for preaching ye Gospel in said town of Waldoborough, *if* above sum is seposed to be paid two thirds by Germans, and ye other third by the English to be paid to sum English Gospel Minister to preach in sd. town. If the Germans should hire a

<sup>21</sup>Spelled in the local records as Croner and Kroner, originally Grühner.



minister to administer the sacraments of ye Lord's super he is to be paid out of the above sum of money.

As difficult of interpretation as this motion may be in detail, the inference is clear that it provided for an English as well as a German ministry in the town, an inference wholly confirmed by the Town Meeting of February 1786 held in Captain Cornelius Turner's barn "to see what method the inhabitants of the town will pursue to make a division of ye money assessed for Preaching the Gospel and to ye continuance of the Rev. Messrs Croner and Whiting." This entry clearly establishes the fact that the first regular English preaching minister in the town was the Reverend Thurston Whiting, and that his preaching was begun in 1785. The Reverend Whiting was a native of Franklin, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1753. He entered Harvard College and later transferred to Brown where he completed his education. In May 1785 he was called to Warren from Edgecomb as the Congregational minister to that parish, from whence he rode his weekly circuit to Waldoborough. Greenleaf in his *Ecclesiastical Sketches* describes him as a man possessed of a literary taste, a classical style, and an address that seldom failed to interest and move his audience. The town warrant of May 3, 1786, makes it clear that his ministry in Waldoborough began on the first day of September 1785, and that he was hired for the period of one year.

While the religious current of the Puritan parish was moving clearly and placidly, that of the Lutheran suddenly assumed a muddy hue which became generally apparent to the public from an article in the town warrant of March 20, 1786, to wit:

To see whether the town will indemnify Waterman Thomas Esq., from Recognizing the Reverend Frederick Croner to Apere before the Justices of ye Quarter Sessions next to be holden at Pownalborough on the first Tuesday of June next, who stands charged of being the father of a child by him Begoten on the body of M— U— of Waldoborough, single woman, and said child is likely to be born a bastard and be charged to said town.

To the modern mind such conduct on the part of a clergyman is, to say the least, decidedly unclerical and would warrant immediate dismissal from his church post. To the eighteenth-century German it appeared somewhat different. The European peasant then, as now, has ever been primitive, natural, and uncritical in his sex conceptions and has never surrounded them with the sophistries of the Puritan. In this case, the Germans were true to tradition and more interested in the economic than in the moral effects of bastardy. The latter aspect of the problem was solved by the marriage of the wayward pastor and the maid. The scandal

subsided, but of course was not forgotten, and the errant brother was continued in his pastoral duties, although he seems either to have been moved or compelled to lower the prices of his services. For the year 1786 he agreed "to preach ye Gospel in said town for £92 8s.," which was acceptable to the town. In the year 1787 he went on the same basis as Mr. Whiting and preached for twenty-four shillings a week.

Mr. Croner's first false step in the parish was a true index of the unpriestly character of the man. Either he could not or would not mend his ways. He apparently felt himself superior to his parishioners and found their way of life sober and dull. His manner of living became more and more unrestrained, and on weekdays he was a frequenter of the tavern where cards and social drinking grew upon him. Horse racing was his favorite amusement. He found it impossible to live within his income and contracted debts, at this time a heinous offense in the eyes of his parishioners. In fact, his deportment became a source of continual shock to them, and finally in 1788 matters came to a head in the April Town Meeting when it was voted "to choose a Committee of Five to traw artickels that the Reverend Mr. Gruner is to goe by and behave himself accordingly, and by breaking said artickels to be dismissed from his office." On this committee were four sturdy Lutherans, Mr. Neubert, Mr. Gross, Mr. Winchenbach and Mr. Jacob Ludwig, and, for the lack of a saving humor on the part of the Germans, a fifth member somewhat less sturdy, Doctor Schaeffer, who undoubtedly appreciated the role and played his part well. These gentlemen "were to traw said artickels and to acquaint Mr. Gruner of the same."

Mr. Gruner, however, did not possess a nature that could be strait-jacketed, and shortly thereafter on a certain April Sabbath, with befitting humor, and unknown to anyone save himself, he preached his farewell sermon. The text selected was highly appropriate, and was drawn from the seventh chapter of Saint John, verse thirty-four: "Ye shall seek me and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come." Their pastor's subtle humor, however, was not apparent to the stolid laity. Not until the next day was the real meaning of the sermon sensed. By that time Mr. Kroner on his beloved horse was well on his way to distant parts, abandoning his wife, Mary, daughter of John Ulmer, Jr., and his children, Katherine, Friedrich, and Hannah. The pastor also left behind his debts, which were promptly liquidated in order to meet the outcry of the creditors. At the Town Meeting of May 10th it was voted "to chuse a committee to settle Mr. Gruner's affairs concerning his selery." Selected were Stoffel Neubert, Georg Heabner, Jacob Ludwig, Joseph Ludwig, and Frank Miller, who were instructed "to call on the Cratidors of Mr. Gruners and to

allow each Cratidor his present sellery for the present year. Said cratidors is to bring in there accounts under oth." Naught was ever heard again of the pastor or of his whereabouts, and once more the flock at Waldoborough was shepherdless. From this unsavory ministry there comes but one pleasant thought to the student of the history of this old and unique parish, and that is that Gruner was the last of the line of priestly quacks to exploit the need of God that lay so deep in the heart and tradition of this simple folk.

This Gruner episode, while not a knockout blow, left the parish dispirited and groggy and the voters skeptical. Town appropriations for ministerial purposes ceased for a few years. It was as though the Germans had had their fill, and wanting nothing more themselves, denied to the Puritans likewise the consolation of religion. In 1791 the question of town support of the Gospel was again raised, only to be repeated at two successive meetings. In December of that year some of the inhabitants inserted an article in the warrant which again posed the question of a minister "that can preach English and German." The response was to appoint a committee "to send to Mr. Theobald<sup>22</sup> to see and to desire him to come and preach a day to us one sermon in German and one in the English tounge." This move apparently met with no success, since a few months later it was voted to let the "matter drop to some futur day."

In November of this year came the first smallpox epidemic in the town, which seems to have sidetracked all other interests until its subsidence the following spring. In April 1793 the question of securing the services of a minister was again seriously agitated; sixty pounds was raised "for preaching the Gospel," and "Esquire Ludwig, Mr. Winkepaw," and Captain Simmons were named a committee to provide a minister. In all this activity the language factor was a stumbling block, the Germans holding out for preaching in the German tongue, and to that end they controlled the vote in Town Meetings as well as holding majority membership on all committees empowered to hire preachers. In July 1793 a meeting was "called to see if the Germans would joyn the English in hiring a minister." This overture on the part of the Puritans was voted down, but since the Town Meeting brought out only a part of the vote of the town it was agreed to circularize the entire township on the issue of a minister who could preach in both languages. To this end eighteen men were appointed, two in each of the town's nine districts, in order to ascertain the position of every household on this vexing question. On this committee there were twelve Germans and six Englishmen, a disparity which proved too heavy a handicap for the cause of bilingual preaching.

<sup>22</sup>Then residing in Dresden.



The next move of the Puritans came in April 1794, when they sought to have the town "build a Meeting House or Church in said town." This article in the warrant was voted down, but at the same meeting, as though the Germans had been frightened by this proposal, it was voted "to get a minister that can Pridge English and German." This vote, however, was promptly reconsidered and a decision taken "not to raise money for a minister." Amid all this backing and filling chaos seems to have been the order of things. Finally, in May of this year, 1794, it was voted "to chuse a committee to procure a minister or ministers to pridge the gospel in town," the words "minister or ministers" revealing the still unsettled state of the controversy. The committee was made up of Jacob Winchenbach, Jacob Ludwig, Thomas F. Miller,<sup>23</sup> and Captain Andrew, and was increased in June by the addition of Doctor John Wallizer and Captain Turner. This group of four Germans and two Englishmen hired the next community preacher, and in a meeting the following November it was "voted to raise £100 to seport the Gospel in said town for the present year."

While the problem of the word of God being preached in German or English was dividing "the Dutch" and the Puritans, all was not placid in the Lutheran parish itself. Time had been effecting changes so gradually that few realized what was happening until the picture appeared radically changed. By the year 1794 population areas and economic patterns had diverged completely from those of 1772 when the new church had been built by the river. As the cleared land extended its depth ever back from the shore front, new houses and barns sprang up at the junctions of fields and pastures, and on highways being laid out along their present lines. Now travel was by horseback overland, rather than by boat; business for some time had been centering in the Slaigo brook area and around the head of tide, where, below the lower falls the first bridge spanning the river had been built in 1786, making the old ferry at Castner's Rock no longer the main artery of traffic.

All these changes had left the church by the ferry in an inconvenient and out-of-the-way location, in consequence of which strong agitation set in for moving it to a new site. The opposition against any change was powerful, for the location had its dear memories for the old east-siders. There many of them had been married, had seen their children baptized and heard the last words spoken over the bodies of their dead. All in all, for many it was a hallowed spot. Close by lay the earthly remains of their dear ones, whom they could be near, and whose presence they could feel on the successive Sabbaths as they gathered for worship. Such ties were not easily broken. But a church is an institution to serve the

<sup>23</sup>Captain "Frank" Miller.

living, not the dead, and the facts of economics and geography are not readily alterable. Opposition slowly waned until at length old Major Reiser alone held out against the move. He was one of the original settlers and the leader of the dissident movement of twenty-three years before. Over his protest the church by the ferry was taken down in the late autumn of 1794 and made ready for moving. Tradition has it that the intransigence of the old Major was such that in order to balk the move he hauled away by night some of the essential timbers and hid them in the woods. This proved of no avail, and in the winter of 1794-1795 the frame and accessories were moved across the river on the ice to the present location, and set up in the spring of 1795.

The new site was one of the two old school lots originally promised as such by General Waldo and confirmed to "the Dutch" by Shem Drowne in 1764. At this time it was a lot fronting twenty-five rods on the river and extending back in a generally westerly direction far enough to include forty-one acres. On September 15, 1794, a Town Meeting had been held in "the easterly meeting house," while a survey map of the town made by Nathan Meserve in 1795<sup>24</sup> shows the church in its present location on the west side. Thus the period within which the church was moved is established.

All this activity, as well as the appointment of a committee to secure a minister and the appropriation of £100 for his salary, presaged big things for the parish, and while it was all going on, the committee previously appointed engaged a pastor, this time a genuine one, though a German who knew no English, or at least was not qualified to preach in that language. This gentleman, and such he was, was the Reverend Friedrich Augustus Rodolphus Benedictus Ritz, who was born in Germany in 1752, and had received his education at the University of Helmstadt. Of all German universities this was the one most closely connected with the American scene in colonial times since its theological faculty was for many years active in propagating Lutheranism in those colonies where Germans had settled in any numbers. Mr. Ritz had come to America in 1784 and had been ordained in Pennsylvania in 1793. The following year, probably through the New York Synod, he had received his call to Waldoborough, which was to be his first and only pastorate, for he remained here until his death, February 21, 1811. During these years his preaching was entirely in German, which was, of course, no solution of the religious problems of the Puritans, and naturally drove them in the fullness of time to churches and ministers of their own.

At long last the Lutheran parish in Waldoborough had at its head a real shepherd of the flock, but this was by no means the

<sup>24</sup>This map is in the Mass. State Archives, State House, Boston.



end of its troubles, for by placing so strict a ban on English in their religious services the old Germans were unwittingly diverting from the church their own English-speaking grandchildren, the only stream that could supply the fresh waters of life to their already aging parish.

Shortly after Mr. Ritz had taken up his pastoral duties he married, in 1796, Margaret Hahn, the granddaughter of the old Moravian war horse, Hans Georg, and the couple settled on the farm adjoining the church lot. As a part of the agreement in accepting the pastorate he had been given a farm of seventy-seven acres<sup>25</sup> on the west side of the county road between the lots of Georg Klaus and Charles Kaler. His lines ran back from a frontage of twenty-five rods to the House Place Pond. This gift was further increased by "two acres to be taken off the School House lot on the side adjacent to George Clouse's on the county road," and enough land on Clouse's line to give him access to Broad Bay River. He was also allowed that part of the school lot not pre-empted by the church and cemetery "during the time he shall remain and officiate as a minister of the Gospel unto said German Society."<sup>26</sup> The pastor's house stood on this lot just north of the present cemetery and not far from the church. The remains of his cellar were still visible a few years ago, and some of the pastor's apple trees were still standing within the memory of some of the present inhabitants of the town.<sup>27</sup>

The Reverend Ritz was a kindly, able, and dignified gentleman, and a fervent Christian who was well equipped in all ways to satisfy the soul hunger so deeply felt by his parish. He was also most friendly to the English and was truly popular among them. His vision of the future of his parish was such that he was led to advise his parishioners unreservedly not to try to perpetuate the German language in their schools, clearly seeing as he did that his church would ultimately have to depend on English-speaking Germans, both for support and membership. Despite this openmindedness, the good man did not live long enough to master the English tongue with sufficient skill to use it in public address. Tradition has it that when on occasion he was visited by some of his colleagues of the cloth, Latin had to be used as a medium of exchange of thoughts. If this were ever true, it was certainly true only of the earlier years of his pastorate. The Reverend Paul Coffin, D.D., of Buxton, Maine, a Congregational clergyman, in making a tour through the wilderness of the Province in 1796, called upon Mr. Ritz and said of him: "He could not pronounce *th*. 'The' and 'with'

<sup>25</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 35, p. 173.

<sup>26</sup>On May 22, 1809, Mrs. Ritz certified that he had received the farm on which he was living in lieu of the 100 acres of ministerial land held by the Society.

<sup>27</sup>Oral narrative of Mr. Lewis Kaler.



could not sound from his Dutch mouth." And he adds modestly, "He knew something of five languages, as did I. We both knew something of the Latin, Greek, French and English. He knew Dutch to which I opposed my Hebrew. He appears sociable, benevolent and pious, and is something of a divine."<sup>28</sup>

Despite the fact that the Puritans for the most part understood German badly, Mr. Ritz enjoyed the support of many both as listeners and as financial backers. To be sure, on many Sabbaths there was nowhere else to go, and it was such a sociable day. The people gathered early from all parts of this and neighboring towns and made a long day of it. This sociable phase had its appeal for the Puritans as well as for the Germans, for both were well able to get along pleasantly in broken English or broken German.

Underneath the conventional dignity of Mr. Ritz, there seems to have been a caustic wit and a love of punning. This aptitude is reflected in a story which the Germans long remembered and which was related from generation to generation with undiminished relish. Georg Demuth, a leading citizen of the town and parish, seemed to have found in his pastor some cause for offense, and one day in passing failed to respond to the Ritz greeting, whereupon a friend remarked: "There goes Mr. Demuth." "*Nein, nein,*" said the minister, "*nicht Meister Demuth, sondern Meister Hochmuth.*" To modern sophisticates such an anecdote is not so humorous and is interesting only as it reflects the level and quality of humor relished by these still primitive "Dutch" peasants.

From the advent of Mr. Ritz to the end of the century, harmony and peace seem to have been the prevalent tone in the religious life of the town. The Reverend John J. Bulfinch, writing of the old parish in 1889<sup>29</sup> states that the pastorate of the Reverend Ritz was very successful and that large numbers were added to the church during his ministry. Each year promptly and without opposition, \$312.00 was appropriated by the town "for the support of the Gospel." Since this sum was somewhat in excess of the salary paid to Mr. Ritz, it seems probable that a smaller portion of this fund was allotted to the Puritans to support preaching in the English language at the Courthouse. Such services could only have been provided by ministers from the neighboring towns who supplied the pulpit with such regularity as the seasons and other circumstances would permit. By the turn of the century, it may be said that Lutheranism in Waldoborough had reached its peak. It remained, nevertheless, true that the process of decay even at this time had started its work.

<sup>28</sup>*Genealogy of the Ludwig Family*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>29</sup>*The Lutheran Observer*, Phila., April 12, 1889.

## XVII

### THE MORAVIANS AT BROAD BAY

*Wouldst thou be good, then first believe that thou art evil.*

EPICETUS

IN WESTERN EUROPE THE PROTESTANT Reformation in the sixteenth century had brought some measure of religious freedom. But freedom is not always an unmitigated boon, and one of its earliest effects was the rise of a considerable number of religious leaders claiming the authentic word, preaching strange doctrines, and organizing bodies of believers who differed in the patterns of their faiths from anything before known in Europe. Schisms arose in all quarters and fostered differences so sharp that persecutions became their inevitable concomitant. These sects were for the most part splinters that had chiselled themselves loose from the Lutheran block, which underwent a more severe split when a large group broke free and organized the Reformed Church, forsaking Luther and espousing the teachings of the German Swiss, Zwingli. In this same Switzerland Calvin shortly rose to a position of influential leadership and founded his own church. His doctrines, however, never became popular in Germany, and the Reformed immigrants in America remained disinterested.

The Reformed movement, militant for a period at Broad Bay, differed sharply from the Lutheran in being more metaphysical and more severe in its forms of worship, eschewing the Lutheran sanction of images, altars, tapers, the confessional, and the principle of the real presence in the Host. In Old Broad Bay this interpretation of the communion constituted the main line of cleavage between Lutheran and Reformed, a difference that held the two groups asunder until the ministry of the good Mr. Starman in the early nineteenth century.

Apart from this major split in the Lutheran church, a whole host of minor sects sprouted rapidly and struck root in Central Europe, some of which antedated the Reformation and had endured under the rigors of Catholic persecution. These sects soon found that the fellowship of Lutheran and Reformed was no more

congenial and in consequence they sought, in large numbers, freedom in the New World. In Pennsylvania independent communities of Mennonites, Amish, Dunkards, and Schwenkfelders sprang up under the liberal and tolerant guarantees of William Penn. Broad Bay was not afflicted with any such imposing array of Old World religious differences, for only Lutherans, Reformed, and Moravians were represented in the colony on the Medomak. Here the Moravians were the smallest of the groups and also the most persistent and unassimilable. This fact alone was sufficient to establish in the Maine wilderness and on a smaller scale the old distrust, disapproval, and persecution which had been visited on the Moravians in Central Europe since the year 1400.

The Moravian sect in its origins was not German. The real name of the movement was *Unitas Fratrum*; it rose in Bohemia and in the neighboring province of Moravia around the year 1400 as an outgrowth of the more primitive Christian teachings of John Huss, the great Bohemian mystic. This sect sought religious guidance direct from the Scriptures; held that the merit of the sacraments depended on the purity of the hands administering them. Its extreme position brought it into conflict not only with the established church but with the state as well; for it refused oaths, banned war, military service, and the filling of civic offices, and rejected all forms of economic life except the sale of basic necessities. Naturally such a sweeping anti-attitude stirred the opposition of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities and led to a bitter and devastating persecution.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the sect was eradicated in Bohemia, its churches razed or diverted to Catholic use, its property confiscated, its clergy banned, and its communicants compelled to recant or be banished. Laws provided for the destruction of all heretical books and accorded the privileges of citizenship and the right to marry only to Catholics. One Jesuit alone claimed the glory of having personally buried sixty thousand volumes. Few Moravians recanted and in consequence they were scattered throughout Prussia, Silesia, Poland, and Hungary. The only thing left to the sect, as it seemed to be reaching the point of extinction, was the succession of its bishops.

It was ordained, however, that the fate of this faith should be otherwise. In its darkest hour what seemed to be a Providential intervention came, around 1720, in the person of Graf Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a Saxon nobleman and a man of a deeply mystical religious experience. To about three hundred of these scattered religious outlaws, he offered a refuge on his estate in Saxony. From this tiny center the sect was renewed, and on its Slavic foundation there developed an overgrowth of German pietism, which in-



cluded a revolt from a formal and systematic theology, the evolving of a communal system of social and economic life, and the adoption of the ceremonial feet washing.

In addition to this the whole structure of Moravian religious belief became infiltrated with the extreme sentimentalism characteristic of eighteenth-century Germany, which is so cleverly revealed by Goethe in his *Leiden des Jungen Werthers*. The Moravians of Pennsylvania and Broad Bay were representatives of this period of ultra emotionalism. The correspondence and communications between Broad Bay and the Mother Church in Bethlehem in these years are of an orgiastic religious character. They contain expressions that almost defy meaningful interpretation either in English or German. The sufferings of the Christ, his wounds, his blood, and his passion receive an emphasis that seems irreverent and shocking to the modern reader. Their diction is largely made up of the highly figurative language of love as found in the *Song of Songs*. The Christ becomes the fiction of morbidly imaginative musings, and his followers fall in love with his image as one feels the sense of love for an earthly sweetheart. In justice to the modern church, it should be said that it has long since repudiated such extremes of emotionalism. In the present day the church greatly resembles the Church of England, but the Broad Bay Moravians of the mid eighteenth century manifested in their writings and worship the extremes here briefly elaborated.

The first Moravians reached America in 1734 and founded their great center at Bethlehem in 1741. Here they established their communal system, under which personal property was held by the individual, but the church held title to the land and received and distributed the fruits of the combined labor of the community, allotting to each individual the necessities of life, education for children and protection in sickness and old age. In 1749 there were thirty thousand Moravians in America, of which number more than a thousand were missionaries. Their activities extended from Maine to Georgia and westward across the mountains to the Indians in the Ohio Valley.

Among the missionaries operating in New England were George Soelle and Samuel Herr, of whom the former was at Broad Bay apparently as early as 1758. In Boston they were wont to stop at the house of the Sehlheims who were of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and here they received word of the interest at Broad Bay in their missionary activities. Herr and Soelle returned to Boston again in 1760 intent on surveying the territory north of that city for the purpose of singling out and reporting on the more promising centers for missionary labors. On this visit at the house of the Sehlheims, they met Barbara, the wife of Hans Georg Hahn, and were

eagerly beseeched by her to pay a visit to Broad Bay in order to minister to the spiritual wants of the group of Moravians in that settlement. There followed a two-week visit by Herr and Soelle, whose report on their stay is preserved in the archives of the Mother Church in Bethlehem and is the earliest firsthand account of the life at this time on the Medomak. In connection with Soelle's visit it should be said that there were a number of families of Moravian leaning in the colony as early as 1742. These included two of the Rominger brothers, the Voglers, and the Schneiders. This number was increased in each of the later migrations and included the Castners, the Hahns, the Orffs, and others. In reality at this time the soil had already been prepared, the seed sown, and the only thing wanting was the nurturing hand of the husbandman.

On August 22, 1760, Herr and Soelle reached Broad Bay by sloop from Boston. In his *Diary*<sup>1</sup> Soelle describes the place as follows:

It is a place where the sea runs twenty miles up into the land. About twelve miles up the Bay the ocean divides into two arms. The western arm does not extend very far, and the district round about it is called Runpan.<sup>2</sup> The eastern arm, however, extends much farther and is about a mile and a half wide; this arm is known in the main as Broad Bay. Here live the High Germans along the water and on both sides of the river. A splendid trade center could be built up here if the country round about were settled. The land in itself is very good and productive. Whatever is planted grows well, but they cannot sow winter wheat because snow is deep and it remains on the ground a long time. Fish they often get in such quantities that they feed their swine on them in winter. Nevertheless the people are still very poor, in part because they have not dwelt there very long, most of them only seven or eight years, and in part because in the present war<sup>3</sup> they have been greatly harassed by the Indians.

Soelle put up at the cabin of Georg Hahn, a carpenter, who had helped to build the Single Brethren House at Herrnhaag.<sup>4</sup> He found the community without spiritual leadership. There were no preachers who visited the place, and one Englishman<sup>5</sup> who came to Soelle's service told him that he had not heard a sermon in seven years. In 1758 Georg Hahn had started to hold meetings every Sunday and to read from Doctor Hartmann's *Book of Sermons* to the few with Moravian leanings who gathered in his cabin. This number embraced about six families. On the Sunday of August 24th Soelle preached in the morning and Herr in the afternoon. These meetings were attended by the general public, and afterward a special meeting was held for those with Moravian interests.

<sup>1</sup>*New England Quarterly*, Dec., 1939. Trans. and ed. by J. J. Stahl.

<sup>2</sup>Round Pond.

<sup>3</sup>The French and Indian War. Final treaty signed at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763.

<sup>4</sup>A Moravian Center in Germany.

<sup>5</sup>Moses Robinson from Warren.



Hahn's great unpopularity in the community was at first something of a handicap to the two brethren. Soelle observes that Hahn had let loose on the people everywhere, "with thunder and lightning," and "in this way he has brought the people to such a pitch of anger that they have really sought to kill him." He had especially incurred the enmity of the leading man in the colony, Captain Charles Christopher Godfrey Leisner, who at first gave vent to dark utterances against the two missionaries. Samuel Herr, however, had a long talk with Captain Leisner and seemingly was able to allay his suspicions. In the meeting of August 27th at the home of John Martin Reiser (Razor), however, Leisner was in attendance and thereafter gave the brethren full support for the duration of their stay, and offered the use of his cabin for future services. Since this was the largest in all Broad Bay, the offer was gladly accepted, a fact which according to Soelle, "gave to the self righteousness of our host<sup>6</sup> a terrific shock."

On the following Sunday, August 31, Soelle's account of the services so fully reveals the great hunger and thirst after righteousness among the people, that his own words<sup>7</sup> are here given:

Today a great many of the Germans and the English from Runpan and Benequith<sup>8</sup> come to the service in Captain Leisner's house. Since the house was much too small to hold the people, I was obliged to deliver the German sermon in the field. I proclaimed to them the death of the Lamb, its reason and its power by using the words from Ephesians, Chapter II, verse 10 [For we are his workmanship, etc.] There I stressed mainly the words, "created in Christ Jesus." After the German service was finished, I had the English and as many Germans as understood English go into the house. I took as the text Hebrews 9, 14, "How much more shall the blood of Christ" etc. The dear Saviour blessed his word in both places; especially, however, was the English meeting blessed with visible grace. Many eyes and cheeks were wet. Captain Leisner wept like a child.

After I had finished here at two o'clock, many more people came from the other side of Broad Bay to hear the word. We had no time to eat dinner, to which Captain Leisner had invited us, but went with the people to a fort<sup>9</sup> where Brother Samuel delivered a fine sermon, using as his text First Timothy, Chapter I, verse 15 ["Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief"]. The people sat upon the square around him and looked at him as fixedly and continuously as if they wanted to eat the words from his mouth.

When we were finished they began to repeat their request that one of us might remain in the settlement. . . . Since we intended tomorrow or day after tomorrow to go back to Boston and on that account talked today with a Captain, all the truly awakened came together and wanted us to take a letter of theirs to Bethlehem in order to request a brother of the Church. We told them they should consider the matter a little

<sup>6</sup>Georg Hahn.

<sup>7</sup>*Kurze Historische Bericht von dem Häuflein in Broad Bay vom Anfang an bis jetzt*, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>8</sup>Pemaquid.

<sup>9</sup>Probably the "middle garrison" on Garrison Hill on the old Ludwig Castner farm.



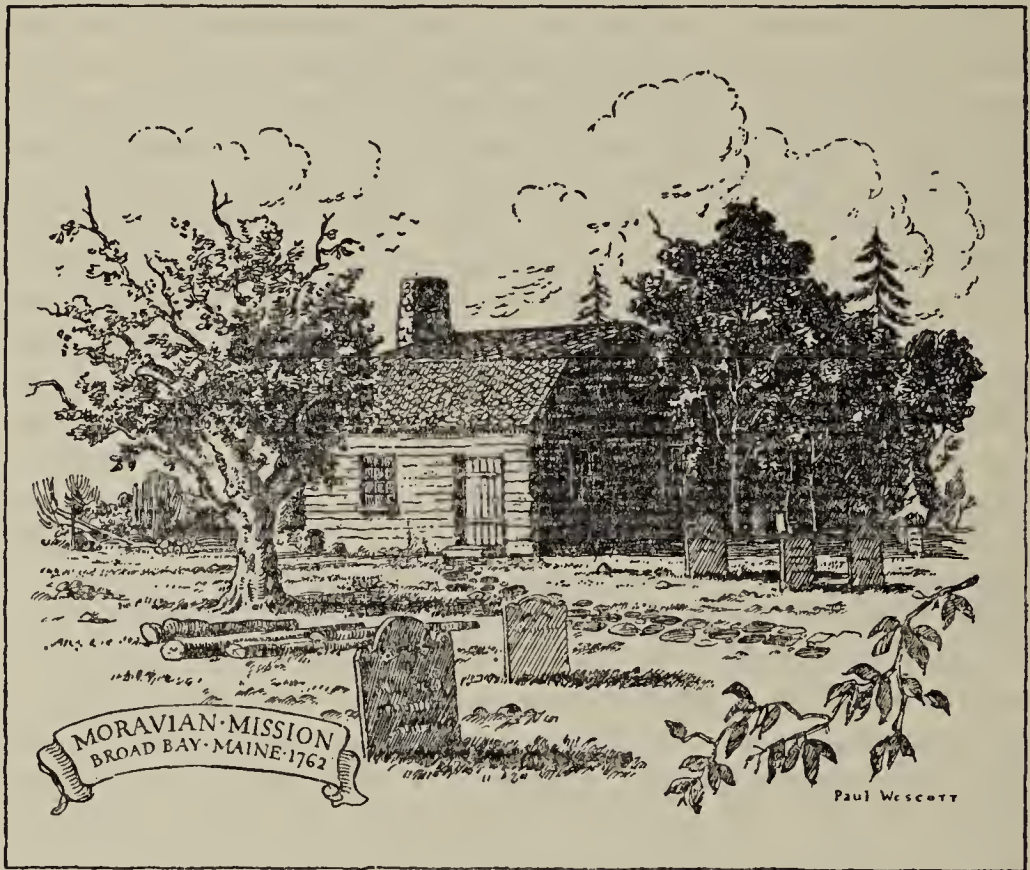
more carefully and see to what extent the Saviour would reveal his purpose in their heart and feelings, and if he did so, so that they were all united in this matter, they could write. They said they would follow our counsel, but that they could not defer writing beyond late fall as they would like to have a Brother come in the spring. They had after that a brief but blessed quarter of an hour with us, and then very late at night they returned to their homes. It was a day rich in blessings for Broad Bay.

On Thursday, September 4th, Soelle and Samuel Herr left Broad Bay for Boston. In due season the request from the Moravian group on the Medomak was drawn up and sent; but according to Soelle, it fell into hostile hands in transit, an indication of the suspicion in which the little Moravian group at Broad Bay was held. But Soelle's report to the Mother Church was sufficient to create the needed interest, and in August 1762 he returned to Broad Bay under a mandate from his church to establish a mission there.

Much of the groundwork for such a task had already been laid by Georg Hahn. He had come to Broad Bay in 1752 and had found there as Soelle expressed it, rather strongly perhaps, nothing but a settlement made up of "atrociously wicked people." There were some spiritually minded ones, and these requested Hahn to read them a sermon each Sunday. This was in the Broad Bay tradition, as one is minded of the similar groups which gathered to listen to John Ulmer and Captain Leisner. In this way it is recorded that some of Hahn's group came upon "better thoughts," and started to hold small separate meetings, to read the Bible together, to discuss the meaning of texts, and to conclude their meetings with common prayers. Hahn had a vague recollection of the Moravian forms and practices which he had observed at Herrnhag and sought to mold the group on similar lines. This condition continued for a number of years during which separate meetings were held with prayers, discussion, and communion. It was a flock without a shepherd. Questions were asked which could not be answered, and differences of opinion arose over the meanings of the Word and over the proper course of procedure. The group was conscious of these disintegrating influences and prayed for a brother who would come and serve as their leader. They wrote and they visited Jacob Sehlheim in Boston begging him, if any of the Brethren should come to his place, to send one to them. This, in brief, is the background of the situation which Soelle faced as he entered on his ministry at Broad Bay.

On his return to Broad Bay in the year 1762, Soelle brought to the group a greeting of love and good will from the church in Bethlehem and a statement of his willingness to serve Broad Bay as a missionary preacher. He told the people that it was his intent to remain over the winter with them. In consequence they

at once decided to build a meetinghouse, and the members of seven families started to erect the mission. In the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem is a rough pencil sketch of this structure, made by Bishop John Ettwein during his visit to Broad Bay in 1767, a sketch which has been used by the artist in doing the illustration for this chapter. Among the builders of the mission were certainly car-



penters, David and Michael Rominger, Georg Hahn, David Holzappel, and the blacksmith, Willibaldus Castner, assisted by Philip Vogler, Nicklaus Orph, and others. It was a rough log structure located on the east bank of the river at the shore of the farm of Philip Christopher Vogler, the present Davis Dairy farm. In early December the work on the mission was completed and Soelle records the dedication and the first meeting in the following paragraph:

On the 12th of December I delivered the first sermon in our new meeting house with the text taken from Ephesians, 3, 17, "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith," etc. After I had talked to the children, we dedicated the house to the Saviour upon our knees with many tears. We besought his blessing and gracious presence as often as we came here together to speak and hear of him, and commended ourselves in all our ways to his watchful care. We were keenly sensitive to his presence among us. After the communion we all went quietly home



with light hearts. On Sunday, the 17th, I moved into the house and on the 20th, I started a little school which continued through the winter for our own and a few outside children.

So it was that the mission house was used as a church, school, and residence for Mr. Soelle. It was then common practice for Moravian missionaries to reside in the mission house.

Following his arrival, Soelle had immediately begun to hold services for all the people at Broad Bay, and from time to time preached to the English at Broad Cove. He visited very generally in Broad Bay homes. In this the faithful Saviour was with him and blessed the word he carried as far as possible. Everything proceeded in a peaceful and friendly manner until November, when the strange and bizarre personage of John Martin Schaeffer appeared on the scene to take up the work of resident pastor for the Lutherans. Trouble started with his arrival. First, rumors were spread through the settlement to the effect that Soelle had been stoned out of Philadelphia by the children, and that in Newport he had been escorted out of town by the constables. In order to allay these rumors, Soelle paid a call on the arch-hypocrite in an effort to set him right on his facts. This visit is described by Soelle as follows:

In the face of all this I visited him and found him very friendly. I was of good courage and sustained by the presence of my Lord, told him what my sole object was at Broad Bay and when I had finished I took a friendly leave. He promised to visit me, said we must see something of one another and that he intended to persuade me to be his assistant in the preaching and schoolwork. I replied that I was here only to serve the few people who had asked it of me and that beyond that I was not prepared to go.

This first visit made it clear to Soelle that Schaeffer was no wolf in sheep's clothing, but rather as he termed it, "a wild sow in the vineyard." At the end of 1762 a new family of Moravian sympathizers arrived from Boston. The seven families had become eight, which probably increased Soelle's flock to more than fifty men, women, and children.

The year 1763 started with considerable agitation. Opinions were expressed loudly and freely. They did not want two preachers in the settlement, to say nothing of Herrnhüter;<sup>10</sup> the Moravians should cleave to Schaeffer and help pay his salary. Georg Hahn was held especially responsible for existing conditions since he had written to Bethlehem in the name of six families to secure a Brother. The basic instigator of all this persecution was Schaeffer, and it is doing him no injustice to say that his primary purpose

<sup>10</sup>So called from Herrnhut, the settlement made by the Moravians in 1722 on the estate of Count Zinzendorf.



was mercenary rather than religious, for with two preachers in the colony, there would be fewer to contribute to his salary.

The fire smouldered under the ashes all through the winter. There was a quiet but constant intrigue. Detailed preparations were made and a decision reached to send Soelle and Hahn away to Boston on the first sloop to enter the river after the ice had gone out in the spring. To this end Soelle's passport was demanded of him in February. By April agitation had grown more intense. On May 10th the trouble came to a head. Soelle and Hahn were seized by an escort of from thirty to forty armed men and led away. The abductors could not agree, however, with reference to the disposition of the two prisoners and after a day in custody they were released. Soelle notes: "Our people sat in the meeting house when it happened and did not speak. Then I began my work as before. Joy consoled and quickened me, and I remained of good courage through it all."

In June the agitators took from the Moravians their pasture land. In the economy of Broad Bay this was a heavy blow, but it served only to increase resistance, and they resolved to suffer all rather than "turn their hearts away from the Gospel." It did not even occur to the persecuted to lodge complaint with the authorities. The remainder of the year saw no further recourse to force, although there was no abatement in the campaign of defamation. Despite all this opposition on the part of Schaeffer and his supporters, Soelle notes: "Now this one, now that one came to listen and not without blessing."

The first break favorable to the Moravians in this period of persecution came in the spring of 1764, when some of Schaeffer's followers discovered things in his way of living which shocked them, and they considered withdrawing their support from him. There was another blow, too, that caught Schaeffer unexpectedly between wind and water, and certainly was not of a purely accidental character. Late in the preceding year a copy of Christopher Sauer's German newspaper<sup>11</sup> had been sent or brought into the colony. In it Schaeffer's first wife, who had left him, gave an account of his behavior toward her. The paper with this bit of scandal in it, set forth by one who had suffered at Schaeffer's hands, came, not by chance perhaps, into the possession of the Moravians. Soelle forbade that the report be given to the public. The temptation, however, was too strong, and malodorous rumors were soon in circulation. Some people gave these credence, and as a consequence the Reformed families withdrew from Schaeffer and started holding services under the leadership of one of their Reformed schoolmasters. To this group the impetuous Georg Hahn,

<sup>11</sup>The first German language newspaper to be published in the colonies.

always eager to track Beelzebub to his lair, showed the newspaper story.

The tempo of life at Broad Bay speeded up. The whole settlement buzzed like a hive of angry bees. Schaeffer struck back in revenge. He used the arm of the law to have Hahn placed under arrest on the charge that six years before, when there was no preacher in the place, he had baptized children. The subordinate officer making the arrest had, however, acted on his own initiative; and when the news reached Frankfort, the county seat, the High Sheriff came to Broad Bay to investigate conditions. As a result he advised Hahn to place his case in the hands of the King's Attorney for action. This partial solution of the situation had come about by accident and not from any call for aid on the part of the Moravians. Schaeffer was checked but he did not cease to howl.

As a result of this turn of affairs Soelle's listeners increased markedly through the winter. The desire for admission to his school also increased. He took as many children as he could, among them those of a man who was one of his principal enemies in the settlement. That winter his flock was increased by eight additions. Soelle also continued to preach to the English in the neighboring settlement, and many came as frequently as they could to his service at Broad Bay. Through it all Soelle was restless. This was his nature. He never cared to stay very long in one place. He loved the association of kindred spirits and constantly longed for the fellowship of the church in Bethlehem. His letters to the Mother Church are ever expressive of the hope that a Brother might be sent to relieve him and yet the pathetic condition of his poor flock at Broad Bay held him like a magnet at his post. "I see clearly," he writes, "that Christ is not weary of this place, but rather doth it please him to have his cross proclaimed here. So I will not tear myself away, but will wait until he himself bids me go."<sup>12</sup> As an antidote to his loneliness and isolation, the Church sent Brother Heppner to pay him a visit and to aid him in his work for a brief period during the summers of 1763 and 1764.

In spite of the check which Schaeffer had received, his activity continued; but now the real character of the man was understood in some quarters, and in consequence, he was not able to act except where a reasonable opening occurred. As Soelle notes: "Satan has up to the present done his best, although he is now permitted to act only in his devil's garb and not in his seraphic form." But such an opening did occur in the summer of 1764 which gave "Satan" a pretext for venting his malice. In the spring of this year one of Schaeffer's former followers came to Soelle and asked him

<sup>12</sup>Letter to Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, Apr. 12, 1764, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).



to baptize his child. He was of the Reformed group, and the schoolmaster who was his spiritual adviser had no license to perform this rite. Soelle observes:

I promised to serve him since I did not have the right to deny him. When the Sunday came I was standing delivering the prayer before the sermon when a group of men selected by the Pfarrer<sup>13</sup> approached. Two of them entered the mission and told me to shut up. They were under Schaeffer's orders to take me out and throw me into the river. I bade the congregation to be quiet. I was not disturbed but rather gazed kindly at them. They left without saying much.

Again in this incident the law intervened and accorded to the Reformed Schoolmaster the right to baptize children until such time as this group should have a regular minister of its own. This was the last serious act of persecution which the Moravians at Broad Bay were compelled to undergo. Thereafter the hostility took a more petty form involving social disapproval and the many other guises by which the majority expresses its dislike and contempt for nonconformists.

Among the regular attendants at Soelle's services at the close of the year 1764, he lists the following: Michael Rominger and wife, Katharina, Philip Vogler and wife, Katherina, David Rominger and wife Katharina, Matthaus Seitenberger and wife, Susanna, Nicholas Orph and wife, Margaretha, David Holzapfel and wife, Katharina, Heinrich Wagner and wife, Katharina, Michael Seitz and wife, Elizabeth, David Kirbel and wife, Margaretha, Georg Hahn and wife, Barbara, Adam Schumacher, Michael Jung, Willibaldus Kastner and wife, Justina, Peter Kroehn and his wife, Elizabeth. This was a sizable growth considering the handicaps under which the little mission had functioned.

By 1766 religious freedom prevailed outwardly at least at Broad Bay. Soelle had been given a written guarantee to the effect by the "Chief Justice,"<sup>14</sup> which had brought the Germans, "slavish in church matters," to their senses and left them in a state of quiescence.<sup>15</sup> Such a condition naturally gave rise to the thought of converting the mission at Broad Bay into a permanent Moravian Church. Philip Vogler, on whose land the mission house stood, declared himself ready to deed the land to the church if Soelle would accept it. The latter depended on Bethlehem; and Bethlehem delayed, as a considerable degree of discipline was regarded as necessary as well as a long probationary period, as a condition of admission to church membership. Possibly to secure a firsthand impression of the work in New England, Bishop John

<sup>13</sup>Pastor Schaeffer.

<sup>14</sup>Probably Judge Edward Cushing of Pownalborough and Boston, who was offered by Pres. Washington the appointment of Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. He declined but accepted appointment as an Associate Justice.

<sup>15</sup>Soelle: Letter without address, Sept. 22, 1766, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).



Ettwein made a tour<sup>16</sup> of this area in May and June 1767. He reached Broad Bay on Sunday, May 24th, and went at once to the Mission. In his own words he states: "When I came to the Mission, Brother Soelle was preaching on the text, Ye shall know the truth and the truth will make you free. Some were sitting outside in front of the windows and were weeping freely."

Ettwein preached to the people that afternoon and spent the next two days visiting the families in their cabins. On this occasion they renewed their pleas that they should not be abandoned by the Church and that the mission be continued and be expanded into a permanent church. On May 28th, Ascension Day, Ettwein preached again and soon after the sermon took a sloop for Boston accompanied by Soelle and Michael Jung. Soelle was accompanying the young man to Bethlehem to enter him in the service of the Church. Ettwein's visit to Broad Bay did not lead to a permanent church; but it did have far-reaching consequences in Broad Bay history, modifying basically the destiny of a considerable number of families.

On his way back to Broad Bay, Soelle found Pastor Schaeffer in Boston on the point of leaving for Europe. This doubtless caused him no regret, although as the only ordained minister in the settlement, he well knew that he would be plagued by those of all faiths with "church agenda." He arrived at Broad Bay on September 28th and was received by his own people with child-like joy. He was not long in discovering, however, that he was facing an entirely new situation, one which laid a heavy load of responsibility on him for the rest of his years in the settlement. While Bishop Ettwein had been at Broad Bay, he had talked to the people somewhat about North Carolina and the new Moravian settlement there. Soelle observes in his letter<sup>17</sup> to Bishop Seidel at Bethlehem:

That stuck in the people's minds, so that they all with the exception of two families, had one and the same thought, namely, to sell everything, to migrate thither and to settle in that community. They did not dare to speak in his [Ettwein's] presence for they did not know one another's thoughts. Afterwards they talked it over with one another, and . . . in case it would be permitted by the Church, they decided to sell and make early preparations for leaving. I did not know at first what to say to this, as I knew their inward and outward circumstances. For the time being I advised against it.

Soelle concludes with a plea for the prayers and advice of the brethren in Bethlehem that he might be able to guard the flock amid their errant aims.

<sup>16</sup>Report of Bro. Ettwein's trip through New England and his visit to Newport, Broad Bay, etc. . . . in May and June 1767, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>17</sup>Letter of October 6, 1767, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

The section of North Carolina that interested the Broad Bay Moravians was the present Winston-Salem district. Here the Church had acquired a grant of a little less than 100,000 acres. On November 17, 1753, the first settlement, Bethabara,<sup>18</sup> was founded. The whole tract was called Wachovia, a name derived from the valley of the Wachau in Austria, which was the patrimony of Count Ludwig Zinzendorf.<sup>19</sup> Here by settling and taking up all contiguous territory the Moravians were able to establish the same communal social system as at Bethlehem, with churches, schools, and a uniformly disciplined environment for the rearing and educating of their children. The impossibility of such a social organization was one of the major obstacles to the development of a Moravian community at Broad Bay, where the lands of the faithful were scattered in separate lots throughout the plantation. Communal organization was possible for them only on the basis of a large land area exclusively their own.

In the meantime the question continued to be agitated among the members of the mission, and Soelle's cautious advice to proceed slowly did not satisfy his flock. On November 2, 1767, the impetuous Hahn directed a letter to Bishop Ettwein in Bethlehem setting forth their difficulties arising from the land distribution and the needs of their children. He urged Ettwein to make the arrangements necessary to enable them to start their preparations at once. In a letter to Ettwein of the same date, Soelle admits that his efforts to persuade them against such a move had been in vain; he admonishes the Bishop in the following language: "Now dear Brother, you will place this matter before the Conference, since I neither can nor will have a hand in the affair, for I do not understand the situation . . . you have brought the idea to them, hence may the Saviour give you grace that you may advise what is good for them to do."

Despite the unsettled condition which he was now facing, Soelle continued his active work among the people. Schaeffer's absence added heavily to his mission work. A glimpse of his labors during the spring of 1768 is given in a letter to Bishop Nathanael Seidel under the date of April 2nd of that year:

From outside the people come in masses to hear the preaching to an extent that the house cannot hold them. I entreat the Saviour to accept of some as a recompense for his suffering. I proclaim the word to them with grace and feeling. . . . Some seem moved who formerly were rascals, and have resolved never to turn from these meetings; they say that they had never known before that there was such a thing. One wept for some days wherever he went and the people mocked him; but he

<sup>18</sup>Meaning the House of Passage.

<sup>19</sup>G. B. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlement and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (1872).

continues to pursue his own course, and attends the meetings regularly with his whole family. Another was punished by his father because he attended the meetings. He reproached his father saying: "You have done me a wrong that you have not had me learn to read. A poor man am I, but I would be willing to give a hundred pounds, if I could read. You will not make me turn away from these meetings, for what I feel no one can take from me." It would have been better if the father had punished his own godless life. Through the winter I have had much baptizing to do, even the children of our enemies. This I am glad to do for them, but with their weddings they are a burden to me, and yet I cannot do otherwise. Gladly am I everything to everyman in order to win a few. In the case of the baptizings I go into some of their houses, since the people may not come to the meetings at the Mission. I have used this opportunity to scatter the good seed, which is what I am eager to do.

The motives for the migration of the Moravians at Broad Bay were varied. Some desired the communal life characteristic of the Church's organization; some desired to escape the bitterness which had developed in the Broad Bay environment; others desired their children to grow up in a religious milieu conducive to the ideals entertained by their parents, and there were some who sought worldly betterment in a milder clime and on a richer soil. Soelle, who knew their economic condition, realized that their lot in North Carolina would not be much different, and in consequence maintained throughout a strictly neutral attitude. The status of the proposed migration in the summer of 1768 is represented by Soelle in a letter to Ettwein<sup>20</sup> as follows:

The families which have decided to migrate later this year in November, for there are no ships which go to Wilmington any earlier, are, Adam Schumacher who has five children; Michael Seitz who has three little children; Georg Hahn has no children of his own, only an adopted girl; David Rominger, he has no children except two that are grown up, who will not go with him. It is still a question whether his wife will go, because she is not well, and who perhaps prefers to remain with her children who are married here. His are unmarried. She, however, is contented if he goes and she cannot go with him. The fifth is Kroehn . . . who has only three children. These are all determined to go if they can sell their farms. Two have already been visited by purchasers, but they were not able to raise the money immediately. That is the hub of the matter.

They would all like to be able to go at the same time. That however, depends on their selling, for when one is ready he cannot wait for another to sell. . . .

There are still three more who are more questionable, namely Michael Rominger, Jacob Reid, and Vogler's wife. He has a heart that has something of the Saviour in it, and he would feel very badly if he had to remain behind, and yet perhaps this is the Saviour's will. I cannot say for I do not know what He has in store for this place, and the Mission stands on Vogler's land.

<sup>20</sup>Soelle to Ettwein, Aug. 27, 1768, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).



The three last mentioned families, especially the two of which I heard when I was leaving, will also go, if Michael Rominger can get what people owe him. Rominger has four children, Reid five and Vogler eight. There are two more families which have thought of going, but since their poverty is so great and their children numerous, each has seven or eight naked and helpless little ones, their courage fails them.

The first group of Moravians, made up of six families, left Broad Bay on August 26, 1769. Soelle describes their leave-taking the evening before as "deeply moving and blessed."<sup>21</sup> They proceeded by sloop to Boston, where, after being confronted with many unnecessary difficulties, they secured, on September 17th passage on a schooner bound for Wilmington. Disaster overtook them off the Virginia coast where their ship was wrecked. The captain, seeing there was no chance of saving his ship, beached her so successfully that all the passengers were able to reach the shore; and most of their baggage was saved, although two families lost everything. They reshipped for Wilmington and from there proceeded inland via Cross Creek,<sup>22</sup> reaching the Bethabara settlement in detachments on November 8th, 11th, and 14th. The first group to arrive was made up of David Rominger and his son, Philip; John Michael Seitz, his wife Elizabeth, his four children and his wife's sister, Juliana Rominger, later to become the wife of Jacob Friedrich Lagenauer; also Anton Kastner, his wife, Gottliebe, and one child. On the eleventh came Georg Hahn, his wife Barbara, and their adopted daughter; Peter Kroehn, his wife Elizabeth, and their three children, and the five Schumacher children with their stepmother, Sophia Wohlfahrt. The third and last group to reach Bethabara on the 14th was Adam Schumacher and his stepson, Jacob Wohlfahrt. This first migration totalled about twenty-eight persons.

That part of the Wachovia tract to be settled by the Broad Bayers was known as Friedland. The site is six miles from the city of Winston-Salem in a southeasterly direction from the city and a short distance from the highway leading from the city to High Point. There is still a Moravian congregation there with church, parsonage, and graveyard. Of this first migration only the Kroehn family was among the founders of Friedland. Georg Hahn settled near Friedberg. Seitz was in Bethabara for a number of years; Kastner was for a while the manager of the Bethabara farm; Schumacher bought a farm northwest of Salem, and David Rominger lived in Bethania, after the death of his wife and son led him to change his plan of taking up a farm in Friedland.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Letter to John Ettwein, Oct. 12, 1769, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>22</sup>Now Fayetteville.

<sup>23</sup>Ms. Address loaned by Adeliade L. Fries, Archivist, Morav. Church South (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

In a communication to Ettwein under date of October 12, 1769,<sup>24</sup> Soelle announced that eight more Broad Bay families were planning to migrate. He also pointed out that at no time had interest in spiritual affairs risen as high at Broad Bay, and that the people there were clamoring that a Brother be sent to replace him in case he was withdrawn. Soelle's heart was clearly in his work, and the interests of the mission were uppermost in his mind. For eight years he had labored there with improving prospects, and during this time he had, as he said, aimed not to be a burden to the people. They had merely provided him with food and fuel; his clothes for the most part had been presented to him by his Lord.

Conditions at Broad Bay Mission through the winter of 1769-1770 are revealed in letters sent to Ettwein by Soelle in the spring of 1770, and the relevant excerpts follow:

Since I hear that a sloop is lying in the Narrows bound for Boston, I am writing you these few lines in haste. . . . It is still winter here. Snow covers the whole land, and it freezes every day just as at Christmas. . . . The river is still closed. . . . If you have received word by letter, you will know that some people here have written to the Church that a Brother be sent here in case it should happen that I might be relieved. . . . There are many here who are planning to follow those who last year moved to North Carolina, and they are determined to leave in the autumn in case they can sell their lands this spring. Their purpose has been considerably stimulated by an Englishman who came here, who had been in North Carolina, and who told them much, among other things that the Brethren were all living by themselves together. . . . They are now planning to incorporate this settlement into a town. Schaeffer is also back and, so far as he can, creates trouble as formerly. The people have divided into three groups.<sup>25</sup> Some have accepted him again; others cleave to their schoolmaster; and others come to our meetings, many from a love of the truth, and many because in coming here it does not cost them anything. . . . Round about in this district the stirrings of grace increase among the English. For this reason I have wished that a church might come into being here. After all that has taken place it might in the course of time come to stand as firm as a rock. Of the land over around Fort Halifax<sup>26</sup> I have twice written you. Since that time a couple of our people have inspected it. If I knew you had not received my letters I would write you again about it. . . . My dear Sehlheim has died, but the dear old wife is still living so far as I know. . . . Be so good and greet dear Michael Jung, and tell him that his father is still living and is beginning to have different thoughts. He comes regularly to the meetings now.

Soelle's letter to Ettwein of May 12th is of interest since among other things it shows the degree to which migration of the Broad Bay Moravians to the Kennebec was considered. In an earlier letter Soelle had indicated that a survey had been made in that region by two of his flock. In the following he makes clear the outcome of this plan:

<sup>24</sup>Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>25</sup>Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian.

<sup>26</sup>A migration to Kennebec lands was at this time under consideration.



A certain man, named Euer has recently moved here from Boston. He formerly lived on the land there on the Kennebec, but because he became involved in a matter of conscience, he sold his plantation and moved to Boston. He wanted to go to Philadelphia. To his regret this plan failed to materialize, and he intends to live here. He says the Doctor's<sup>27</sup> land is very good, but it is six miles back from the river so that one cannot do much with lumbering. The Plymouth Company and Dr. Gardiner are now devoting all their energies to getting the land settled . . . that the people are moving in there quite generally. I believe that is the reason that our people cannot sell their land. . . . According to a suggestion in your letter of Feb. 1st, I here made the proposal that the people should move over there. However, they have no interest or desire to do so. If there were a settlement of the brethren there, then they would go, for they want to live near a Moravian group in order that they and their children may share in the advantages of such propinquity, and withdraw from the noise and madness of the world. That was their answer. Their longing is towards Carolina, but still the poor souls see no way. If they are to get there they feel that they must sell their stock and abandon their land.

By August the situation at Broad Bay had reached its final crystallization. On the 8th, Soelle wrote to Ettwein as follows:

Eight families have resolved to follow those of the year before, and before the letters reached here on July 30, some had already sold their land. The others are expecting purchasers any day, of whom many will come they say, for the English are going to buy the whole east side up to Medamuck Falls, wherever they can acquire land. We are accordingly hoping that we can leave here by the middle of September. They wish me to go with them and for that I have the consent of the dear Lord in my heart. There are still some families left which cannot go this time but expect to leave next year. They will stick together with those here who go to the mission services. The House will be preserved for that which it was built. The English still come here frequently to the meetings, to whom up to this time I have spoken with power and grace.

Think it over, dear Brother, in the Saviour's presence whether you should not have a brother sent here this winter for the sake of those who will be left here and for the English. Among these latter there are many souls hereabout who have ears. Since the letters came they will sell everything which has been holding them here. This applies also to many of Schaeffer's people. Should the purchasers come there are many who would certainly like to sell. In such a case I should wish that you were here.

On September 5, 1770, Soelle wrote his last letter to Ettwein from Broad Bay. The excerpts which follow outline the situation existing on the eve of departure:

It is already late and early tomorrow morning the person is leaving who is to take this letter with him. Hence I must be brief in my last letter from this place. The schooner has been lying three days in the

<sup>27</sup>Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the leading promoter in the Plymouth or Kennebec Company.



Bay, which is to take me and seven families to North Carolina. . . . Many here in the district are sorry that I am leaving. I am sorry too. I think there will be several more from here who will migrate next year. In the meantime they will use the Mission House for their edification as far as possible. A widow has bought this place who is a quakeress.<sup>28</sup> The House, however, does not belong to her. In the meantime could a brother only visit her, it would be good, and if he were an Englishman or half English it would be better. . . .

You cannot imagine the difficulties which occur in connection with the leaving of these poor people. There are seven families which have sold everything and placed themselves on the omnipotence of God. It is a question now whether three of these families will not have to remain behind. All that I can do is to lay my entreaties before Him.<sup>29</sup>

The journey from Broad Bay to Salem, North Carolina, lasted nine weeks. For fifteen days they were at sea in what Soelle described as "a hard and dangerous journey, much worse than the one from Europe." In Brunswick they lay for eight days. In the harbor at Cape Fair where they took refuge from bad weather they saw a brig stranded on the shore. At Cross Creek on the overland journey to Winston-Salem the wife of Philip Vogler died of yellow fever and was buried at this place. Here they were compelled to remain for three weeks before it was possible to secure wagons to continue the journey.<sup>30</sup>

On November 6th, Soelle reached Bethabara with five families: Philip Vogler with his nine children; Heinrich and Susanna Lauer and their daughter, Eva; David and Margaret Kuebler; Michael Rominger with his wife Catherine, and five children, and Georg Williard. On December 31st Friedrich and Salome Kuentzel with their four children, and Jacob and Elizabeth Ried with five children came to their journey's end. This migration may be conservatively estimated at about forty souls. Of the Vogler family one son, John, later returned to Broad Bay; and in 1784 married Ruth Perkins of St. George to continue the Vogler name in Waldoborough. Another son, Samuel, settled at Shiloh in the southwest part of Wachovia and became an active Lutheran. The father and the other seven children were among the founders of Friedland. A grandson, John,<sup>31</sup> eventually became one of the more famous American cabinetmakers and silversmiths and built for himself a beautiful colonial home in Wachovia which today is one of the lovely landmarks of that town.

During the next few years additional families drifted in from Broad Bay, among them Friedrich Hahn and his wife Gertrude, John Jacob Hein and his wife, Jacob Rominger and wife Barbara,

<sup>28</sup>Possibly a reference to Prudence Chapman of Pownalborough.

<sup>29</sup>Soelle to Ettwein, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>30</sup>Soelle's letter to Nathanael Seidel, Sept. 5, 1770, Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>31</sup>T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Old South* (N. Y., 1942), p. 179.

and possibly Georg and Jacob Lagenauer. Bernhard Kuentzel and his family came in 1772 but returned to Broad Bay the next year, and David Holzapfel and his wife Catherine, who had been among Soelle's supporters at Broad Bay, came and settled near Friedland but never joined that congregation. All in all, Broad Bay lost about one hundred souls in this migration. The majority of these emigrants purchased a tract of land in the southeastern part of Wachovia, and had it laid out so that each family might have a long narrow farm of about two hundred acres, with all the houses at the same end of the farms, so that they might face the same road and form a sort of long straggling village within easy reach of a central house of worship. This entire tract on the south fork of Muddy Creek was surveyed for them on November 20, 1770. In addition to the farms, thirty acres were set aside for the meeting-house, parsonage, schoolhouse, and graveyard.

During the spring and summer of 1771, the Broad Bayers worked at building their houses; and family after family moved into their new homes in the Friedland district. On July 21st they organized their parish and signed "The Brotherly Agreement." This document, written in the German language and preserved in the Salem archives, contains a preamble which translates as follows:

We, the undersigned, moved from Broad Bay in New England to Wachovia in North Carolina, in order to be a church of the Unity of Brethren, to build ourselves up with them in doctrine and in life, to bring up our children for the Lord, and to lead a peaceful and quiet life in all righteousness and honor. To this end we have bought land for farms, and have so laid it out that we can live in a little village not far from each other. We have also found it good at the very beginning to agree together on certain points, so that our close association may not be, for our harm, but for the furtherance of our above mentioned intentions.

There follows hereafter the seven points of agreement signed by Peter Kroehn, Philip Vogler, John Friedrich Kuentzel, Micel Rominger, Jacob Rominger, Peter Fiedler, Jacob Ried, Jacob Lauer, Andreas Lauer, George Williard, and Melchior Schneider. All these signatures are old Broad Bayers except Peter Fiedler, who came from Berks County, Pennsylvania. He married Elizabeth Kroehn, who had been born at Broad Bay. On December 19th, in the year 1771, at a love feast at Friedberg it was officially made known that thereafter the new settlement would be known as Friedland, but the old name was hard to down, and to this day "Broad Bay Township" is the name of one of the official divisions of Forsyth County. The old name disappeared in Maine only to be perpetuated in a distant southern state. By the turn of the century (1800-1802) the resident Moravian clergyman serving

the community was Jacob Wohlfahrt who, as a youth, had been in the first migration from Broad Bay thirty years before.

The curtain should not be drawn on this scene of contentment and peace without one last word concerning the Shepherd of the sheep. Long years of labor amid the hardships of the frontier had affected Soelle's health; and when he left Broad Bay in the autumn of 1770, he was a weak and broken man. Nevertheless he took up his labors in the new field and preached the word until the very last which fell on May 4, 1773. Of the end of this sincere and self-effacing apostle of Christ, Bishop John Ettwein wrote to the missionaries in Barbados: "On May 4th, our dear Brother Soelle, a faithful and cheerful witness, entered into the joy of our Lord; he was still preaching on the 2nd of May in a neighboring settlement; on the 3rd, he came home ill; on the 4th he preached and sang almost unceasingly of the great mystery revealed by God in the flesh, and in the evening he departed this life."<sup>32</sup> He lies buried in the Broad Bay cemetery at Friedland among his old Broad Bay parishioners into whose wilderness he had originally brought the light.

The two Broad Bays thus separated lost contact over the years. Blood kin in Maine and North Carolina fought for a common cause in the Revolution. In the great Civil War they warred against one another for separate causes. It is not known that any Waldoborough people have ever sought their distant kin in North Carolina, nor that any of the Friedlanders have ever made a pilgrimage to the old home of their ancestors. At Broad Bay, Maine, the Moravian cause, weakened as it was by its losses, persisted as a home religion even after the mission house had decayed and disappeared. Among these old Moravian families, there are those still living who can remember their grandfathers being called by some angry neighbor, "an old Herrnhüter."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Letter in the Morav. Archives (Bethlehem, Pa.).

<sup>33</sup>Oral narrative, Miss Enah Orff.



## XVIII

### LAND TITLES AND LAND TROUBLES

*'Now, sire, for Godde's sake  
What shal I paye? Telleth me, I preye!  
'Y-wis,' quod he, 'it is ful deere, I saye!'*

GEOFFREY CHAUCER

THE DECADE FROM 1760 TO 1770 at Broad Bay was an active and troubled period. It witnessed the end of the French and Indian War; the switch from garrison to home life; the expansion of the second generation of Germans into the back-districts; the rise of the Moravians, their persecution and migration; the coming of the Puritans from the shores of Massachusetts Bay; and the beginning of land troubles which were to lie heavily on the hearts of some in the community for half a century. These latter difficulties had their root in the shadowy character of the early grants, in the death of General Samuel Waldo in 1759, in the cold and indifferent methods of his heirs, and in the activities of Shem Drowne, representing the Pemaquid Proprietors.

At an earlier point in this volume the indefinite bounds of the two contiguous grants, the Muscongus and the Pemaquid, and the basis of the Brown claims were set forth in detail. To the settlers at Broad Bay the most valid and the most troublesome of these conflicting titles to the land were those of the heirs of the Pemaquid Proprietors represented by Shem Drowne. The basis of his interest and claim was the following. In 1712 Drowne had married Catherine Clark, an heir to the Pemaquid Grant through descent from Nicholas Davison, the sole owner in 1657. Drowne believed this claim of his wife a valuable one and became deeply interested in it. As a consequence in 1735 he was chosen agent and attorney to represent the interests of all the heirs. He visited in this area and settled forty or more families to whom he allotted land. In 1747 he had the grant surveyed and divided into convenient lots for assignment to the heirs. In order to make this distribution legally binding on all the claimants, a company was organized on November 15, 1753, which, with Drowne as its agent, functioned for a little more than twenty years, its last

meeting being held November 24, 1774. The record of its acts is preserved in two slim volumes in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. There were twenty-four heirs making up the corporation, among whom was distributed twenty votes. From the first, Drowne had been a zealous agent, but two successive Indian wars covering the general period from 1744 to 1760 had served to check his program, and to render it inexpedient for him to carry out acts of dispossession against those who in many cases were innocent squatters on his land.

With the close of the French and Indian wars, action was started against the Broad Bayers and the English on the west bank of the Medomak, on the Necks and at Broad Cove. Without warning Seth Sweetser, Thomas Drowne, Alexander Nickels, and John Savage, all Pemaquid heirs, appeared at Broad Bay in 1763 with power to act, and laid claim to all land from Pemaquid to the First Falls of the Medomak south of a line extending from these falls to the Damariscotta River.<sup>1</sup>

General Waldo had died in 1759. With his demise all family concern for the settlement came to an end, although the oldest son, Colonel Samuel, visited the settlement, on occasion, to sell lands, collect rents, or consult with his representative, Charles Leisner. The interest of the heirs in the grant was now a purely pecuniary one, and hence they were unwilling to resist the Drowne claim to the populated west bank of the Medomak below the falls, despite the fact that their father had settled his Germans on the whole bank from Broad Cove up and for a space of two miles back from the river, and given deeds guaranteeing that such land titles would be defended by him against any future claims and "by his heirs and assigns." Under such conditions the Germans and others who had taken up land on the west bank had no reason to believe that their titles were invalid. Drowne, who had been waiting for the return of a more settled state following the end of the war, gave some warning in the autumn of 1761, by asserting his claim and making it clear that the lands were for sale and that he would give to those living on them the alternative of vacating them or purchasing them. It is doubtful that many took this declaration of intent seriously, but there were a very few who did, among them the Waldo heirs and Charles Leisner, who had had legal training at Jena, and apparently had made some study of the evidence. Hence the appearance of the four proprietary heirs on the scene in 1763 was like a full eclipse of the sun at high noon.

<sup>1</sup>Jacob Ludwig's Deposition; Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 59, p. 127. Also the Pemaquid Proprietors' Book of Records under date of Aug. 5, 1763, Archives of Am. Antiquarian Society (Worcester, Mass.).

There was nothing that could have cast a darker shadow over the life of the simple folk at Broad Bay than the loss of their land. Land hunger and land love had been inbred for centuries into their ways of thinking and feeling. Their land was their all, their sole source of wealth and well-being. Their first reaction to possible dispossession was one of amazement and anger. They turned to their leaders for guidance, only to be told by Leisner that the whole western bank below the falls was owned by the Pemaquid heirs. The surveyor, Elisha Packard, came, checked the lines of their farms, and laid out new areas. Fear mingled with their wrath at this move. Under the pressure of events the truth gradually leaked out. Colonel Samuel Waldo himself had revealed to Jacob Ludwig<sup>2</sup> that "the Waldo tract did not come on the west side of the Muscongus River."<sup>3</sup> This meant to those facing dispossession that Waldo's heirs were not going to defend the titles in jeopardy. Bitterness against the heirs deepened, along with that against Drowne, and it endured over the decades. Three-quarters of a century ago, when H. A. Rattermann was in the town making his studies in the history of the local Germans he was told by older people that Heaven had struck General Waldo with sudden death as a punishment on his children who were going to commit such a crime against justice.<sup>4</sup>

It was difficult for the people not to believe in the rightness of their claims. Consequently they resisted Drowne's demands, whereupon he initiated suit against them. They, realizing that they could expect no aid from young Waldo or Charles Leisner, found new leaders from their own race and blood, and presented a petition to the General Court seeking protection in the possession of their lands. The Court named a committee to investigate the matter and report. The findings of this committee were in effect that Waldo's Grant extended as far to the east as the Penobscot and northward along that river to Bangor. The western boundary it found to be the Medomak.<sup>5</sup> Although these findings were not immediately ratified by the Court, the general feeling among the better informed at Broad Bay was that they were final. This judgment would leave the Pemaquid heirs in possession of everything west of the Medomak below the First Falls. In the face of this report the Waldo heirs were silent and held to their policy of *laissez faire*. In 1765, after some of the excitement at Broad Bay had subsided, they made an adjustment with the Commonwealth in which they released all the land on the west side of the river

<sup>2</sup>Ludwig's Testimony, Lincoln Report, 1811, pp. 164-165.

<sup>3</sup>Known at this time as Broad Bay River, Muscongus River and Medomak River. "The bay as far up as there is salt water is called Broad Bay; above that Medomak," Ludwig Testimony. (See above.)

<sup>4</sup>H. A. Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Jahrgang XVI (Cincinnati, 1886), pp. 350-352.

<sup>5</sup>William D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, II, 344.



below the falls to the Pemaquid heirs. This signing off, or relinquishment, of claim left the Germans without a hope of indemnity or remuneration.

The farms on the west side of the river, apart from those on the two Necks, were laid out along lines running northwest and southeast. They were resurveyed for Drowne by Elisha Packard and a plan of the whole area submitted by him under date of September 21, 1763, which served as the basis of Drowne's settlement with the Germans.

The reaction of the people at Broad Bay to the findings of the Committee of the General Court, while violent, was diverse. There were those who believed that these findings were final, and that there was no redress. Those of this mind sought an understanding with Drowne and accepted his terms, which were the purchase of their lands at the rate of two shillings and eight pence per acre, in return for which Drowne would issue them new deeds confirming them in the possession of their farms. Under date of September 21, 1763, about fifty deeds were executed to persons who had settled under Waldo. The following is a partial list of such individuals with the sum paid for the validation of the title:

Georg Störer, tailor	£12 10s. 8d.
Franz Müller, husbandman	£11 14s. 8d.
Peter Müller, husbandman	£10 13s. 4d.
Heinrich Müller, husbandman	£4 6s. 0d.
Heinrich Koeler, bricklayer	£9 6s. 8d.
Georg Light, wheelwright	£9 3s. 4d.
Georg Light, Jr., farmer	£4 18s. 4d.
Friedrich Winchenbach, farmer	£11 1s. 4d.
Jacob Hein, farmer	£7 12s. 0d.
Johann Koeler, farmer	£10 5s. 2d.
Bernard Uekler (Eugley), farmer	£17 1s. 4d.
Jacob Ludwig, farmer	£4 0s. 0d.
Heinrich Stahl, tailor	£4 5s. 0d.
Johann Peter Broest, farmer	£3 9s. 4d.
Georg Klein, husbandman	£12 17s. 24d.
Andreas Waltz, housewright	£14 8s. 0d.
Paul Kühn, tanner	£10 13s. 4d.
Johann Kuenzel, housewright	£15 16s. 10d.
Georg Krämer, husbandman	£24 6s. 8d.
Friedrich Kuenzel, farmer	£10 16s. 8d.
Bernhard Kuenzel, farmer	£6 15s. 0d.
Jacob Eichorn, husbandman	£10 0s. 0d.
Jacob Unbehend, farmer	£12 8s. 0d.
Michael Ried, farmer	£13 10s. 0d.
Georg Roth, farmer	£14 2s. 8d.
Cornelius Seider, farmer	£16 2s. 8d.
Daniel Fielhauer, farmer	£13 4s. 0d.
Michael Heisler, husbandman	£14 13s. 4d.
Matthias Hoofses, weaver	£3 6s. 8d.

Georg Mink, husbandman	£7 4s. 0d.
Gottfried Oberloch, farmer	£2 18s. 8d.
Jacob Kühn, farmer	5s. 0d.
Martin Sidelinger, farmer	£25 4s. 1d.
Matthias Eichorn, Jr., farmer	£15 0s. 10d.
Cornelius Klaus, farmer	£13 6s. 8d.
Andreas Weller, cordwainer	£5 2s. 0d.
Johann Genthner, carpenter	£13 17s. 4d.
John Walch, potter	£4 5s. 0d.
John Georg Gross, smith	£11 5s. 4d.
John Joseph Weaver, smith	£12 4s. 4d.
Georg Havener, carpenter	£23 14s. 8d.
Christian Woltzgruber, farmer <sup>6</sup>	£7 8s. 0d.

There are other names which must be listed as possibilities even though they are not identified with the later history of Broad Bay. Among such are Jacob Stein, possibly the later Stain; Wilhelm Brick, Wilhelm Kind, and Jacob Haus — men who perhaps did not come to terms with Drowne and who left the settlement in a South Carolina migration. It should also be noted again that the farms on the west side of the river run in a generally northwesterly and southeasterly direction. In consequence some of them cut across the line of the Pemaquid claim, a line running west from the falls of the Medomak to the rapids of the Damariscotta River. Such farms were compelled to purchase only that portion of their land crossing this line into the Drowne claim. This would explain why a few of the purchasers were bled so lightly in comparison with others, the whole of whose land fell within the limits of the Pemaquid Grant.

The Pemaquid heirs did, however, have the grace to honor Waldo's promise of land in common for church, ministerial, and school lots. They conveyed Lot No. 29 at Meetinghouse Cove containing one hundred acres to "the Dutch settlement on the west side of the Muscongus River," as a church lot, and Lot No. 30 adjoining and containing one hundred and ten acres to the Dutch as a farm for their resident minister. In addition two school lots were given. One was Lot No. 9 containing forty-one acres, and was made up, in part, of the land on which the present church is located; the other was Lot No. 45 in Elisha Packard's plan and was situated well down on Dutch Neck. In the case of this second "school lot," so denominated at the beginning of the writ of conveyance, it is of interest to note that at the close of the writ it was called a ministerial, or parsonage, lot "to be so used forever."<sup>7</sup>

There were other Broad Bay families that did not react in an entirely bovine manner to the findings of the Committee of

<sup>6</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bks. 4-13.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 5, pp. 159-161.

the General Court. Before enlarging on their reception of the report, it is of importance, in order to clarify later events, to follow the transfers within the Waldo family of those portions of the original grant which still remained at the disposal of the heirs. The status of the family respecting this grant is set forth clearly in an indenture of May 20, 1743, from which a brief excerpt has already been given.

General Waldo had died intestate and in possession of the major part of the Muscongus Patent. For a number of years the property remained undivided. Colonel Samuel Waldo, as the head of the family, managed the estate and from time to time visited Broad Bay to confer with his major-domo, Charles Leisner, to sell lots, and possibly to receive his annual rents in shillings and peppercorns. The first move made jointly by the heirs, as already pointed out, had been to release to the Pemaquid heirs all their claims to land on the west bank of the Medomak below the falls. Their next move in the disposition of their holdings came in 1768. On March 19th of that year a "Quadripartite Indenture" was executed by the heirs in Boston which reads in part as follows:

This Indenture Quadripartite made the 19th Day of March in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight and in the eighth year of His Majesty's reign, between Samuel Waldo of Falmouth in the County of Cumberland and Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Esquire of the first part, Francis Waldo of said Falmouth Esquire of the second part, Isaac Winslow of Roxbury in the County of Suffolk and Province aforesaid and Lucy his wife formerly Lucy Waldo of the third part, and Thomas Flucker of Boston in the same County and Province Esquire, and Hannah his wife, formerly Hannah Waldo of the fourth part. Whereas Samuel Waldo late of said Boston Esquire deceased, Father of the first mentioned Samuel Waldo, Francis Waldo, Lucy Winslow and Hannah Flucker being seized in his demesne as of fee, of and in all the Lands hereinafter mentioned, all of which are scituate in the County of Lincoln in the eastern part of the Province aforesaid, and are part of the Patent commonly called the Muscongus Tract originally granted by King Charles the first to the Council of Plymouth and by them to John Beauchamp and Thomas Leverett Anno Domini 1629. That is to say a neck of Land called the Owl's head neck etc. . . .

There follows from this point a cataloguing of all the lands of the Patent still in possession of General Waldo's estate. The only lands unoccupied in the Waldoborough area here listed are as follows:

Three hundred Acres of Land at a place called Lane's Point lying in Broad Bay. . . . A neck of Land called Jone's Neck containing ninety-eight acres near the entrance into Broad Bay. Four Lots of Land adjoining the said Jone's Neck of one hundred Acres each. . . . And whereas the same Samuel Waldo is dead intestate and without making any disposition of the aforesaid tracts and parts of Land and Islands or



any of them, whereby by force of a law of said Province made in the fourth year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary entitled an Act for the settlement and distribution of the Estates of the Intestate; the aforesaid Lands and Islands are descended and come into the first mentioned Samuel Waldo, Francis Waldo, Lucy Winslow and Hannah Flucker to be divided between them in manner following. That is to say Two fifth parts thereof to the same Samuel Waldo as oldest son of the said Samuel Waldo deceased, one fifth to the said Francis Waldo, one fifth to the said Lucy Winslow, and one fifth to the said Hannah Flucker.

In the two fifth portions in the Waldoborough area assigned to young Samuel were

the vacant lots at Medumcook supposed to be fifteen lots of Land . . . containing one hundred acres each, be they more or less. Three hundred Acres of Land at a place called Lane's Point lying in Broad Bay. . . . A neck of Land called Jones Neck containing ninety-eight Acres lying near the entrance into Broad Bay. Four Lots of Land adjoining to said Jones Neck of one hundred Acres each.<sup>9</sup>

The Lane's Point section here referred to was a tract deeded to and occupied by Captain Lane in the 1730's, originally a tract of about three hundred acres extending back from Schenck's Point to the Slaigo Brook. For some reason, suggested in an earlier chapter, Captain Lane did not return to his home after Louisburg, and the conditions of his settling the lot not having been fulfilled, the land reverted to General Samuel Waldo and remained in possession of the estate until April 20, 1769, when they were acquired by Andrew Schenck.

The Jones Neck area of ninety-eight acres still bears this name and is now owned by the children of Doctor John B. Deaver of Philadelphia. The four one-hundred acre tracts adjoining form a part of the present Back Cove. In addition to these plots the whole eastern part of the town, beyond the back end of the river lots, was still the property of the Waldo heirs. This fact was never recognized by the settlers who for thirty years following the French and Indian War exercised the squatter's privilege and freely appropriated and occupied it. This unwarranted act of usurpation was met by General Henry Knox, the last of the Proprietors, with writs of extensive dispossession in the 1790's.

For a number of years the Waldo heirs had been negotiating with the heirs of the "Twenty Associates" to the end of reaching an agreement in reference to the one hundred thousand acres of land in the Patent which would have to be set off to satisfy the valid rights of these latter claimants, and on April 7, 1768, the indenture<sup>10</sup> effecting the final distribution of the old Lincolnshire,

<sup>9</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 27, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 6, p. 122.

or Muscongus, Grant was drawn up, under which the heirs of the Twenty Associates received their portion of the one hundred thousand acre Patent in lands along the Penobscot. None of the lands thus apportioned were within the limits of Waldoborough township and hence are not a matter of immediate interest in this history.

In April 1770 Colonel Samuel Waldo, the son of the first Broad Bay Proprietor, died at Falmouth. Parson Smith laconically records this fact in his *Journal* as follows: "1770 April 16. Col. Waldo died P.M. at 47 years of age. 1770 April 20. Col. Waldo was buried with great parade under the church, with a sermon and under arms."<sup>11</sup> Colonel Waldo's death occasioned no shock at Broad Bay, where he had been largely a nominal proprietor. He, too, died intestate and his widow, Sarah, had no more interest in her eastern lands than their money value. On June 1, 1773, she effected the following disposition of them:

The said Sarah Waldo in her said Capacity as Administratrix of the Estate of the said Samuel Waldo, her said Intestate, for and in Consideration of the Sum of three thousand three hundred and seventy seven pounds two shillings and seven pence lawful Money of Great Britain with the interest thereof paid by the said Thomas Flucker for her Intestate aforesaid, at his special Instance and Request, as well as for and in Consideration of the Sum of five shillings lawful Money of Great Britain paid her in her said capacity by the said Thomas Flucker, the Receipt thereof she hereby acknowledges, and by virtue of the power and authority granted her for that purpose by his Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature etc., hath given, granted, bargained, sold, conveyed and confirmed . . . unto him the said Thomas Flucker his heirs and Assigns, all that part and parcel of the said Samuel Waldo, her said Intestate, two fifth parts or Shares of and in the Muscongus Patent or Tract so called, which in and by certain Indenture of Partition, bearing date of the nineteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight . . .

There follows a list of the lands excepted in this conveyance. Those in our immediate area not conveyed to Thomas Flucker, by reason of prior sale by her husband, are "the four Lotts of Land adjoining to Jones Neck so called of one hundred acres each."<sup>12</sup>

Thus it was in the year that the Plantation of Broad Bay was incorporated into the Town of Waldoborough that the undeeded lands at Broad Bay passed into the hands of Thomas Flucker, husband of Hannah Waldo and Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His proprietorship of these lands, however, was destined to be short. In less than two years the guns would

<sup>11</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821).

<sup>12</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 10, p. 6.

be speaking at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, and Flucker and the Waldos were Tories. As such their lands and properties would be confiscate, unless some day there should be among these heirs a loyalist to claim the right of ownership. Such a person was to appear in Flucker's daughter, Lucy, soon to be the wife of Henry Knox, a bookseller of Boston.

In the meantime, the deep concern and resentment over the course events were taking at Broad Bay were greatly exacerbated by the revival of the Brown claims and the dispositions taken to support the title. The numerous heirs of this claim were undoubtedly activated by the success Drowne was achieving at the expense of the settlers, and took steps to establish their own claim against "the Dutch." This claim, as previously indicated, was based upon the alleged deed of Samoset and Unongoit to John Brown of New Harbor in 1626.<sup>13</sup> The heirs to this claim, if such it was, had seldom evinced much scrupulosity in their claims, the matter of their bounds, or their sales. Legally their claim to lands on the Medomak had little basis, and in the final adjudication in 1811 it was not allowed, but of this the simple yeomen on the Medomak, threatened with suits by the Brown claimants,<sup>14</sup> could know naught, and the interjection of this new demand added to their bewilderment and rage as well as to their feeling of injustice and helplessness. To lose their land was to lose their all, and to hold it through purchase was a thing all were not in a position to do, for Broad Bay was poor, and pounds and pence, in many cases, were not even available for necessities. In the face of such a multiplicity of confusing and conflicting claims — Drowne, Brown, Tappan, and Vaughan — with which the settlers in neighboring towns as well as in Broad Bay were being bedeviled, and in view of the fact that peaceful possession of their lands would, so far as they could see, continue indefinitely a matter of uncertainty, the old question of giving it all up and starting over at some other place again presented itself to some as a solution of their problem. Among a few of the most embittered families this plan made headway. Matters reached their climax in 1773 when some sold their claims for what they would bring, and others from sheer fury burned their houses, barns, sheds, and outhouses, and, so far as they could, dragged back into the fields and meadows the stones which they had originally removed in clearing the land. This was done to decrease the value of these lands to those claiming them. They then abandoned their farms on which they had spent twenty years of labor, and migrated to South Carolina.

This episode in Broad Bay history is too well documented to be ignored. Despite this fact, I am convinced that there is a

<sup>13</sup>Discussed in Chapter IV, 37-38.

<sup>14</sup>Jacob Ludwig's testimony, Lincoln Report, pp. 164-165.



heavy intermixing of folklore in the accounts as transmitted to us. These accounts are based on the findings of Rattermann and Williamson. Rattermann was a German-American historian who came to Waldoboro in the late 1870's or early 1880's to collect material on the history of the settlement. In the case of the episode in question his main sources of information were George Howard, Isaac Reed, and George D. Smouse.<sup>15</sup> Two of these at least are known and highly credible witnesses, for Smouse was born in 1799 and Reed ten years later. Hence both men were in a position to receive their accounts from eyewitnesses. The folklore element in this tale is to be found not only in the fact that a story grows with the telling of it, but in the narrative of Rattermann, who in all his writings evinces an uncontrollable penchant for expanding and dramatizing the wrongs suffered in this country by the German-American settlers.

Judge Williamson in his history, published sixty-six years after this event, offers the following account of this migration:

The German settlers resident on them under Waldo thus perplexed, were left "contrary to every principle of justice and good faith" without indemnity or remuneration. Injured and affronted by this ill treatment, disappointed in their expectations, displeased with the climate and determined to be rid of law suits, 300 families were persuaded by their German brethren, who had lately purchased lands in the southwestern parts of Carolina, to remove thither. Therefore they sold possessory rights for the most they could obtain, removed to that Province in 1773, and joined a large body of Germans who settled Londonderry. It was with deepest regret that their neighbors and all their remaining brethren parted with them. They were mostly husbandmen of excellent moral character and considerable agricultural skill, — distinguished for their industrious and economical habits.<sup>16</sup>

It is reasonable to accept Williamson's account in the matter of the migration and its causes. His one major error is the size of this migration which he places at three hundred families. There was not in all Broad Bay at this time anything like this number of families. In fact, the census of 1790, which we may assume approximates the facts, listed only one hundred and ninety-one German families in all Lincoln County. Had anything like Williamson's figure vacated their holdings in 1773, the settlement would not have been far from depopulation.

The facts of this exodus seems more nearly to be the following. In 1769 a Prussian officer, Stümpel by name, had induced six hundred fellow officers to go with him to London where he had been led to believe that he could obtain for them a grant of Carolina lands. Having thus acted without specific promise from

<sup>15</sup>Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XVI.

<sup>16</sup>Wm. D. Williamson, *History of Maine* (Hallowell, 1839), II, 399.

the British Government he was unable to fulfill his purpose and fled from the wrath of his fellow immigrants, leaving them destitute in England. In order to relieve their distress the King headed a subscription which eventually made it possible to charter a ship and send the migration to Charleston where a letter from the King had asked that they be suitably provided for. The Province Council of South Carolina reacted promptly and set aside for their use the large township of Londonderry in Abbeville County, an agricultural district bordering on the Savannah River in the southwestern part of the state. The township in question was never a compact district but rather a widely dispersed agricultural community containing about twenty-eight thousand acres and with no civil or governmental organization.<sup>17</sup> Here the Germans were well settled in 1773 when the Reverend Lucius, the German missionary for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, baptized thirteen German children between Michaelmas 1773 and Michaelmas 1774,<sup>18</sup> some of them, perhaps, from Broad Bay. Undoubtedly friends or acquaintances in this tract had apprised their fellow countrymen settled in other districts of the cheapness and quality of the soil, as well as the delights of the climate.

Under these circumstances a number of families in Broad Bay, balked in their aspirations and facing an uncertain future, decided on a change. The number of such could not have been great. The total migration in all probably was less than fifty men, women, and children. Who made up these families is a matter of the purest inference. It can only be guessed that among them may have been some of those families known to have been at Broad Bay in the early period, who thereafter disappear completely from the record. Among such possibilities are the following families: John Peter Broest, Jacob Deis, Paulus Dochtermann, Peter Grothe, Philip Rinner, Conrad Treupel, and John Schurz. There is also the possibility that individuals from some of the better-known families may have joined this migration. This was the last exodus of early days. Thereafter the draining off of population was due to the spilling over into areas that were adjoining and empty and the trek of families westward in the nineteenth century, drawn by the lure of the fertile lands of the great plains.

A third reaction to alien land claims on the part of a few families at Broad Bay seems to have been to fight dispossession of their lands in the courts and to see the matter through to its ultimate settlement; for when H. A. Rattermann visited Waldoborough he garnered such a tradition from representative citizens.<sup>19</sup> In these suits, petitions, and cooperative actions, the few

<sup>17</sup>Wilfred H. Schoff, *A History of the Descendants of Jacob Schoff with an Account of the German Immigration into Colonial New England* (Phila., 1910).

<sup>18</sup>D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, II, 44-45.

<sup>19</sup>Rattermann, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Jahrgang XVI, pp. 350-352.



“obstinate Dutch” linked forces with the citizens of Bremen, Bristol, Nobleborough, and other towns to the west, where the problem existed in a more acute form than at Broad Bay. The battle was continued for half a century through attempted surveys by the proprietors balked by the pugnacity of the citizens, through serving writs of dispossession, and through long-drawn-out suits in the courts on the part of individual citizens seeking to preserve their homes. A printed circular in our possession reflects the detail and the character of this struggle so completely that it is reproduced here in full:

To the Inhabitants of the District of Maine this Address is respectfully submitted.

CONSIDERING the alarming situation in which we are placed respecting the lands we possess, and the evils and affecting calamities that have taken place in some parts of our District, in consequence of claimants and pretended proprietors to our lands; the inhabitants of Bristol did on the 26th of October instant, convene and appoint the undersigned as a Committee to correspond with, or publish in such a manner that our fellow citizens through the District, in similar circumstances, may apprehend the motives of our proceedings, that they may be inducted to cooperate with us in some manner to relieve us from the calamity with which we are threatened, and which we have in some measure, ourselves experienced. In the first place we disclaim the idea of opposition to the Constituted Authorities, or the rights of individuals, but look to them for protection. Claimants are coming on us one after another; and even contending with each other which shall share our lands, and should they recover can give us no title. We therefore request the citizens of Maine to take the matter into consideration and cooperate with us in devising some measure of redress. We propose that a Committee or Agent be appointed by each town, to meet in Convention in some central and proper place, for the purpose of draughting a petition to the Legislature of this Commonwealth, requesting them to take our situation into consideration, and afford us that relief which they in their wisdom may conceive most proper.

THEREFORE, We the Committee of the Town of Bristol, according to the directions given us, do appoint Tuesday, the 26th day of December, 1809, the day for the Convention of all the Committees of other towns and plantations that they may please to join us, at the dwelling house of Mr. Enoch Dole of New Milford; and we the undersigned Committee, earnestly solicit the cooperation of all other towns and plantations with us, at the time, place, and for the purposes above mentioned.

William Chamberlain

Marcus How

James Drummond, Jr.

Dated at Bristol this 30th Day of October, 1809.

This document was sent to the town officers in all areas affected by the Brown, Drowne, Tappan, and Vaughan claims. The citation here given in full is from the copy received by the local officers of Waldoborough, in response to which Jacob Ludwig and Isaac G. Reed were “appointed to attend the convention to petition the legislature for relief of settlers on lands the owners



of which have not been known."<sup>20</sup> From the action here concerted results ensued. The General Court, weary of facing this perennial problem, resolved on February 27, 1811, to settle it once and for all. It accordingly authorized the Governor and Council to appoint a committee to proceed to "eastern parts," to survey the entire problem, to hold public hearings, and report their findings and recommendations in full to the Court. Perez Morton, Jonathan Smith, Jr., and Thomas B. Adams were the Commissioners. Previously, feeling in Lincoln County had become so intense that Judge Thatcher on March 6, 1810, had ordered out the militia to support the surveyor appointed by order of the Supreme Judicial Court to run certain lines in the disputed area.

The Commissioners met at the Courthouse in Wiscasset on Wednesday, the first day of May 1811. Eleazer W. Ripley, Esq., was appointed clerk. Samuel W. Flagg and his counsel and attorney appeared in behalf of the Drowne right, while the attorneys representing the Brown claim were John Holmes, Jeremiah Bailey, and Daniel W. Lincoln. Here the Commissioners heard the rights of the various claimants argued, examined all the deeds and documents adduced, and then at the request of the Agents for the Memorialists adjourned subsequent meetings to the towns of Newcastle, Bristol, and Nobleborough.<sup>21</sup> The next session convened April 29, 1811, at the dwelling house of Doctor Josiah Myrick in Newcastle. Here and in the other two towns a full volume of testimony was taken. Thither went Jacob Ludwig and Captain William Sproul from Waldoborough to represent the town and to give such testimony as affected its interests.<sup>22</sup> With its hearings completed the Commission withdrew and prepared its report for the General Court, which was made on May 20th. Along with this report came a proposal executed May 10, 1811, by the agents of the several claims, to submit the whole question to the arbitrament of three referees to be named by the Governor. To this the government agreed and designated three able New England jurists: Jeremiah Smith of Exeter, New Hampshire, William H. Woodward of Hanover, New Hampshire, and David Howell of Providence, Rhode Island, who were clothed with full powers to decide in law and equity the rights of the nonresident claimants to this section of the country.

On January 26, 1813, the referees made known their decision. Respecting the lands in this district the proprietors under the Drowne right were awarded a half township of eleven thousand five hundred and twenty acres to be selected from the public unlocated lands in Maine; and it was further recommended to the

<sup>20</sup>Records of the Town Clerk, Waldoborough, Me.

<sup>21</sup>Lincoln Report, 1811, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 164-165; Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Testimony.

Legislature to allow the heirs of William Vaughan a half township in consideration of the services performed and the monies expended, *and not in virtue of the Brown right upon which the Vaughan heirs rested their claim*. Furthermore it was subjoined that none other had "either in law or equity any title to any lands under their respective claims," within the towns of Bristol, Edgecomb, Newcastle, Nobleborough, Waldoborough, Jefferson, or Boothbay. The proprietary interests, perhaps weary of the struggle, executed deeds of release and delivered them the day before the award was dated, thereby extinguishing all further pretext of rights within the towns mentioned. In return the state made to them the assignments of new lands conformable to the award.

To complete the settlement of these long and most unhappy controversies, and administer peace and rest to the inhabitants, the General Court, February 25, 1813, ordered that the representative of every man who had settled in these towns before January 1, 1789, should be quieted on 200 acres for five dollars; and all others on paying thirty cents an acre, whose lots in no instance were to be larger than those of the former class.<sup>23</sup>

Benjamin Orr and Jeremiah Bailey were appointed as agents to execute the deeds. This settlement affected very few of the families on the west bank of the Medomak, for way back in 1763 they had for the most part made their peace with the proprietor claimants by paying their tribute with pounds, shillings, and pence, and in consequence had been able to till their acres in reasonable peace. Who these rugged individuals were who never came to terms with the claimants of their soil, but for half a century together with their descendants or successors, kept up the struggle which resulted in 1813 in full vindication is not known. By inference they would have to be those holding lands on the west side of the river who are not recorded as having paid tribute to Shem Drowne in 1763. Among such stand the names of Conrad Seiders, David Holzapfel, William Wagner, John Werner, a Hilt on Lot No. 56, the occupant of Lot No. 54, and Henry Seiders. Their battle had been a sheer manifestation of principle, since in the long run it cost less to pay than to fight. The struggle was so long, however, that those who initiated it in many cases did not live to see what they believed to be their basic rights confirmed.

The Broad Bayers owed little to Shem Drowne. Their history, however, in one respect is under obligation to him, namely, the survey of west side lots, from the lower falls to the lower tips of the two Necks, made by Elijah, or Elisha, Packard. This survey for the most part reveals the lots and locations of the original

<sup>23</sup>Williamson, *History of Maine*, II, 624.



west-side German families, since nearly all titles issued by Drowne were made a matter of record in the county office at Wiscasset. Some of these recorded titles were of lands deep in the forests behind the original shore lots, and in some cases they are accompanied by a rough sketch of a cabin. That of Georg Klein, a shore lot, shows that at this period the cabins were back from the river by perhaps an eighth of a mile.

There is no phase of the history of old Broad Bay that is so baffling and confusing as that of grants, land titles, and title changes. For decades the valley of the Medomak and its hinterlands were the scene of swiftly switching ownership. There were several reasons for this, the first of which is to be found in the conflicting nature of the original grants, made for the most part by gentlemen beyond the seas who had never seen the lands they were parcelling out, and who had as their only guide in some cases the first crude map of this area made by a man who had spent but one summer on the coast. A second source of confusion was the rather optimistic view of General Samuel Waldo with reference to the bounds of his patent. In the third place, was the mad scramble for eastern lands and speculation in eastern lands following the French and Indian War, a period in which dubious heirs in remote parts sold and resold lands which they had never seen, without any consideration for the trivial problems of surveys, or of metes and bounds; and lastly, the land madness of the German settlers on the Medomak. Like the peasant today in the more backward sections of interior Europe, his feeling for the good earth was a feeling lost to most of us, who have ceased to be a people directly deriving our life from the soil. It was the strongest single emotion in his experience, and he was constantly seeking the most and the best from the productive earth accessible to him. For these reasons the township was an ever-changing map.

The 1760's was a restless period at Broad Bay. This restlessness was reflected in Wiscasset title changes or claims. For seven hard years men and women had been shut up in the garrisons to escape the Indian threat, years in which a man explored the lands adjacent to him at his own peril. Now he had become free to live on the soil he loved and to seek out the richest areas in the back-districts along streams or in the basins formed by the ponds. For him isolation and remoteness had no meaning. If he found a spot he liked, he made a cabin, cleared the land and hewed himself a trail to the nearest road, in some cases a mile away, as witness the lot of John Prior, a mile south of Aunt Lydia's Tavern in the deep woods, or "Uncle Faltin" Mink's cabin at East Waldoborough, down deep in the woods all by itself a half mile off the road leading through East Waldoborough to Finntown. The back



sections of the town became a maze of roads, some now so overgrown by brush as to be impassible except on foot, leading through the woods from one highway to another, or terminating in a dead end. Prock Town, Weaver Town, Black Town, Mink Town, Castner Town, the Achorn and Genthner neighborhoods and others are today the half-silent and moldering memorials of this land hunger of our forebears.

For these reasons the map of the plantation and early town was in a state of constant flux. Some of the settlers did not have land enough, notably on Dutch Neck where the original acreage was small. In consequence many of the settlers of this section disposed of their lands and exercised squatter's privilege in more spacious, albeit more remote, districts. Their neighbors bought up the farms relinquished and so increased their own holdings. The extent of this movement on Dutch Neck is made clear by the fact that in 1763 there were twenty-seven landowners, and by 1815 all land on the Neck was in possession of twelve men. Others along the upper river, having improved their lands, sold them at a good profit to the incoming English from the south shore of Massachusetts Bay, and appropriated lands in the outlying districts which they assumed to be free. Still others swapped farms and so secured lands or a location more to their liking. This confusion and juggling greatly increased the difficulty in spotting the original locations of the first settlers, a difficulty further complicated by the different systems used by the proprietor in numbering lots.

Waldo's plan of enumeration on the east side for his Scotch-Irish settlement in the 1730's started with Number One at the First Falls and ran down the river to Number Thirty just below Farnsworth Point. These lots were forty rods in width and the greater part of them on the upper river were never occupied. Hence, many of them were assigned to the first German arrivals, and at this time a new system of numbering seems to have been put in effect, starting with Number One at Lane's Point and running north to the area around the Falls. On the west side of the river Waldo's numbering is known only from a deed drawn but never issued to Matthias Achorn, who had two lots beginning at the McGuyer brook and running north in the direction of the head of tide. Under this plan the numbering of lots was the same as that followed in the first German settlement on the east side. In the Packard survey made on the west side for Shem Drowne, tin plate maker of Boston, the lots started with Number One in the area of the First Falls and ran to Number Fifty-seven, the lot of Charles Heavener on the very tip end of Dutch Neck.

In this mad scramble after the most desirable lands, locations, and mill sites, the absence of titles on the part of a considerable

number of the settlers was a factor leading to both frustration and confusion. Samuel Waldo was unquestionably lax in the matter of issuing titles to the Germans. In addition, two of the major migrations to Broad Bay, that of 1742 and 1753, reached the Medomak on the eve of war. This clearly created a condition locally in which an orderly and legal allocation of land had its difficulties. The Germans were not too familiar with all the details of legal procedure, and so far as the records of Lincoln and York counties throw any light on early claims, it can only be inferred that to record a title was the exceptional course. The practice, however, became more common in the 1760's, and many transactions record transfers of lands on the part of individuals who had no recorded claims to the lots conveyed. An amusing illustration of such a transaction is furnished by Matthias Eichorn (Achorn), who was one of the most active, if not the earliest, of the land brokers at Broad Bay, and who was acquiring and selling lots within a brief period of his arrival on the Medomak.

In the first Waldo grant to Achorn, April 11, 1753, he is listed as a farmer. In the Drowne Grant of 1763 he is listed as a tanner, while in 1761 he listed himself as a miller. But he had no mill and he wanted one. Now by a curious quirk of fate Wilhelm Wagner, who was a carpenter, occupied at this time the mill lot on the west side of the river at the First Falls, and Achorn held, as a squatter, a lot a little farther up the stream on quiet water. In order to get Wagner's mill lot he had the following strange deed drawn up, involving an exchange of lots to which neither party held any title:

Matthias Achorn, miller, of Broad Bay, conveys . . . to William Wagner, of Broad Bay, carpenter, a lot on the west side of Broad Bay river, a lot formerly improved by Michael Anthony, deceased, fronting on the river and bordered on the north side to the lot of Michael Rominger, and on the south side to the lot of Peter Procht, twenty five rods in width, and running back into the country a west course till one hundred acres are completed. As the said Matthias has hitherto held the said land as a settler and has no deed for the same from the original Proprietors, said Matthias binds himself to secure a good deed from the original proprietors, as soon as said William shall procure a deed for the farm given in exchange. Said William doth hereby give and dispose unto the said Matthias his farm lying on the west bank of Medomak Falls, bordering north to the lot of John Beiner [possibly Benner], south to the lot of David Holzappel, twenty-five rods in width and running back into the country till 100 acres are completed. William Wagner holds the said land as a settler and has no deed, but binds himself to procure one.<sup>24</sup>

This procedure was clearly a dubious one, but it got Matthias his mill lot. On June 8, 1772, he conveyed for £2 to Matthias

<sup>24</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. VII, p. 170.



Achorn, Jr., Georg Klein, and John Achorn a three-quarter part of this mill site containing one half acre on which the sawmill was located, with a right of way from the south end of the lot to the river.<sup>25</sup>

The subject of early mills at the several falls of the Medomak has been rather inadequately and erroneously treated in the past. In view of the importance of water power in the primitive economy of the settlement, the facts with reference to the grist and sawmills should be set forth with accuracy so far as the records permit. Without mills to grind grain for the food of both men and beasts, and to saw out the lumber which was needed for a hundred different uses in this age of wood, economic progress and well-being would have kept life in the settlement at the lowest level of culture where man fabricated for his needs with his own hands. Mills, even while still primitive, were an immediate necessity. R. G. Albion has pointed out that the earliest sawmills had a vertical saw, the progress of which through the logs of oak, pine, hemlock, and spruce was so noisy that the scream of the saw could often be heard two miles away, and so slow that the sawyer could sit on the log and eat his midday meal while the stick was being sawn.<sup>26</sup>

The earliest mills on the river were two sawmills constructed at the First Falls in 1743. These were destroyed in the Indian attack of 1746, and for the remainder of the war the fate of the settlement was at so low an ebb that there was no thought of anything except survival. Just after the close of the war in 1749 two men, Ector and Martin by name, came from Massachusetts and built a sawmill on the west bank of the Medomak at the lower falls. This fact is recorded by Cyrus Eaton, whose source was Joseph Ludwig, who came to Broad Bay in 1753. It has been stated by Miller that before the expiration of this year Georg Werner had constructed a gristmill at the Great Falls. The uneconomic character of such an act has been discussed in an earlier chapter, and the facts lend no weight to such a statement.

Throughout the French and Indian War the only mills in the colony were those at the lower falls and these were able to function only because they were under the guns of the mill garrison. Following this war, in the period of land expansion, Captain John Ulmer acquired the rights at the Great Falls and probably erected mills in which William Snowdeal, on the next lot south, had an interest and probably actually operated them. On June 22, 1765, Captain Ulmer had the mill lot at the Great Falls surveyed by John Martin, Jr.,<sup>27</sup> and the following year he sold it "to George

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. IX, p. 233.

<sup>26</sup>R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power*, p. 233.

<sup>27</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. IV, p. 138.



Werner of Pownalborough, mill wright, with all the appurtenances belonging thereunto." In the same deed Snowdeal relinquished his right and title to the lot and all its appurtenances to Werner.<sup>28</sup> In the same year, 1766, Werner had his new lot resurveyed, and the plan, together with a written description of the bounds are on file with the Register of Deeds at Wiscasset.<sup>29</sup> This mill is still referred to as "the old Kinsell Mill," but Kinsell, a son-in-law of Werner, was a relatively late owner and operator, for it was on February 1, 1786, that Georg Werner, "for £20 paid by John Kinsell," sold to him a one-quarter part of a double sawmill on the "Third Falls."

In these early days practically all mill sites in the town were in use. Those on smaller streams and brooks which could only operate seasonally were also objects of eager exploitation. In the period of the Revolution there were probably no less than twenty-five mills in the town devoted to every type of work in which power was essential. Those on the upper Medomak were, of course, the most valuable since here there was sufficient water to operate in season and out. These sites, after the French and Indian War, had come under the control of Captain John Ulmer, who was best qualified of all the Germans to assess the future economic expansion of the settlement. In consequence he acquired all the sites around the lower falls on the east side, including Lot No. 23, the lower mill site. After operating the mill for a number of years he sold it on October 18, 1770, to John Martin Schaeffer for £50. Schaeffer in turn sold the mill the following January to Andrew Schenk.

Captain Ulmer also sold to Matthias Römele on February 10, 1771, for £60, the one-hundred acre lot, No. 24 east side, thirty-nine rods wide, with a gristmill and dam. In 1770 Ulmer conveyed to John M. Schaeffer "the full one half part of a certain saw mill at Broad Bay on the west side of Broad Bay fresh water river," the other half of the mill belonging to John Ulmer, Jr.<sup>30</sup> In this same area was a sawmill the lot of which had been acquired of William Wagner by Matthias Achorn in 1761. This site, too, with its mills changed hands frequently. In 1772 as we have stated, a three-quarter right was sold to George Kline and Achorn's two sons. In 1773 Matthias sold his one-quarter right to Captain Solomon Hewet, and the next year Kline and the two Achorns also conveyed to Captain Hewet, for £100, all their claim to a lot "bounded east on Broad Bay river or falls, south on the land of Solomon Hewet, north on the lot of John Pinner [Benner] running a W.N.W. course back into the country till 100 acres are

<sup>28</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. V, p. 251.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 8, p. 33.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.

completed, with all rights to two grist mills, houses and barns, and all other privileges."<sup>31</sup>

The mill lots on the Slaigo Brook, there being no less than four, were also objects of eager interest. At the lower falls of the brook the power had been used since very early times — possibly by Captain Lane, who owned it, and by the Scotch-Irish of the 1736 settlement. When Lane's connection with the colony was broken off, the lot reverted to General Waldo, and thereafter when property was sold on the brook, the power rights were usually reserved. The lower falls were, however, included in young Waldo's deed of April 20, 1769, to Andrew Schenk. The eastern side of the second falls on the brook was, when first known, in the possession of Georg Werner, and was conveyed by him on Aug. 13, 1770, to Jacob Lauer, who, deciding to migrate to North Carolina, sold his property in September 1770 to Waterman Thomas. In October two years later, Georg Werner, having acquired rights on the upper Medomak at Great Falls, conveyed his remaining Slaigo rights to Waterman Thomas for £66 13s. 4d. in a tract of ten and three quarters acres:

being the east part of Lane's Point, beginning at a stake at the waters of the Bay at the mouth of a small brook about 22 rods westerly from the middle of Slaigo Brook where it empties into the bay, thence N. 8° W. 32 rods to a birch tree, thence N. 27° E. 12 rods and a half to a stake and stones, thence N. 36° E. 62 rods to a stake, all by the land of Andrew Shank, then E. 18 rods by land of Waldo heirs to a hemlock marked on four sides at Slaco brook aforesaid, thence S. by said brook, including the same and the fall and the Grist mill thereon, to the first bounds.<sup>32</sup>

Thus by the autumn of 1772 all power sites and mills on the lower Slaigo Brook were in the hands of Andrew Schenck and Squire Thomas. This is an important fact in the history of the town, especially so since the latter gentleman was one whose mind played with large objectives, and who built up at this location a business so varied and of such magnitude that for decades it was an open question whether the final nucleus of population, to wit, the village, would find itself at the head of tide or in the area around the foot of Thomas' Hill.

The deeds in the old Lincoln County Courthouse covering property rights and transfers in the Waldoborough area provide interesting and suggestive reading. Many of them suffuse our history with warm human meaning, bringing to light many an unknown fact, suggesting strange incidents, and oftentimes affording deep revelations and offering insights into the tragedies, the spites, and the romances of the pioneer fathers. What, for instance, is

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 10, p. 253.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 252.

the meaning of the strange grant of John Friedrich Heidenheim to Elizabeth Light?

John Heidenheim was born in 1714 and probably came to Broad Bay in 1752. In 1765 his farm was No. 37 on "Dutchmen's Neck," the third lot south of Ada Winchenbaugh's present home. He married Mary Elizabeth, born December 11, 1754, and had two children, John Peter, born December 8, 1777, and Maria Christiana, born April 8, 1779. John Friedrich died in the year 1781, in his sixty-seventh year of age. On November 29, 1776, he had effected a transfer of his property in a deed containing this sentence: "In consideration of the good will and love I have for Elizabeth Light, I do hereby convey to her the lot on which I now live, being lot 37 in Elijah Packard's Plan containing 91 acres, 100 poles."<sup>33</sup> Was this Elizabeth the Mary Elizabeth of the Town Records who at twenty-two married the man of fifty-six on the sole condition that his property be conveyed to her? And what of Heidenheim's first wife, Maria Magdalena? In five years Mary Elizabeth was a widow and only an old deed hints vaguely at an old man's romance.

A little clearer is the tragedy of old Frantz Eisele's last days. Eisele came to Broad Bay between 1748 and 1753 and settled on Lot No. 12, east side. This farm, next south of the Jasper J. Stahl lot, was occupied by Melchior Schneider in 1742 and was probably sold to Eisele when the former moved to Thomas' Hill ridge. As it was a common custom among the Germans to provide their sons with land, Eisele and his wife, Mary, divided the lot in 1777, and gave one half of it to their son, Michael, who had married into one of the neighborhood families. When Mary died Frantz took up his residence with his son and daughter-in-law, who came of a family famed for its evil disposition. Things went badly, and in the course of time the aged man was without a home. As a sequel a deed drawn in 1790 gives us the final chapter in Eisele's life in these words:

. . . for and in consideration of Charles Sidenspire taking me into his care and trust and providing for me in proper food and clothing, and washing and bedding, and all other things proper for me to live in a comfortable state of life, and provide doctors for me in sickness, I give all my right to a lot or farm that I have lately lived upon between Ludwig Castner's and Michael Eisley's lots, being one half of a lot I formerly owned and disposed one half unto my son Michael Eisley.<sup>34</sup>

This tragic experience is somewhat exceptional, for in general the Germans cared for their old folks as a sacred rite. By this

<sup>33</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 12, p. 93.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 25, p. 200.



time, however, the old culture was crumbling and the new social outlooks and patterns were coming into vogue.

In concluding this chapter on land and land troubles, mention should be made of the deed of David Holzapfel who, in preparation for his migration to North Carolina, conveyed his lands on the river to Captain Solomon Hewet. In this act of conveyance the sweet, simple and Christian character of the man is revealed, as well as the spirit which governed his dealings with his fellows, and which he must have believed should characterize all human relationships. As in other deeds his bounds are all exactly defined, and then there is a little and significant additional statement: "with the consent and by agreement with my neighbors."

On this note of calm human trust and concord this chapter comes to a close, for by 1765 all the settlers, with the exception of a few outraged and militant spirits, were able to feel reasonably secure as to the ownership of the land on which they were living.

## XIX

### THE INFLUX OF THE PURITANS

*Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around,  
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew.*

GOLDSMITH

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN that at Broad Bay the period from 1760 down to the American Revolution was a restless era. This was the period when families and groups of families started concentrating in areas where they have remained in many cases down to the present day. The Hochs, Orffs, Achorns, and Weavers clanned in the Orff's Corner district; the Shumans, Bornheimers, Walters, and Newberts in North Waldborough; the Benners, Levensalers, and Castners in Belscop; the Seidensparkers, Voglers, Minks, and Clines in East Waldborough; the Eugleys, Creamers, and Waltzes in West Waldborough; the Winchenbachs, Heaveners, and Stahls on Dutch Neck; and the Gross clan in the Gross Neck area.

These shifts from farm to farm and the overflow into the deeper, back recesses of the Plantation gave the more resourceful and practical-minded among the "Dutch," and the Puritans as well, a chance for handsome profits as local real-estate brokers, and there were those who were not slow to take advantage of such openings. These were men who in the main had been in the colony from the earliest days, or who had brought some little capital with them from the Old World in the form of Spanish gold dollars, or who by their superior intelligence, thrift, and keen appreciation of the economic chance, had been quick to speculate and amass small reserves. Their superiority was unquestionably recognized and admired by their more boorish neighbors. From the beginning they had been leaders in the settlement and were very generally accepted as such. In early land deeds they are characterized as "gentlemen." In fact, this was the basis of the first class or social distinction to obtain at Broad Bay. If a man earned his living by working the soil, he was "a farmer," a "yeoman," or a "husbandman." If he made money in trade or speculation he was a "gentleman." The Germans, thoroughly accustomed

to the class society in their homelands, accepted this order as a part of the nature of things.

Among these early "gentlemen" at Broad Bay were Captain John Ulmer, Captain Charles Christopher Godfrey Leisner, Colonel William Farnsworth and "Doctor" John Martin Schaeffer. In the half-and-half group there were, among others, Matthias Achorn, Jacob Ludwig, and Andrew Schenck, who were sometimes millers, farmers, tanners, and sometimes "gentlemen." These men were among Broad Bay's first capitalists. Their manipulations are a part of our early history.

William Farnsworth, gentleman, and a soldier in the French and Indian War, started his land speculations at Broad Bay by buying up some of the lots owned, improved, and then abandoned in the Fifth Indian War by the Scotch-Irish settlers who formed the nucleus of the "Town of Leverett" in 1736. In August 1760 he bought for £60 of Elizabeth Vass of Gloucester, "widow of John Vass late of Broad Bay, and Jeremiah Vass of Gloucester, mason," three lots of land, "numbers 23, 24 and 25" on the eastern side of Broad Bay, each containing one hundred acres.<sup>1</sup> These were the three lots just north of Rood's (now Farnsworth's) Point. In July 1767 Farnsworth sold of his three hundred acres parts of lots 25 and 26 containing ninety acres to James Sweetland of Broad Bay for £30. Thus he disposed of less than a third of his acreage for half its original cost, which was certainly a nice profit.<sup>2</sup> In March 1764 he had further increased his holdings in this area by purchasing of Thomas Waterman of Marshfield, mariner, for £53 6s. 8d., the whole of Lot No. 26, the old Dennis Cannaugh farm containing ninety acres, extending across Long Cove and embracing the northern section of the present Farnsworth Point.<sup>3</sup> Two years later he purchased of Charles Leisner for £40 the major part of the old Patrick Cannaugh lot, No. 22, next north of his Vass lot, which contained sixty-six acres and forty poles.<sup>4</sup> In 1770 he sold a part of No. 22 to Joshua Howard for £40, thus covering his original cost, and keeping a generous portion of the lot in his possession.<sup>5</sup> In 1768 Farnsworth bought of James Sweetland for £5 the second lot on Rood's Point, it being an extension through the Point of Lot No. 27.<sup>6</sup> Previously he had purchased of Jonathan Robbins the tip of the Point, which had been an extension of Lot No. 28. This placed him, by 1768, in possession of the entire Point. These are but a few of Farnsworth's

<sup>1</sup>Lincoln Co. Reg. of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), Bk. 3, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 8, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 37.



land deals, which covered territory eastward to the Penobscot and provided him with a comfortable income, a leisurely life, and the prestige of being one of the early leaders in the Broad Bay settlement. Down to the year 1800 his name is constantly recurrent in the history of the town.

Captain John Ulmer was the major real-estate broker on the Medomak in early days, and some of his deals were set forth in an early chapter. It was he who, after the last Indian war, acquired the land from Clark's old shipyard to a point above the lower falls, an area running from these two bounds back deep into the country and embracing most of the present-day village and built-up sections east of the river over the "Willett Hill." The record of this transaction is not to be found in the Wiscasset records, but it is probable that the property came to him through the Waldo heirs. His interests extended over an area reaching to the Penobscot and through the back sections of Broad Bay. A typical example of his activity was a deal made in 1772, when he, Matthias Remilly and Philip Ulmer had surveyed for themselves by William Farnsworth a huge tract on the west side of the river "above the head of Broad Bay and some miles up the said river above any present settler." This was nothing short of unwarranted land appropriation, but disposing of small lots to future settlers would be smart and exceedingly lucrative. In 1779 Ulmer sold his one third of this tract to Remilly for £500, a sum which was pure profit.<sup>7</sup>

In the early 1790's Ulmer was disposing of his local holdings. It is an important fact in the history of the village area that in 1794 he sold to David Doane of Eastham, County of Barnstable, Massachusetts, for £600 a tract on the east side joining and being a part of the lower falls, beginning at a stake about thirty rods above the falls, then east 658 rods to a stake, then south 68 poles, thence west 622 poles to a stake on the east side of the river, then north by the river to the first bound. This lot contained two hundred and sixty-four acres and was 68 poles in width. It included one gristmill and one sawmill, and significantly excepted a half acre on the east side below the county road (the present Frist Bridge) which Ulmer had previously given to the town for a public landing.<sup>8</sup> Ulmer then transferred his residence to the Rockland area, and ultimately went to live with one of his sons, George or Philip, who had settled at Duck Trap, now Lincolnville. These details were but a phase of Ulmer's financial dealings, for he was also a banker or moneylender at a period in our history when a delinquent debtor received small consideration in his trouble. The Cap-

<sup>7</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 13, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 32, p. 12.

tain was no exception to the general practice. We are taking, by way of illustration, a loan of £18 which he made in 1780 to Charles Brotmann. When the latter failed to pay, Ulmer instituted suit and recovered damages to the extent of the £18 plus £17 costs of the suit. Appraisers were appointed who surveyed Brotmann's lot as follows:

. . . beginning at the mill pond, west side on line of Matthias Achorn, dec., and Charles Boardman, then across Boardman's lot to a line between Boardman and William Snouteil [Schnaudel or Snowdeal] as will contain three acres, thence on Snouteil's line to the mill pond.

This area was assigned to Ulmer and it is significant that this river frontage was the most valuable part of Brotmann's lot. Soon thereafter the latter sold out and took up new lands in North Waldborough in the district of Medomak Pond. Similar procedures were followed by Ulmer against others, among them John Gottfried Overlock.

Such a treatment of debtors remained invariable practice for many years. We shall cite one more example, an amusing, ludicrous, and tragic one, yet typical of the temper of the times. It was in 1816, and on January the 17th, when John Hahn received judgment against John Matthews for \$33.14 damages plus \$14.53, the cost of the suit, Matthews was unable to pay. Accordingly Henry Flagg, John Stahl, and Jacob Winchenbach, Jr., were appointed appraisers for the purpose of surveying an amount of Matthews' property equal to the judgment. The line extended *through* the dwelling house

. . . thence south to the northwest corner of said dwelling house, thence by the back or west side of the main body of said house to the middle thereof, thence east through the entry of said house to the road, thence to the bound first mentioned, meaning to include the north room of said dwelling house, the chamber over the same and one half of the said front entry with the land under the same.

In the meantime "the body of said Matthews" was committed "unto our Gaol in Wiscasset in our County of Lincoln."<sup>9</sup>

Captain Charles Leisner was another of the major real-estate manipulators of early days. His position in the 1750's as Waldo's representative in the colony provided him with a small reserve of capital which he employed with shrewdness and intelligence. His dealings are too numerous for detailed outline here, but a single case will furnish an insight into his margin of profit. He purchased the old Patrick Cannaugh lot, No. 22, in the old town of Leverett for £29 5s. 8d., and sold part of it in 1766 to William Farnsworth

<sup>9</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 92, p. 153.

for £40, and the remaining part to Ezra Pitcher for £40. At such a favorable rate of purchase and sale Captain Leisner was on the road to riches, but he never quite arrived, for his death in 1769 brought an end to his activities at a time before the real-estate market had reached its peak development.

After John Ulmer, the most zealous capitalist at Broad Bay was that versatile acrobat, John Martin Schaeffer. His land speculations extended from the Georges to the Damariscotta River valleys, and many properties passed through his hands. Among these was the old James Littel farm of the Town of Leverett located in the Slaigo district, which he bought for £66 13s. 4d. "payable in eighteen months with interest"; the Philip Vogler farm, Lot No. 9, purchased for £100 and sold to Stephen Andrews of Boston in 1774 for £120; Lot No. 8, the Captain A. F. Stahl farm, bought of Lorenz Seitz, Jr., in 1773 for £150 along with all the stock "comprising one yoke of oxen, 8-9 year-olds, three cows, one steer between two and three years old, 2 yearling calves, three calves, nine sheep and four swine." This enumeration is of interest since it shows the normal amount of stock on a one-hundred acre Broad Bay farm at this time. Along with extensive trading in mill lots Schaeffer acquired the old Parker Feyler farm, Lot No. 4, after the death of Leisner in 1769. After his removal to Warren around 1790 he disposed of both the Stahl and Feyler lots to his daughter Margaret. In addition to these more centrally located deals Schaeffer followed the common practice of having large sections of the unoccupied lands of the town surveyed and set aside for himself, for which there was always a ready demand, from a centrally overflowing population, and a most satisfactory profit.

There were other entrepreneurs among the Germans. Of these Matthias Achorn was an habitual dickerer, and Jacob Ludwig a more conservative capitalist operating on a smaller scale and content to buy a piece of land here and there and wait for a rise in the market, or settle on it one of his many sons. Andrew Schenck was a somewhat later comer at Broad Bay, and at first his major interest was in mill lots or stream sites, but his speculations gradually increased in scope, and in 1793 when Waterman Thomas became involved in financial difficulties, Schenck took a mortgage for £198 15s. 11d. on the Thomas house, barns, mills, and lands by the Slaigo Brook and along Thomas' Hill. All these men accumulated capital as a result of their foresight and enterprise and became the wealthiest at Broad Bay in early days. Their market was a good one, for with the late 1760's the tide of English migration from the Boston area began its surge into the town,



and these Puritans were, in the main, men who had cash to pay for what they wanted.

As soon as there was a settlement on the Medomak there was trade with the Boston market. This trade was carried on in small coasters commanded by captains from the south shore of Massachusetts Bay. In their frequent visits to the colony these men had the chance to become acquainted with the people, to know the country and size up its possibilities. So long as the Indians were a threat they maintained their families in the safe precincts of the Boston district, but with the return of peace following the French and Indian War, and the final settlement of the Indian problem, the Puritan invasion from the shores of the Bay got under way. There were a number of reasons for this migration. In the first place, officers and soldiers in the recent war had importuned the General Court for service grants in the unoccupied areas of Maine, and a very considerable number of people were set up in this way. In the second place, Maine land was supposed to be better than that of Massachusetts and was far cheaper. The sale of a place in the Boston area and the purchase of a farm in Maine left its owner with a considerable cash balance. The migration to the Waldoborough area was made up largely of people of this latter class, well to do, energetic, and highly capable.

The coming of this initial migration of Puritans covered the period from 1765 to 1775. It was by all odds the most important and influential fact in early Broad Bay history, for it meant a turning point in the future evolution of the isolated and feudal community on the Medomak. It was important because these Puritans brought with them an entirely different culture and one completely alien to the ways of life at Broad Bay. From this period on there were in the settlement two cultures that could not exist side by side as distinct entities. Interaction was inevitable and fusion unavoidable. To be sure, the two distinct patterns of life influenced and colored one another, but the Puritan being the pattern drawn from the dominant culture of New England was destined to furnish the leaven which in the fullness of time was to transform the feudal practices and viewpoints of Broad Bay into a democratic town specifically English in organization, thought, and action.

The term "Puritan" as used in this chapter requires perhaps a brief clarification. The newcomers to Broad Bay were not the Puritans of the 1600's, for the original nonconformist movement in Massachusetts Bay had long since spent itself, leaving a residuum of strong evangelicalism, with good and evil things strictly catalogued, and definite demarcations between right and wrong, which imparted to human living the rigorous moral disciplines that still

characterized life in this community down to a few decades ago. This Puritan influence certainly proved itself a durable one. In a simpler social structure it might have been permanent, but the social structure did not remain simple and in our time it has met more than its match in the moral dissolvents of our scientific cult.

The interest of these English in the settlement was twofold in character. There were those who had bought up lands and held them as a speculation and those who came to take up their residence here. In the former class we find Jonathan Robbins of Attleboro, who had bought up some of the abandoned lots in the old town of Leverett; Captain Thomas Waterman of Marblehead, William Simonton of Cape Elizabeth, Aaron Pratt of Cohasset, and Anthony Thomas, merchant, of Marshfield. By the time the American Revolution broke, these men had disposed of their holdings and with that their active connection with the settlement had ceased. The second group was by far the larger and more important. It took up residence in the settlement, became its leaders, determined its way of life and left a lasting imprint on what is present-day Waldoboro. In consideration of a contribution so great and an influence so lasting, the first generation of these new leaders merits more than a passing reference in the record. By 1770 the tide was in full swing; some of the Germans were pointing toward North Carolina, and the English were filling in such vacancies immediately; Broad Bay was buzzing with rumors. George Soelle wrote to Bishop John Ettwein as follows: "Wie man sagt, dann die Englische wollen die ganze Ostseite bis an Medamuck Fall kaufen, wo sie zu haben sei."<sup>10</sup>

Our interest in these first Puritans is second only to our interest in the first Germans, for they were the town makers, or at least the ones who reared the superstructure on pre-existing foundations. In order to understand the happenings of the later decade and those who figured in and shaped them, it is perhaps best to become acquainted with them at their arrival. We introduce them in alphabetical order:

Captain Stephen Andrews was a mariner of Boston and had been doubtless a frequent visitor in his coaster at Broad Bay in early days, and perhaps had dreamed of it as his ultimate snug harbor. In 1770 Philip Vogler joined the migration of that year to North Carolina, and sold his farm, Lot No. 9, to John Martin Schaeffer for £100. On the 13th of June, 1774, Schaeffer sold this farm to Captain Andrews for £120,<sup>11</sup> and it remained Andrews' home for the rest of his life. This was in the period of frame house construction, and it is highly probable that the present

<sup>10</sup>Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa. "They say the English want to buy the whole east side up to the Falls wherever lots are available."

<sup>11</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 242.

Davis house was built by the Captain. In the late eighteenth century it was the frequent scene of special Town Meetings which for one reason or another might be called in the winter months, when the present church, at that time stoveless, stood on Merle Castner's shore. Whenever the temperature in the church was beyond the endurance of the few civic-minded faithful the meeting would invariably "vote to adjourn to Captain Andrews' house," and there transact town business. Andrews was not one of the wealthier captains who moved to Broad Bay at this period, but he did practice the fine art of genteel living and to that end had brought here with him two negro slaves, a man, name unknown, and a woman, Phebe, who appropriated the Andrews name.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the Captain was a citizen of standing and repute whose name appears frequently in town records as one holding many offices and discharging many trusts in the complete confidence of the public. He was selectman in 1780, 1791, and 1797. Toward the end of their life the Andrews couple was unable to provide for itself, and in consequence on October 17, 1808, he and his wife, Susannah, deeded their farm to Charles Samson "in consideration of a maintenance for life secured by bond." So far as is known there are no descendants of the Captain now in Waldoboro.

The Buswell family left no trace in the town except by living and dying in it. Jacob Ludwig administered the estate of James Buswell on September 20, 1796. Cornelius Turner and Lorenz Seitz, both of Waldoborough, served as "sureties," and Jane, "widow of the deceased, resident in Hopkinton, N. H., requested appointment of an administrator" on August 12, 1795. The estate was inventoried by Jacob Winchenbach, Samuel Angier, and John Christopher Wallizer, all of Waldoborough, and was appraised at £98 22s.

Ralph Chapman and his wife Prudence were at Pownalborough in early days. The husband was in trade there and while the volume of his business was considerable he was unable to make both ends meet. In December 1786 he was lost in the sloop *Kennebec*, wrecked in a storm on the Georges Islands. He left a family of seven children and a wife who was a Quakeress and extremely shrewd and capable in business dealings. She disposed of the estate in such a way as to leave the family something of a competence, and in 1770 moved to Broad Bay, where on September 8, 1770, she purchased Lot No. 15 on the east side of the river.<sup>13</sup> This was the old Jacob Ulmer farm of 1742, next north of Ralph Dean's poultry range on Friendship Road. The lot at this time

<sup>12</sup>Census of 1800, Bur. of the Census, Wash., D. C.

<sup>13</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 150.



was in possession of David Kuebler who was about to migrate to North Carolina. Here the widow settled to rear her brood. The children were Prudence, born 1754; Sarah, born 1755; Deborah, born 1758; Ralph, born 1760; Mary, born 1762; Abraham, born 1765; and Isaac, born 1767.

The family prospered at Broad Bay. The widow was a good manager, shrewd, resolute, and as hard as the men of her time. When her daughter's husband, David Vinal, in his capacity as sheriff, overstepped what the widow regarded as her rights, she promptly instituted suit, won the case and, as Mr. Vinal did not have ready cash for settlement at the moment, had appraisers appointed to value his real estate, and recovered damages by taking a slice of his land. Three daughters did well for themselves in marriage: Prudence married Levi Loring; Sarah was married to Abel Cole, and Mary married David Vinal. Deborah remained a spinster. In 1788 the widow made her will. Her son, Abraham, who doubtless worked the home farm, was the principal beneficiary on the condition of his providing a home for the single daughter, Deborah. The will was probated on May 26, 1796, which makes it possible to set the widow's death as occurring in 1795. Through her sons Prudence founded the Chapman family, once numerous in Waldoboro.

For three quarters of a century the Cole family was a prominent one in the town. It originally came from Pownalborough where, in the 1770's, Jabez Cole was its head. A son, Abel, moved to Waldoborough early in the 1770's, and there in 1776 married Sarah, the second daughter of the widow Chapman. Abel settled in the East Waldoborough district and took up seventy-two acres of land bordering on the northeast corner of the Vogler Pond. His wife, Sarah, died August 17, 1834. This branch of the Cole family is buried in East Waldoborough Cemetery. Abigail, a daughter of Jabez, married Levi Soule, son of Captain Nathan Soule of Waldoborough, on December 14, 1776. These connections doubtless influenced the remainder of the family to migrate to this town, for in 1781 Jabez Cole, who had been elected tithing man in 1773, bought of Anthony Thomas of Marshfield for £100 Lot No. 13, David Rominger's farm from 1742 to 1769, which Rominger had sold to Thomas prior to his migrating to North Carolina.<sup>14</sup> This farm is the lot now divided and owned by Ralph Hoffses, the Fred Scott Estate and myself.

A second son of Jabez Cole was Isaiah, from 1775 to June 1780 a soldier in the Revolution. After his return from the war his father, "in consideration of £80" set off from his own lot the

<sup>14</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 30, p. 138.

farm now owned and occupied by me, plus the northern half of the pasture and woodlot adjoining the farm on the east.<sup>15</sup> This deed was drawn up on May 20, 1782, and shortly thereafter Isaiah built on this lot his own home, now my home, and the oldest occupied house in the town. This place remained the residence of the Coles for almost a century. In 1794 Jabez Cole sold his farm to Andrew Schenck for £80. Excepted was the land previously deeded to Isaiah, and excepted also was one half of his house and one acre of land conveyed earlier to George Leissner, son of Captain Charles, a cobbler, and the husband of Jabez' daughter, Ruth. The Schenck deed, as could be expected, included the privileges of the stream on the east end of the property "on which a saw mill is built, reference more fully had to a lease to Caleb Howard and others."

Jabez Cole was a citizen of weight and influence, and for his time possessed a good degree of education, as is attested by the records of the town which he kept as town clerk from 1784 to 1789. Cole left many descendants in the town, and his name still clings to the high hill east of the village, on which his grandson, Deacon William, built a large flat-topped mansion occupied for many years in more recent times by the village blacksmith, Everett Simmons.

The most brilliant family ever associated with our history was that of the Cushings, and its most brilliant but over-volatile member, Roland, was the one who took up residence in Waldo-borough. There were in all three brothers, William, Charles and Roland, sons of Judge John Cushing of Scituate, Massachusetts. William was born in 1733, was graduated from Harvard in 1751, and came to Pownalborough in 1760. He was the first Judge of Probate in Lincoln County. In 1772 he was made Judge of the Superior Court, and later moved to Boston, where in 1777 he became Chief Justice of Massachusetts. In 1789 President Washington appointed him a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was at this time tendered the appointment of Chief Justice of that body but had declined the honor.

The brother, Charles, was born in 1734, was graduated from Harvard in 1755, came to Pownalborough in 1760, and was the first sheriff of Lincoln County. He came to Broad Bay early in this decade and acted vigorously against the Lutherans in their persecution of the Moravians. The youngest brother, Roland, was born in Scituate in 1750, was graduated from Harvard in 1768, then came down to Pownalborough and studied law in the office of his brother, William. In all respects Roland carried on the

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 267.

family tradition of high intelligence, plus qualities of grace, beauty, and a certain romantic dash and impetuosity that tended in the direction of instability. In 1783 he sold to Caleb Fuller of Pownallborough his one-half interest of Lot No. 12 on the Kennebec River, and probably at this time came to Waldoborough and engaged in the practice of law. He was not in the best of health as he had somewhat recklessly squandered his vigorous physical assets, and had been compelled in 1774 to resign his commission as major in the second regiment of the militia of Lincoln County. It is doubtful if this handsome, brilliant, and romantic young man was either understood or appreciated by Waldoborough folk. His health apparently compelled him while here to lead a quiet and retired life limited largely to the practice of law. He died in 1788 and lies in an unmarked grave in the old Groton Cemetery on the west side of the river. Doctor M. R. Ludwig in his *Genealogy of the Ludwig Family*, speaking of this old cemetery remarks: "Here lies the neglected grave of Roland Cushing, a man of rare talents and a very celebrated lawyer. . . . No monumental slab marks his resting place."

William D. Patterson of Wiscasset many years ago wrote of Roland Cushing as follows:

The personal recollections of those who knew him have been preserved and show that endowed by nature with a graceful and manly form, possessing brilliant mental parts cultivated and enriched by study, eloquent and forceful in argument, he enjoyed a popularity that was long remembered. His untimely death, and the indulgence of habits that led to it, were much deplored by his friends and associates.

The Delano family was never prominent in local history, although it gave its blood and its name to one of the great presidents of the United States. On April 9, 1770, Samuel Waldo, Jr., sold to Judah Delano of Duxbury for £110 the lot at the entrance of Broad Bay containing seventy-eight acres "known by the name of Jones Neck,"<sup>16</sup> for many years the summer home of Doctor John B. Deaver of Philadelphia. It is conjectured that Jones was one of the earliest settlers on the river and occupied this lot prior to the 1680's, when the few settlers on the Medomak were driven out in King Philip's War. If such be the case, this is one of the two earliest place names in our history.

Judah was probably the first Delano in these parts. On a small scale he was a dabbler in real estate, and moved from farm to farm, selling whenever he could do so at a profit. Eventually he and his children became settled in the southern part of the town and established the Delano clan here and in Friendship.

<sup>16</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 253.



The Ewells were an old Massachusetts family who came here from Marshfield. The first in these parts was Henry, a farmer who, on November 13, 1769, bought of William Simonton of Cape Elizabeth, gentleman, for £60 13s. 4d., a tract of land at Broad Bay, old Lot No. 20, east side, the most northerly of the two lots in possession of James Norton of the old town of Leverett in 1736.<sup>17</sup> In more recent years this was the apple farm of Will Ewell, containing one hundred acres and bounded on the north by the land of Abijah Waterman, the present home of Andrew Currie. In this transfer, Henry Ewell and his heirs bound themselves "to pay to Samuel Waldo or his heirs one peppercorn per annum, if demanded." These transfer papers show the name of Henry's wife as Mary Benson (X) Ewell.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Ewell's known children were two sons, Charles and Malachi. Captain Charles was born in Marshfield in 1764 and came to this district as a young boy with his father. He followed the sea and was for years in command of a coaster. In 1792 he bought of his father the house and acre of land last occupied a century ago by the herb doctor, Wing, and located in the pasture of the old Moses Burkett farm. This may have been the initial residence of Henry Ewell in Waldoborough. The Burketts and the Ewells always seemed to have paired off together on adjacent farms in the town. This was true of their holdings in South Waldoborough as well as closer in to the village; for in 1806 Captain Charles purchased of the Burketts the northern part of the old Burkett farm, the present home of Frank and Mabel Ewell, a home which has been in that family continuously now since the date of purchase.

Captain Charles married Polly Gellerd of Waldoborough on August 14, 1791. He died on September 2, 1832, and lies buried in Slaigo Cemetery. The second son of Henry, Malachi, married "Cathy" Sides of Waldoborough, December 5, 1794, and around 1800 was living on the lot next south of the present Frank Jackson farm. It may have been another son who settled on a back lot in the vicinity of "Ewell meadows," as it was once known, in the corner on the Goose River just south of the *old* Friendship line. Today the Ewells, like the Burketts, are nearly extinct in the town, although there are a number of descendants of the Waldoborough Ewells now living in Massachusetts as a consequence of a migration of many of them in the 1870's.

The Farnsworths touched Waldoborough history at many points in the late eighteenth century. This was a very old New

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 8, p. 158.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 172.



French and Indian War. We have already discussed his real-estate activities. He married Elizabeth Rutherford (1739-1809). In the Revolution Farnsworth received a commission as colonel, and among a number of assignments commanded the Lincoln County regiment in the campaign against the British at Castine. Following the war he built his family seat in a sightly location on the shore of the bay west of Frank Jackson's farm. For a number of years now, this home has been the summer residence of Glenn Mayo of San Antonio, Texas. In 1802 the Colonel disposed of a considerable portion of his real estate to his sons, William, Robert, and Isaac.<sup>19</sup> His death followed in January 1806 and he lies buried on his own estate in a little private cemetery surrounded by the remains of his dearest friends and neighbors.

The family name of Fish, once prominent in the town, is now extinct, although there are still descendants in the female line. Captain William Fish, 3rd, the son of Ebenezer and Deborah Church Fish, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, was born in 1745 and for many years was the captain of a coaster. He married Mary Sprague (1747-1800). In 1780 he purchased of John Crawford what was long known locally as "the old Fish farm," and moved thither with his family. This lot was located in East Waldborough on the corner of old Number One Highway and the road leading south, at what is still known as "Fishes Corner." The children were Deacon Abel, one of the first settlers in Hope; Samuel, who moved to Thomaston; Church, who resided and died unmarried on the family homestead with his sister, Sally; and William, who moved into Waldborough Village, became one of the shipbuilders of the Great Days, and built and resided in the big house on Main Street now known as the "Will Achorn place." Captain William, the founder of the local line, died August 12, 1819.

The Fitzgeralds were one of a small group of Catholic families located in East Waldborough in early days. Their presence is a testimonial to the tolerance obtaining in the town at this period, for at a somewhat earlier date "Popists" had not been acceptable people in the Massachusetts Colony. The Fitzgeralds, however, were people of some education and quality. John came from Limerick, Ireland, where he had been born in 1752, and reached Waldborough in the 1770's. The Latin inscriptions in some of his books betoken a considerable education, and it is probable that he was brought here from Boston by Andrew Schenck, in whose family he served as tutor. He married Andrew's daughter, Sophia, and the couple made their home in East

<sup>19</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 49, p. 51.



Waldoborough in the house now occupied by a Finnish family, next south of the old John Fogler homestead now occupied by Ivan Scott. There were ten children born of this union.

A brother, Edward, according to family tradition, came with John to Waldoborough, but did not remain, saying "he would not stay here and be buried under a pine bush." The brother, John, played a prominent part in the community in its early days as a town. He was a sterling, public-spirited man who held many minor and major offices and served on many committees dealing with the problems of large public concern. He was also a member of the building committee which erected the St. Patrick Church at Damariscotta Mills, and a close collaborator with Bishop, later Cardinal, Cheverus. He died at the ripe age of eighty-six in 1838 and lies buried in the churchyard of St. Patrick's.

The Grotons were one of the early Puritan families of merit in the town. They came from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Waldoborough in the 1770's, bringing a son, William, who was born March 30, 1768. The family settled on the west side of the river, apparently on Lot No. 19, originally owned by George Klein, the one-hundred acre lot next south of the Old County Road. William Groton married Mary Sprague (b. 1772), who had come recently to Waldoborough with her parents from Marshfield. Of this union there were six children, four sons, and two daughters. A daughter, Sarah, married Denny McCobb. A son, Nathaniel (b. 1791), went to Hebron to prepare for Bowdoin College, from which he was graduated in 1814. Thereafter he read law in the office of Colonel Isaac G. Reed and then established himself in Bath. He was State Senator from the county in 1832 and 1834 and later held the post of Judge of Probate for many years. In the years prior to his death in 1858 he wrote his recollections of early Waldoborough history, which appeared serially in the *Bath Times*. Other sons were James R., the shipbuilder, Joseph, and Isaac.

William Groton held many town offices in his lifetime, from that of selectman down to the lowlier posts. He died in 1845 and was survived by his wife, Mary, for four years. During his long life he devoted both care and expense to ornamenting his future resting place, a high, dry, rocky eminence on his farm, now known as the "old Groton Cemetery." Here lie buried William and his wife, and here "his beautiful and accomplished daughter, Sarah McCobb, lies buried beside her young and confiding husband," with this tragic inscription on their tombstones: "Denny McCobb, died August 9, 1834, aet. 27 years; Sarah A., his wife, died June 10, 1835." There is no further revelation of these untimely deaths. There are also related families and others lying here in their long rest, including Keenes, Church Nash, and Roland Cushing. The

name Groton survived in Waldoboro down into my lifetime, George being the last of the name, who lived on the farm now owned by Byron Mills.

Miller in his *History of Waldoboro* lists a James Hall as being among the early Puritans in the town. While the Halls have been numerous in more recent times, the office of the Register of Deeds of Lincoln County contains no record up to 1795 of any member of this family having acquired real estate in Waldoborough. The records of 1782 do show, however, a James, a John, and an Isaac Hall "of Damariscotta Pond"<sup>20</sup> as having come from Ipswich to Nobleborough at some time prior to this date. Hence the Hall family in Waldoborough were later arrivals, moving in from Nobleborough. The best-known member of this family in the town was "Deacon Dandylion," a shipbuilder who lived in the house now occupied by John Burgess.

For a brief period in the late eighteenth century Captain Solomon Hewet was a leading figure in the town. He was a mariner who had made money in the coastwise trade and who liked Broad Bay well enough to make it his final residence. Coming from Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1772, he purchased on August 31 of that year Lots No. 2 and 3 on the west side below Medomak Falls, each having a width of twenty-five rods and containing one hundred acres. These were the two original lots of David Holzapfel, who, migrating this year to North Carolina, sold them to Captain Hewet for £135. Here the Captain resided until his death, probably living in the "old Smouse house" erected, according to tradition, by David Holzapfel who, since it was built *circa* 1769 on his land, had doubtless erected it for himself as his own home. The next year Hewet bought of Matthias Achorn a part interest in a small sawmill on the lot adjacent to his property.

The Captain was a man of considerable ability and almost immediately became one of the town's trusted leaders. He was chairman of its second Board of Selectmen in 1774, a member of the first Committee on Correspondence and Inspection, and discharged a whole host of major and minor commissions in the early history of the town. He died in 1786. In his will there is a mention of his widow, Deborah, and a minor daughter, Deborah, who chose Oliver Nash of Bristol to be her guardian on February 19, 1787. The Hewet estate was appraised by Waterman Thomas, Nathan Soule, and Thomas Johnston of Bristol at a total of £4631 16s. 3d. This was a sizable estate, clearly sufficient to make Hewet one of the wealthiest men in Waldoborough in his day.

<sup>20</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 16, p. 66.



The founders of the Howard family in Waldoborough were the two brothers, Joshua and Caleb. They were descendants of John Howard who came to Massachusetts from England in 1638 at the age of fifteen and grew up in the family of Myles Standish in Duxbury. Joshua, born November 13, 1744, came to Waldoborough in 1769 from Bridgewater, and the same year purchased of William Farnsworth a part of old Lot No. 22, the Patrick Canaugh farm,<sup>21</sup> located on the east side in the old Town of Leverett. His sixty-six acres comprised a part of the farm now occupied by Frank Jackson. Joshua married Elizabeth Farnsworth, born December 14, 1751. Between 1769 and 1797 there were fourteen children born to this union. He was a soldier in the Revolution and rose to the rank of captain. He was also a second selectman of the town in 1783, and a first selectman in 1802, besides holding a number of minor offices.

Caleb Howard was a blacksmith and married Katherine Rominger, the daughter of Philip Rominger, deceased. By this marriage he came into possession of the farm allotted to his father-in-law in 1742, which is the lot next north of the present farms of Ralph Hoffses and myself. It was Caleb who inadvertently played a disastrous role in the early history of the town of Union. While he was shoeing the oxen of Philip Robbins in the latter's barn in the late fall of 1778, the hay in the loft was ignited from the sparks of his forge, and the building reduced to ashes in short order.<sup>22</sup> This was a grievous blow to infant Union, for this barn was the only frame building in the plantation and in it was stored the settlement's supply of food. In Ben Ames William's novel, *Come Spring*, Caleb appears as a big person, cumbersome and sluggish of wit, which may, or may not be a fiction of the novelist's. Like his brother, Joshua, he too had an honorable record in the Revolution, and, indeed, honored is the part which this family has had in the early and subsequent history of the town, and some of its descendants still cling to their early home. One of the most successful and distinguished of these is Howard A. Marple of St. Louis, Missouri, and Waldoboro, the vice-president of the Monsanto Chemical Company of America.

On August 28, 1772, Michael Ried, a second-generation German about to remove to some unoccupied land in the town back on the Old County Road, sold to John Hunt of Pembroke, Massachusetts, cordwainer, for £82 13s. 4d. "a parcel of land being one half of lot No. 21 on the west bank of the river, 12½ rods wide and containing about fifty acres, with all improvements, stock, dwelling house, one half of the barn and a right of way

<sup>21</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup>John L. Sibley, *History of Union* (Boston, 1851), pp. 44-45.



through to the river." John's wife, Mary, was the daughter of Nathanael Simmons. She brought with her to Waldoborough her church letter from the church in Pembroke and was one of the original members of the Congregational Society in the town. John was one of the first two tax collectors, held many minor offices, and discharged many committee duties relating to the town's affairs. Later the family spread into the northeast recesses of the town, and its influence diminished. There are descendants of this family in present-day Waldoboro, though few who still bear the name.

Levi Loring of Duxbury came to Waldoborough in the early 1770's. In 1774 he bought of Judah Delano the seventy-eight acre tract known as "Jones Neck" for £116 13s. 4d. Again in 1776 he bought of Abner Samson of Waldoborough the north half of Hungry Island containing eighty acres, the other half at this time being in the possession of Jehial Simmons. Loring disposed of his portion of the island in 1784 to Isaac and Jacob Simmons for £27¼,<sup>23</sup> thus placing the entire island in the hands of the Simmons family. Loring's wife was Prudence Chapman, the eldest daughter of the widow Chapman. As a citizen Loring was active in town affairs and held a number of minor offices. There are no known descendants in the present town bearing the Loring name.

Of the Manning family the record offers little data. The first to settle in these parts was Edward Manning, who located in 1793 at East Waldoborough on the second farm south of the Fitzgerald lot, it being separated from the same by the land of Paul Mink.<sup>24</sup> In 1800 he was one of four men instructed by the town to close to all passage the road to that East Waldoborough section which was the center of the smallpox epidemic. A son, Edward Manning (1797-1861) and his wife, Julia K., are buried in the East Waldoboro Cemetery. Their known children were Hannah E. (1829-1886) and Edward F. (1843-1863). The Manning homestead burned many years ago, but the cellar site is still visible on the old family lot. The name of this family is now extinct in the town.

Thomas McGuyer, sometimes spelled McGuire, was a genial and attractive Irishman. A tailor by trade, he found himself more congenially adapted to the role of tavern keeper. His family originally came to Bristol from Massachusetts. In the year 1784 in the month of May, Thomas McGuyer and Sarah Sprague of Waldoborough were published. This marriage had turned his

<sup>23</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 18, p. 205.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 30, p. 254.

thought toward Waldoborough, and two years later he bought of "Jacob Unbehind for £146 lot No. 18" on the west side abutting on the north of the Old County Road.<sup>25</sup> At this time this was the center of population on the west side of the river, and all travel east and west via Light's Ferry, and north and south to Bristol, passed by McGuyer's door. It was an admirable location for a tavern and he was an ideal host. Apart from his social role, he was a man of some education, with the Irishman's flair for public affairs. An outstanding leader of his times, he was town clerk from 1795 to 1809, a third selectman in 1797, and Chairman of the Board in 1798, 1799, 1801 and 1805-1808. As was the custom with newlyweds, or those recently come to town, he was made a hog reeve in 1787. In addition to these official duties he served on nearly every committee for a period of twenty years. McGuyer was affable, able and popular; his service just, effective and honorable, and it seemed always to meet the approval of both his English and German fellow citizens. In 1794 he had married as a second wife, Cathy Johnson of Bristol, which proved a drawing factor back to his former home, and in 1809 he sold his local farm and tavern to William McKean of Boston for \$950.00 and thereafter disappeared from our history.

The Martin family of Broad Cove and Waldoboro, as pointed out in a previous chapter, may have been in its origins either English or German. In earliest times John Martin, Sr., held land at the head of Broad Cove, and in 1764 John Martin, Jr., bought of John Savage, of Boston, for £20 a tract of land at Broad Cove adjacent to the present Waldoboro line—a tract comprising a substantial part of the old Augustus Heyer homestead.<sup>26</sup> Whatever his racial origin, John Martin, Jr., was extremely active in Waldoborough affairs. He speculated in lands in the town and was a "sworn surveyor," who for many years did practically all the local surveying. When the Plantation became a town in 1773 he laid out its first boundaries for the sum of £5 15s. 10d., and he was also the man who did the surveying in the squatter expansion of the late 1760's, 70's and 80's. Sibley, in his *History of Union*, mentions an "Adam Martin of German origin" who was living toward the end of the century in Union near the Waldoborough line, and who may have been a son of the senior or junior Martin. It is possible that the once numerous Martins of Bremen may have been descendants of these Broad Cove settlers.

The Nash family came to Waldoborough from Bristol, and Church Nash seems to have been its first representative in the

<sup>25</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 20, p. 148.

<sup>26</sup>Purchase confirmed by Drowne for the Pemaquid Props., Feb. 1, 1764.

town. He first appears locally when on September 6, 1770, he witnessed a deed conveying land to Anthony Thomas.<sup>27</sup> He was a soldier in the Revolution, returned to the town after his term of service, and in 1780 bought of Johann Georg Ried one half of Lot No. 21, on the west side of the river. The other half of this farm had been sold at an earlier date to John Hunt. Three years earlier he had bought Levi Keen's blacksmith shop located on an acre of land in this neighborhood. Nash apparently was not satisfied with these locations. On January 20, 1783, John Newbert had sold the farm on which he was then living, Lot No. 10, the present Merle Castner farm, to a Hessian named Andreas Suchfort, later anglicized to Sukeforth, for £200. Suchfort's tenancy was a short one, for he reconveyed this lot to Newbert on April 10, 1783, who on the same date sold it to Church Nash for £147,<sup>28</sup> and here Nash made his home until his death in 1794. According to tradition he was drowned from a fishing boat. He left an estate appraised at \$2750.88 to his wife, Eva, and his five children, Lydia, Jane, Oliver, Church, and Samuel. The children chose the mother to be the guardian. The widow died September 24, 1833, and burial was in the Groton Cemetery by the side of her husband. The descendants of this couple have been numerous and have spread into neighboring towns, with a few bearing the name living in Waldoboro.

The Pitcher family is associated first and all the time with South Waldoboro. The first Pitcher in America came from England in 1634 and settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts. Three of his descendants, the brothers Abner, Ezra, and Nathaniel, came to Broad Bay in the 1760's and settled in the southern part of the Plantation. On December 7, 1766, Charles Leisner sold to Ezra Pitcher for £40 a part of old Lot No. 22, originally owned and improved by Patrick Cannaugh of the old Town of Leverett.<sup>29</sup> Farther down the bay were Nathaniel and Abner. Old tombstones in the field of the Wilbur Pitcher farm seem to indicate that this was Abner's homestead and that he owned considerable adjacent property on which he settled his sons, Jesse, John, and Jeremiah. Nathaniel was a selectman in 1789, and several other members of the family held minor offices during the early history of the town. A survey map of the town *circa* 1800 shows Nathaniel and Thomas as the only Pitcher landholders in the southern area at that time. The Pitchers have been a large family and there are still those bearing the name living in the town.

<sup>27</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 16, p. 159.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 160.



John Prior, also spelled Pryor, married Lydia Osier of Duxbury, and came from Scituate to Waldoborough, where he settled in the eastern section of the town. Here he took up land deep in the woods south of the highway leading to Warren, about one mile south of Aunt Lydia's Tavern, and connected to the rest of the world by a private road, a mile long, through the forest to the Warren road. The family name still lingers among the old folk of East Waldoboro and attaches itself to a little cleared spot in the deep woods known as Prior's Meadow.<sup>30</sup> In later years the house was moved to the present Russell McLeod place. In 1786 Prior sold his farm of one hundred and ten acres for £45 to Christian Schönemann, a Catholic and probably a Hessian soldier, and moved to the southern part of town. Prior was a most active citizen, with a keen interest in all the town's affairs, holding many minor offices and serving on committees handling special phases of the town's business. Of his eight children not one settled in Waldoborough, but the many Priors of Bremen and Friendship are probable descendants of this John Prior.

Levi Russell of Puritan descent from Plymouth was born in 1751. After his service in the Revolution he married Hannah Simmons of Duxbury, born in 1757, and settled in Waldoborough. His farm, containing ninety-three and one-half acres, was located in East Waldoborough, the second lot north of the Vogler Pond, extending eastward to the Warren town line. It is now owned and occupied by Henry E. Bovey. The eight children of this family all married, resided, and died in Waldoborough, although their descendants have later spread out into neighboring towns. Levi, the founder of the family locally, died on August 22, 1834, and his wife Hannah, on September 27, 1840. Both are buried in the East Waldoboro Cemetery. The family name is now extinct in the town.

The Samsons were among the most active and influential families in the early history of the town. They were also of a distinguished lineage. Captain Charles, Sr., the first of the Waldoborough Samsons, was four generations removed in blood descent from Henry Samson, and from Myles Standish and John Alden, all *Mayflower* passengers. From Duxbury, father and son, Charles senior and junior, had engaged in coastwise trade and as captains of coasters had visited Broad Bay frequently in their line of business. The two worked in close collaboration and while Charles, Sr., continued the shipping business, Charles, Jr., came to Broad Bay and began extensive land purchases. His first move was to

<sup>30</sup>Oral tradition, Mr. John Rines from his father.

purchase land for a home, and on August 21, 1769, he bought of "Johann Heinrich Bender [Benner], yeoman of Broad Bay" for £70 one of the lots to which John Henry had been assigned by General Waldo in 1754. This lot was in recent years the farm of Al Davis. This one-hundred acre lot, however, was not enough for the Samsons, and they enlarged their holdings by buying up adjacent farms, including the one next north, purchased in 1771 of the heirs of Jacob Waltz, deceased (the present Patrick farm). Among these heirs was Mary David, the remarried widow Phedrec, and Mary Siechrest, probable daughter of Jacob, Sarah "Walks" of Halifax, and Thomas and "Prisciall Murphie."<sup>31</sup> There was also a claim of £16 which Samson paid to the Waldo heirs for a clear title.

Captain Charles, Jr., was one of the early Waldoborough capitalists, or dealers in land. He acquired attractive lots in the unoccupied areas of the town and had land interests on the Georges. It was he who in 1772 sold to Jacob Wade, Jr., of Scituate, a ninety-acre portion of old Lot No. 28, formerly the William Carter farm of the old Town of Leverett, next south of the Sweetland farm. During these operations Captain Charles, Sr., continued his coasting from this place. The latter died sometime prior to 1800, for a survey map of this date lists property as being in possession of the heirs of Charles Samson. The son played a very active part in local affairs. His name appears on the first slate of town officers in 1773. He was literally in everything — a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Inspection in 1777, first selectman in 1781, Town Treasurer in 1798, second postmaster of Waldoborough (appointed December 4, 1820), and a representative to the Legislature in 1825, not to mention an array of other offices, and with all this keeping a tavern. His son, Charles 3rd, married Sally Thomas, daughter of Waterman Thomas. The couple was published May 5, 1798. There are many descendants of the Waldoborough Samsons in this and neighboring towns. Among these are Ruth George of Thomaston, Madeleine Hemingway of Syracuse, New York, and Waldoboro, and the descendants of Carroll and Russell Cooney. The name itself is now extinct in the town.

The Simmons family is of early origin in New England. Moses, the first of the name in Massachusetts, came there in 1621 on the *Fortune*. Nathaniel of the fourth generation, born March 24, 1710/11, at Duxbury, married his cousin, Mercy, born May 18, 1720, at Duxbury. Nathaniel was a deacon in the Duxbury church

<sup>31</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, pp. 116-117, 173, furnishes data on the early Waltz and Siechrest families.

and from 1758 to 1760 a selectman of the town.<sup>32</sup> After 1765 he began disposing of his considerable property in Duxbury and adjoining towns with the thought of moving to Maine. He began acquiring land in this area about the time of the second migration of Moravians to North Carolina and proceeded to take up improved lands being vacated by them; in 1770 he acquired lots No. 1 and 2 on the east side, from Jacob Ried and Michael Rominger, at £120, and £146 13s. 4d. respectively. These lots were twenty-five rods in width, contained one hundred acres each, and comprised the fifty-rod tract next south of the present farm of Mrs. Carrie Feyler Hart. These two lots became the nucleus of the Simmons farm.<sup>33</sup> In 1773 he extended his holdings on the south by purchasing of

John Pratt, Aaron Pratt, Thomas Pratt and Joseph Pratt, all of Cohasset, for £86,13s.4d. a tract of land at Broad Bay, bounded southeasterly by the Bay, northwesterly by the land of the said Nathaniel Simmons, northeasterly on land of Thomas Flucker, and one Winslow [sons-in-law of Samuel Waldo], southeasterly on Matthias Storer, it being the same tract that our Honoured Father, Aaron Pratt bought of James Burns, April 3, 1749.

The foregoing deed does not state the width of this tract, but the Waldo conveyance to Burns calls for a lot of ninety acres, forty rods in width.

At the times of these first sales Simmons was living in Pembroke and he probably moved to Broad Bay in 1771. He was not an entrepreneur in any sense, but farmed his extensive acres and led the life of a country gentleman, at the same time rendering sterling service to his adopted town. He was first selectman in 1775, and a member of the boards of 1776 and 1777. He died January 4, 1789, his wife, Mercy, having died on the 21st of the preceding September. Both lie buried in the Slaigo Cemetery, originally a part of Nathaniel's estate. His will mentions seven children, Joseph, Zebedee, Stephen, Mary, wife of John Hunt, Dorothy, wife of John Winslow, Sarah, and Rachel.

The farm now owned by Foster Jameson is a part of the old Simmons estate. The Jameson house was built by Colonel Thomas Simmons, born 1782, died August 4, 1868, who was a grandson of Nathaniel and a surveyor and carpenter by trade. For service in the war of 1812 he received the title of colonel. His wife was Catherine Feyler, who died in 1872 at the advanced age of eighty-seven. The family founded by Nathaniel has been a numerous one and there are many of his descendants living today in this area.

<sup>32</sup>Fred J. Simmons, *Sprague's Journal* (1919), p. 135; (1920), p. 138.

<sup>33</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 14, p. 159; Bk. 15, pp. 166, 171.



The Spragues were once one of Waldoborough's more numerous families. The name is of Dutch origin, and in England the Spraks who were early Dutch immigrants became Spragues. The family, however, had lived in England so many generations before migrating to America that it should be regarded as an English family. A number of brothers, probably three, came to Waldoborough just before the Revolution. In all probability they had noted the trend of developments in Massachusetts and believed Maine a more secure place in which to hold property. One at least was a Tory sympathizer, which may have been a factor in his changing his residence. In April 1774 Nathan Sprague, yeoman, of Marshfield, purchased for £116 13s. 4d. of Matthias Achorn, Lot No. 23 or 24 on the west side of the Medomak, containing one hundred and ten acres with a width of twenty-five rods, and extending from the riverside back to Pemaquid Upper Pond (Duckpuddle).<sup>34</sup> Nathan, born in 1752, had married Mary, the daughter of Frank Miller, and on this lot the couple lived at first in a log cabin near the river. By his will, dated August 3, 1829, he bequeathed a half of his home farm to his son, Abijah. This lot remained in the Sprague family down to the time of Charles Sprague. In more recent times it was owned and occupied by Mrs. Elizabeth Hunt.

On February 28, 1776, Henry Bremer for £80 paid by Jonathan Sprague, mariner, of Marshfield, conveyed to him a one-hundred acre lot on the east side of the river between the first and second falls, and next north of the farm of Matthias Sidensberger (Sidensparker).<sup>35</sup> Of this Sprague the descendants, informed on family matters, know little, and the record offers little more.

Michael Sprague came to Waldoborough the same year as his brother, Nathan, but there is no record of any land purchase. Rather he seems to have squatted on an unoccupied tract in the eastern part of the town on the road running into Warren. He married Deborah Young in 1784.<sup>36</sup> Later this couple kept the tavern for a number of years, the same which was later operated by Aunt Lydia Trowbridge. Six children were born to this union. The Spragues are still numerously represented in this area in the contemporary period.

The Soules were one of the earliest English families in America, the first Soule, a George, coming to this country as servant, or aid, to Myles Standish. Nathan Soule, the first of his name to be interested in land at Broad Bay, was a well-to-do

<sup>34</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 44.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>36</sup>Town Clerk Records, II, Waldoborough.

farmer of Duxbury. On August 20, 1769, he purchased of Samuel Waldo, Jr., for £110 Lot No. 22 Lane's Point, next north of the Point lot acquired by Andrew Schenck of Samuel Waldo, Jr., on the same date. Another land deal by Nathan Soule, mariner of Duxbury, on August 15, 1770, was the purchase of Friedrich Kuentsel, a North Carolina emigrant, for £139 6s. 8d., Lot No. 16 down from Medomak Falls on the west side of the river.<sup>37</sup> The next day Nathan, for 20s. deeded this land to his son, Levi, mariner of Duxbury. These were not land speculations but homestead sites for the two families.

Nathan Soule was an influential citizen and in the span of his short life in the town served it as selectman and in many minor offices. He was one of the first fence viewers, an important and onerous office in early days, and he was the first fish warden of the town, authorized in the first Town Meeting, in Jacob Ludwig's strange "Dutch" phrasing, "to tack keer that the fish have a free Bass." Soule died in 1783. His real estate in Massachusetts was appraised by Briggs Alden, Levi Loring, and Perez Loring, "all of Densborough" at £500. The heirs were John Trowbridge, Sarah Trowbridge, Alex Turner, and Anna Soule.

His son, Levi Soule, was killed in his own home by the Tories in 1780. His wife, a widow at the end of four years of married life, and a daughter of Jabez Cole, was wounded in the shooting. The account for the settlement of the estate was filed March 2, 1796, at which time the widow had become the wife of Captain Cornelius Turner. The widow's dower was set off by Charles Samson, Waterman Thomas, and Michael Sprague, "all of Waldoborough," division of the estate being among the widow, a son Levi, born 1779, and a daughter Abigail, born 1777, wife of Joshua Howard, Jr. The Waldoboro Soules, a numerous family, have descended from this son, Levi, grandson of the immigrant, Nathan.

Little is known of the Stetson family in Waldoborough other than that they were early settlers in Lincoln County. They are descendants of Cornet Robert Stetson of the Plymouth colony of 1620. In Maine they first settled at Freeport and in North Warren. On May 6, 1795, Jacob and his wife, Temperance, purchased the present Joseph Koskela farm of one hundred acres.<sup>38</sup> At this time Jacob was living elsewhere in Waldoborough, but moved to his new lot at the time of purchase. He apparently made it his home until the sale of the property to George Castner on May 15, 1812. The Stetsons were never active in town affairs, and little is known of their children other than that the Stetsons of later generations

<sup>37</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 8, p. 69.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 79, p. 152.

in the town were probable descendants of this early Jacob and Temperance.

The Sweetlands were among the earliest of the English settlers at Broad Bay. It is a family tradition that they came from Attleboro, Massachusetts. This may have been an earlier home, but the first Sweetland in these parts, Samuel, came to Broad Bay from New Meadows. His first wife was — Gay, of Friendship, and the second one, Mrs. Elizabeth, whom he married January 7, 1788, was the widow of Lieutenant J. Matthews of Thomaston. The record of the first appearance of the Sweetlands at Broad Bay is indicated by their land purchases. On April 19, 1762, the Waldo heirs sold to Jonathan Robbins of Attleboro, Massachusetts, for £13 5s. 8d. a lot "being at a place called Broad Bay . . . [Lot No. 28, owned in 1736 by William Carter of the Town of Leverett] containing one hundred acres bounded west by the salt water, north by a lot heretofore called 'the *Rood lot*' [Lot No. 27 owned in 1736 by David Rood] south by a lot belonging to said Robbins." On October 6, 1766, Jonathan Robbins sold to Samuel Sweetland of Broad Bay for £4 land which was "a part of the front of Lot 28, containing 4¼ acres, bounded north by Lot 27 (1766) now in possession of James Sweetland, west on the salt water or *cove*, till it comes to the northeast corner of said cove to a fir tree marked on four sides, thence running north eight rods to the south line of said lot No. 27."<sup>39</sup> In the survey map of 1800 these bounds show this to be the shore front of the old Sweetland farm in South Waldoborough. The bounds in question have been set forth in some detail here because they furnish us with clues to the exact location of Lot No. 28 in the old Town of Leverett and render it possible to determine the location of the lots of most of the settlers in the first town on the river, as indicated on the map on page 69.

There was also another Sweetland at Broad Bay at an early date. On July 27, 1767, William Farnsworth sold to James Sweetland of Broad Bay, farmer, for £30 a tract of land on the east side of the river, "being parts of lots 25 and 26 [John Vass, Jr., and Dennis Cannaugh lots] containing 90 acres, beginning at a stake on the east side of the cove, known as Sweetland's Cove."<sup>40</sup> On September 11, 1771, James conveyed this tract to his brother Samuel.<sup>41</sup> James seems to have left Broad Bay, but Samuel remained and built the old home back from the road just north of the Sweetland Cemetery. There were two sons, Thomas and Charles, by the second wife. Charles ultimately moved to the village where he owned and operated the first sail loft on the site of

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 5, p. 138.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 8, p. 33.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 160.



the Jones loft now operated by the McMullins as a rug factory. He also built the house due east from the present factory. His wife was Lydia Farnsworth and the children were Betsy Ann, 1810, Oliver, 1816, William, Samuel, Robert, Thomas B., Lydia, and James T. In the present day the family name is preserved only by the Sweetland Cemetery. Until recently Augustus Sweetland maintained a summer residence at Martin's Point.

The first Teague in Waldoborough, Daniel, was born in Damariscotta. He married Catherine, a daughter of Conrad Heyer, and resided and died at Waldoborough. Of the nine children born to this union those residing in Waldoborough were Hannah, married to Charles Walter; Hiram, married to Margaret A. Shuman; Charles, married to Rebecca Webb of Warren; Sophia, married to Cornelius Heyer, and John married to Luella Weaver. There are still Teague descendants in the town, and until recently the old Conrad Heyer farm in North Waldoborough was in Teague possession.

The grand family of the Town of Waldoborough in the closing decades of the eighteenth century was that of Squire Waterman Thomas. It came from Massachusetts and was one of the distinguished families in that commonwealth. In 1769, when the first Moravians were laying their plans for an exodus to North Carolina, Anthony Thomas of Marshfield, merchant, came to Broad Bay and started buying up the improved farms vacated by these Germans. In this year he acquired the David Rominger farm and a string of farms along the crest of Thomas' Hill. These included the lots of Jacob Rominger, Melchior Schneider, and two lots of Jacob Lauer, all totalling four hundred continuous acres.<sup>42</sup> With the family thus substantially established at Broad Bay, Anthony's son Waterman assumed direction of the family's interests in this area. This son was an unusual personality. He possessed a fine background of education and culture. He was a nephew of Major General John Thomas, who succeeded Arnold and Montgomery in command in the Montreal-Quebec expedition, died of smallpox June 2, 1776, and lies buried at Chamblée. Waterman was a man of fine figure and handsome face, enterprising, quick in perception, brilliant in conception, one who acted and lived in the manner of the grand seigneur. He was the first Squire of Waldoborough and was known by his fellows, among whom he was most popular, as "Squire Thomas."

The Squire, too, had his weak side, but his vices were an outgrowth of his virtues. He was easygoing, careless, generous in

<sup>42</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 7, p. 260; and Bk. 8, p. 2.

his giving and prodigal in his living and spending. In his execution he never caught up with his conceptions and he was constantly overreaching himself. On his four-hundred acre estate he built himself a mansion<sup>43</sup> by the Slaigo Brook befitting his way of life, and to it he brought his bride from the family of Major Wheaton in Thomaston. This Slaigo Brook area was also the scene of his business, the largest at this time in this part of the Province of Maine, a business which had many facets, agriculture, milling of both lumber and grain, real estate, public affairs, and a store of West Indian goods, from which he carried on an extensive trade with Boston, England, and the West Indies. His real-estate speculations in Waldoborough and elsewhere were extensive. In 1789 he owned 19,393 acres in a single tract in the Calais area of Maine.

In his business ventures he tended to extend himself too far and to become involved in difficulties. In 1790 he mortgaged his dwelling house, farms, stores, mills, etc., to Henry Hodge of Pownalborough, Samuel Nickels of Newcastle, and John McKown of Bristol, in order to raise a paltry £114.<sup>44</sup> In this deal he also included as security the farm Lot No. 13, sold by his father nine years before to Jabez Cole. In spite of such unprecedented action his fellow townsmen seem never to have lost their admiration and affection for him. He remained "Squire Thomas" and they kept him unceasingly in office. He was moderator at the first Town Meeting in 1773; warrants were issued in his name at the founding of the towns of Warren and Thomaston. He was delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1776, first selectman in 1777, Senator from the Province of Maine in 1786, representative to the General Court in 1790, 1802 and 1803, and the first Collector of Customs in 1799. It is literally true that for over thirty years there was not a single major move in town affairs with which he was not connected in an official way.

Squire Thomas was supported in his princely way of life by certain colored retainers, perhaps slaves. One of these was a negro called "Africa Peter," who lived on a plot of land assigned to him on the Squire's estate. According to local tradition

Peter had been a prince in his home land and the remembrance of this and the subsequent treatment, rendered him moody, savage and at last insane. At the sight of the sun and moon he would often fall prostrate on the ground in the utmost agitation. Becoming at last dangerous he was confined as a maniac and died in jail.<sup>45</sup>

The behavior patterns of Peter do not correspond to those of an American negro and it is not unlikely that he was a West Indian

<sup>43</sup>Burned by hoodlums in 1865 in celebration of Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

<sup>44</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 29, p. 120.

<sup>45</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 214; and *History of Thomaston and Rockland*, p. 120.

slave recently imported from Africa and brought here by some shipmaster having business dealings with Squire Thomas.

This relationship leads one to speculate with reference to "old Ictus Benedictus Chiné Port-Royal" who came to Waldoborough with his wife one hundred and fifty years ago and who lived in a cabin in the woods not far from the second mill, right on the Slaigo Brook. He seems to have come here from Massachusetts, possibly an escaped slave who lived in this seclusion to avoid recapture, and partook of the Squire's bounty in return for his labor. He was quite generally known to the town folks as "old Rial." He was buried near his cabin, and the very old people in that neighborhood can still recall the stone which marked his grave.<sup>46</sup> As for Squire Thomas, he lost his fortune in his later years, and "as Collector of Customs proved to be a defaulter." At this distance we can overlook his mistakes and join our admiration and gratitude to that of his contemporaries for the great contribution which he made to his town and country, and for the romance which surrounded the glamorous pattern of the life he lived here.

The original Turner family in Waldoborough comprised three brothers, Briggs, Caleb, and Captain Cornelius, of whom the latter was the outstanding member. On May 21, 1774, he and his brother Briggs of "Hanover in the County of Plymouth, shipwrights" purchased of Mr. Richard Jones of Bristol for £360 13s. 4d. a one hundred and fifty-acre tract in Bristol on the Damariscotta River.<sup>47</sup> These were men of some capital, experienced shipbuilders who were looking for a favorable site for operations in Maine. The location on the Damariscotta River apparently did not suit their purposes, and they decided to shift to Waldoborough. On September 29, 1784, George Klein sold to Briggs Turner of Bristol his Lot No. 19 on the west side of the river, for £160. In December of the same year Captain Cornelius Turner bought of Jacob Achorn his farm on the west side, Lot No. 15, containing seventy-five acres.<sup>48</sup> This was a portion of the old Rodney Creamer farm lying just south of the wharf where Thomas Creamer used to build boats a half century and more ago. It is the probable site of the shipbuilding activities of the Turner brothers and, as such, one of the first shipyards on the river. The third brother, Caleb, seems to have acquired the Augustus Heyer place on the border of Bremen, for on February 16, 1803, he and his wife, Margaret, sold the property to John Miller and George Heyer, a son of Conrad, each a half interest. From that time the farm remained

<sup>46</sup>Oral tradition, George Simmons, Parker and Cassie Feyler.

<sup>47</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 11, p. 41.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 18, p. 122.



in the possession of the Heyer family down to 1948 when the great-grandchildren of George Heyer sold the farm to Captain Clinton Harriman.

Captain Cornelius was in all ways the head of the family, a vigorous, imperious nature, a born leader with an abundant personality and a robust paganism. He married Abigail Cole, the widow of Levi Soule, and by this union joined to his own land the farm of his wife which was next south of his. The known children of this union were Nathaniel, born May 15, 1783, Michel, a daughter, born March 19, 1785, and Caleb, born October 29, 1787. In the new community a man of Captain Turner's capacities came at once to the fore. He was first selectman in 1786, a member of the board in 1790, 1794, and 1796, one of the earliest of local shipbuilders, the engineer of the first bridge across the Medomak, and a member of practically every committee appointed to handle important problems for the town.

Specific anecdotes of such early figures are rare in Waldo-borough history, but there is one of Turner still extant which reflects rather clearly the character of the man as well as the temper of the times and hence carries in itself historical significance. It has to do with a controversy in which the dogged Turner got the better of the shrewd and tight-fisted Doctor Dodge of Thomaston. It seemed that Dodge had contracted with the Captain to build him a small sloop for carrying lime. The vessel was constructed according to contract, but Dodge refused to take her. Turner sued for damages and the action was extended through two terms of court without a decision being reached. A meeting was held at Frost's Tavern in Warren between the two contracting parties in order to arrange a compromise. The matter was discussed by Dodge and Turner, mutual offers were made within one hundred dollars of an agreement. Neither would go further and they were about to part when Dodge offered to split the difference. Turner refused, Dodge then offered to decide by a game of cards whether he should pay the hundred or Turner accept the fifty. Turner agreed and won. Dodge, still stalling, gave his note for \$100.00, payable in thirty days with interest. The note became due and the wily doctor refused to pay on the ground that a gambling debt is not recoverable by law. Turner sued again and the case was carried from term to term, Dodge finally carrying the case to the Supreme Court, where a final judgment was given in the July term of 1800. Judge R. Treat Paine charged the jury somewhat as follows:

Gentlemen, we all know the evils of gambling; its pernicious tendency cannot be too deeply lamented. It is a vice which we all ought to set our faces against in the most determined manner. Magistrate and juries are bound to discountenance it in every possible way. But — gentle-

men — but — when two men have a difference which they attempt to settle, and come within fifty dollars of effecting it, and then undertake by a game of cards to see which party shall lose the remaining fifty dollars — ah! -a -a- gentlemen, you have the whole subject before you; you will take everything into consideration, and make up such a verdict under all the circumstances as you shall think just and reasonable.

And without further instruction as to what the law was, the jury retired and brought in a verdict in favor of Captain Cornelius Turner for \$126.50. The costs amounted to \$57.88.

According to family tradition, a widow Vinal and three sons came from England to Massachusetts in the 1630's and became the founders of the family in America. Captain David and his brother, Ezekiel, were the first of the name at Broad Bay. In early days he was on the river frequently as the captain of a coaster, and at the time of the Moravian migration he made use of his capital to buy up some of the improved land which they were vacating. In August 1772 he purchased of Bernhard Kuentzel for £100 Lot No. 11 on the west side containing one hundred acres, as well as Kuentzel's "rights and interests" in the ministerial and school lots deeded to "the Dutch" in 1763 by the Pemaquid Proprietors.<sup>49</sup> At the same time he bought of Jacob Heinz for £100 Lot No. 12, containing one hundred acres "with all buildings, improvements, stock and growing crops."<sup>50</sup> This gave Captain David two hundred acres on the top of Kaler Hill, with a shore frontage of fifty rods. This purchase included the present Mark Smith farm and adjoining land. It is probable that Ezekiel occupied one of these lots.

From the very first Captain Vinal became an important citizen in the town. He married Mary, daughter of the widow Chapman (published November 19, 1787). The known children of this union were Prudence, born January 30, 1790, and Anna, born November 8, 1791.<sup>51</sup> David Vinal was the first first-selectman at the incorporation of the town in 1773. He was also the first treasurer (1773-1777) and held a host of minor offices in early days, such as constable and tax collector, and was one of those citizens who held posts on important special committees. One of the two first pounds in the town, big wooden enclosures, was on his farm by virtue of a deed of gift of land to the town. The other pound, east side, was on the estate of Nathaniel Simmons in the Slaigo district. There are many descendants of the Vinal family in Knox and Lincoln counties, though none bear the name in present-day Waldoboro.

<sup>49</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 9, p. 89 and 93.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup>Town Clerk Records, II, Waldoborough.

Little is known of the Wade family apart from the fact that its representatives were among the early Puritans in the Waldoborough district. The family came from Scituate. The deed of an early Samson land purchase mentions as one of its bounds the line of old Lot No. 28 (owned by William Carter in 1736), sold to Jacob Wade, Jr., in 1772 for £64 18s. 8d.<sup>52</sup> A deed of Joshua Howard to Philip Ulmer in 1778 leads to the belief that at that time Jacob Wade had moved into the southeast section of the town. The survey map of 1800 shows him in the same location, and a Levi Wade occupying the east end of his tract, which in all probability was the land referred to in the Howard-Ulmer deed. The Wades were numerous in Waldoborough throughout the nineteenth century, and there are still a few of that name living in the town.

The Waterman family is a large and well-known American group and its record has been preserved in one of the most exhaustive genealogies ever published. In this area it was representative of the best in the Puritan tradition. This family became interested in Broad Bay at an early date. By March 3, 1764, Captain Thomas Waterman of Marshfield had owned and sold to William Farnsworth for £53 6s. 8d. a part of Lot No. 26, owned and improved by Dennis Cannaugh, a lot that was an original part of the old settlement of Leverett on the east side.

In Marshfield the Watermans were clearly connected with the Thomas family. Captain Waterman's son, Abijah, married Mary Thomas, born February 17, 1749, and her brother had received his first name from the Waterman family. Abijah, the first to settle in these parts, was a fifth generation descendant of Robert Waterman who was living in Massachusetts Bay by 1638. He was born in Marshfield on December 25, 1745, and his marriage to Mary Thomas was at Marshfield on April 26, 1770. In the previous year, June 12, 1769, Adam Schumacher, about to migrate to North Carolina, sold to Abijah Waterman, shipwright, of Marshfield, his interest in Lot No. 1 on the east side, containing one hundred acres, which he had occupied and improved since 1753.<sup>53</sup>

To Broad Bay Abijah Waterman brought his young wife and at first occupied the Schumacher log cabin on the west side of the road, while he was erecting the old square-roofed mansion now occupied by Andrew Currie and supposedly built in 1775. This house is similar to the old Farnsworth home and to the mansions erected by Charles Samson and Waterman Thomas, although the latter, according to tradition, was the grandest and most sumptuous of them all. Into this home came the Waterman chil-

<sup>52</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 23, p. 220.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 7, p. 88.



dren, Sarah, Mary, Abigail, Thomas (born May 2, 1775, and died May 17, 1852), Anna and Deborah. From the beginning Abijah was a leader in the community; he was one of the first five road surveyors in 1773, a selectman in 1778, and Chairman of the Board in 1779.

Travellers from easterly points along the coast usually crossed the river by ferry from "Waterman's" to the Dutch Neck shore, following the Neck road up to the Bristol road, thence along it to the Old County Road leading west. Those coming from points due east usually crossed the river at "Light's Ferry" farther up. Whether Abijah Waterman was the ferryman at Waterman's Ferry is not known. It is, however, recorded on his tombstone in the old Farnsworth Cemetery that he lost his life in July 1782 by drowning in Broad Bay. Tradition has it that he was crossing the bay in a log dugout. His widow married Zebedee Simmons (son of Nathaniel) in 1785, and her death occurred subsequent to 1794. The family was never a large one in the town where there are descendants still living, although none bear the name. The last of the name was Edward and his sister, Marcia, both of whom died about a quarter of a century ago.

The Winslows were a very early, and in Massachusetts, a very distinguished family, albeit its representatives have never been prominent in local affairs in this town. The first of the name in the community was John, perhaps John Joseph, who married Dorothy, the daughter of Nathaniel and Mercy Simmons, and came to Broad Bay from either Marshfield or Pembroke at the same time as his father-in-law. He seems to have lived about a mile above the present village on the Winslow's Mills road and to have been a joiner by trade, working probably in some of the early Waldoborough shipyards. A half century ago the family was somewhat numerous in the town; today there are many who carry the blood, but few who bear the name.

Much of the late eighteenth-century history must be funnelled through the names of Farnsworth, Cole, Groton, McGuyer, Samson, Simmons, Thomas, Turner, Vinal, and others, and as these names recur in later chapters the reader may find it convenient in the task of his own orientation to revert to the family sketches in this chapter.

This list of those joining the trek of the Puritans from Massachusetts to Broad Bay and Waldoborough in Maine does not presume to be complete. It was simply the beginning of a steady infiltration which continued across the turn of the century and down through the Great Days of shipbuilding. These early figures were the pioneer Puritans who provided the leadership in

the formative days of the new town and the patterns of thought and action which, like the germ of yeast in a mass of dough, leavened, over the years, an eighteenth-century feudal German settlement into a democratic New England town.

How did this change take place? Were these Puritans the conscious missionaries of their English culture, and did these Germans struggle in the face of the rising tide to maintain their ancient cultural heritage? This is not quite the story. There was, in a measure, resistance and conflict where the Germans sought to preserve, for example, their language and their faith, but in the main, the transformation proceeded in accordance with laws that all students of society are familiar with. In short, the influence of the Puritan was most pervasive and powerful in the simple fact that he furnished a new mode of life and a new way of thinking. This was the strongest single factor. The Puritan lived his own distinctive life in his new home and the German unconsciously imitated it. Behavior patterns as well as thought patterns are highly contagious, and the Puritan needed no more than to be what he always had been and the feudally minded "Dutch" soon were following after. It was an attractive pattern that the Puritan brought with him and only conscious and organized resistance among the Germans could have checked its advance, but there was little of this. The Germans were not nationally minded, but were mainly bent on economic betterment, and here the Puritans certainly had the proper formula. The "Dutch" liked their own language and were deeply devoted to their own faith. In all other respects, they were ready to be the apt imitators of the English.

Such a development was inevitable, for these Puritans represented nearly everything for which the Germans had come to New England. From the beginning they had built better homes, they wore finer clothes moded in different styles, had better furniture, lived in a greater degree of comfort, took fuller economic advantage of their geographic location, possessed a higher degree of education, had greater wealth, enjoyed more luxuries, used better tools and equipment, owned estates so large as to be in the eyes of the Germans impressive, and unconsciously, for the most part, expressed a superiority which the Germans felt to be very real. It was not merely a higher standard of living, but a new mode of life.

Economic betterment was the main objective of the German and it had come in some cases rather glamorously to his very threshold. The fine houses of Mr. Waterman and Colonel Farnsworth, the princely character of Squire Thomas' ménage and the grand scale of his business offered a pattern of life so attractive that the Teutons could do naught but envy and imitate. Their own leaders were the first to feel its lure. Charles Leisner, Jacob

Ludwig, Captain John Ulmer, Matthias Remilly, Andrew Schenck, George Smouse, and George Demuth were soon in the sphere of Puritan influence. They accepted and learned his language and in the end some even adopted his faith and prospered by so doing. Just as the housemaid imitates the manners and modes of dress of her mistress, so did the Broad Bay Germans, so far as their means allowed, tend to become undistinguishable from the Puritan.

In the face of new social and economic norms their own specific culture started on its slow course of disintegration. It was not a rapid transformation, but it was one that continued with increasing acceleration. Later, when the Germans realized what was taking place, some struggled to check the movement, but it was too late. The younger generation had become anglicized and in the face of this fact not even their language or their faith were able to survive. These were the last two phases of the old life to disappear, and quite naturally so. Whereas the men met the Puritan in the tavern and market place and in doing business with him learned and used his language; the women, busied in the home from sunrise to sunset, had little occasion to learn English and clung to their native German. The children learned it from their mothers and it continued as the language of the home. Then, as their contact with outside life increased with age, the children became bilingual.

The wife of Frank Miller never learned English and on her death in 1820 had the passport and the German church records, brought from the homeland, buried with her, unconsciously symbolizing in her mind perhaps the end of an epoch, and expressing her realization that these papers would never again be regarded as significant by a new generation which had discarded its former heritage. There are those still living who recall hearing their grandparents speaking in the old language. A niece, now advanced in years, still recalls "Uncle Gideon Hoch" reading aloud from his German Bible in the last years of his life. From 1800 Waldoborough was largely bilingual, and the old language continued to be spoken down to the Civil War. Both Conrad Heyer and the Reverend John Starman were gathered to their long rest in the 1850's and with their passing the old guttural sounds were heard no more in the streets and homes of Waldoborough, save perhaps from the lips of some ancient grand-dame immolated in the back-district, who spoke it occasionally to amuse the grandchildren, even down to the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

The Lutheran faith struggled more determinedly for survival. It became acutely aware of what the presence of the Puritan meant, and it battled manfully to hold its ground when every other phase of the old life was disappearing.



## XX

### BROAD BAY BECOMES WALDOBOROUGH

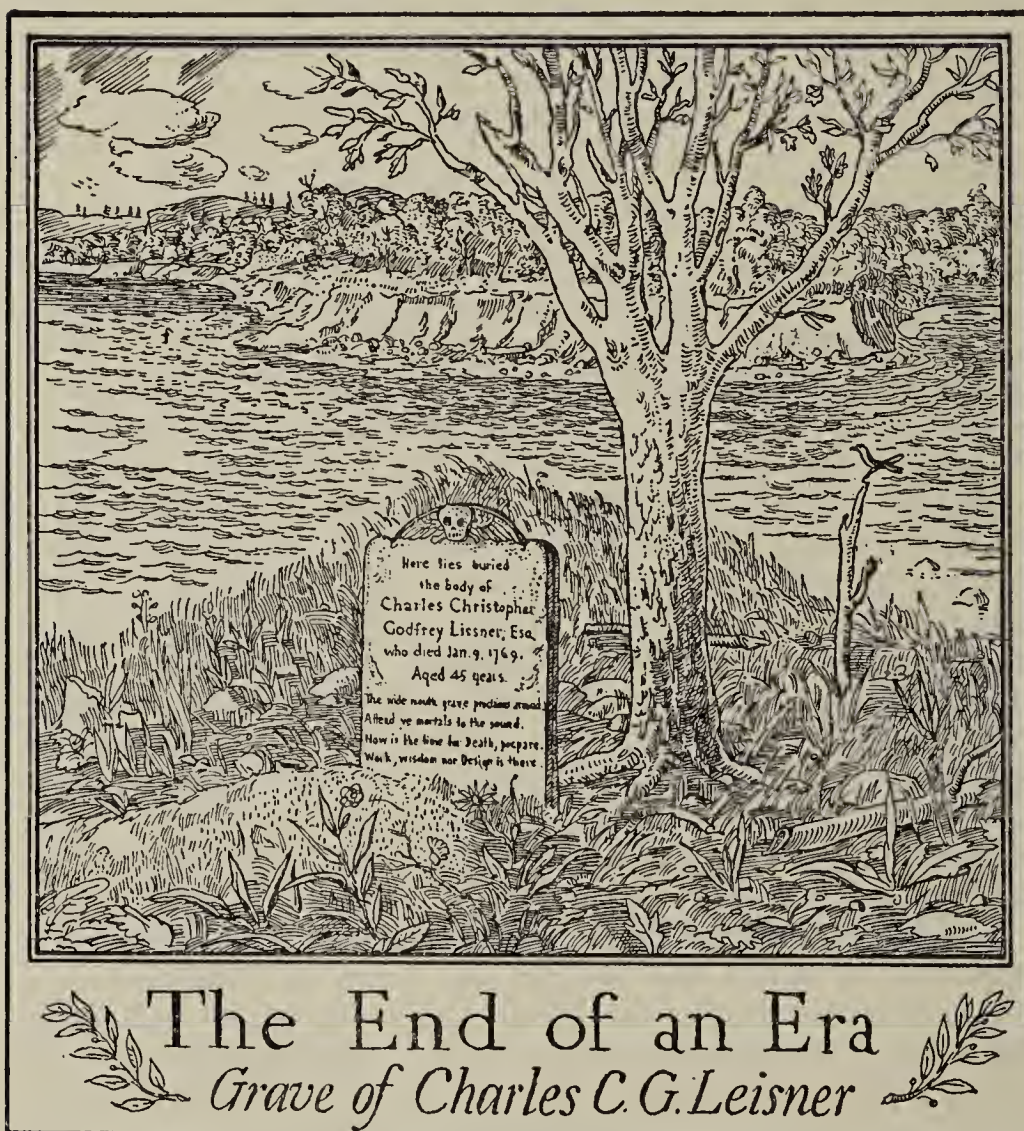
*Exegi monumentum aere perennius.*

HORACE

ON JANUARY 9, 1769, death came to Karl Christopher Gottfried Leisner. He died a comparatively young man of forty-five years and was buried in a solitary but beautiful spot on the shore of his home farm, the present Jonas Koskela place. Here for upwards of two centuries now his dust has remained within the shadow of an oak, on the tip of a little promontory jutting out into the waters of old Broad Bay; and when Medomak tides are in, a place of greater peace and beauty no human heart could desire. For nearly two decades Leisner was the first citizen of Broad Bay, the local regent of the "hereditary Lords." Until the end of the French and Indian War his judgment had the weight of law in the colony, in part by virtue of the feudal principle of fealty given and power conferred from above. His death marked the peak in the continuation of a specifically German culture at Broad Bay. With his passing the last symbol of the old order virtually disappeared from the scene, and the tide of Puritan influence set in, in its slow flood.

The first major push in the new direction was felt when the Plantation of Broad Bay became the Town of Waldoborough. This move transplanted the Teuton from his feudal milieu into the soil of a democratic social system. It set up a pattern which was the complete negation of anything that he had heretofore known and experienced. It compelled him to think in terms which were utterly alien to him and to adjust himself to procedures which in his experience were utterly new and strange. This shift, of course, took place under the aegis of those recent migrants from Massachusetts whose backgrounds were sketched in the preceding chapter. Without the spur which they furnished and the guidance which they gave in these days of transition, the quaint, old, and colorful culture on the Medomak would have faded far more slowly from the scene.

The new social and political framework set up by the Puritans at Broad Bay was essentially English. In substance it sprang from traditions that had been developing from the time of Magna Charta, and in part it was also an outgrowth of legal forms and practices, loosely embodied in principles which have remained in effect in our times. These were the sanctity of the individual, with arrest or apprehension only on a definite charge and by due process of law; the right of individuals to be taxed only by their



own representatives; protection by the civil arm against violence or injustice; the right of protest or of petition against grievances or wrongs, and the right of the individual against all extra-legal practices affecting his own person or property. These principles formed the basis of the political philosophy which the Puritans had brought to New England as an acknowledged and valued possession. Their ancestors had come to these shores at the time when the commoners in England were wresting powers from



the Stuarts and investing them in the Parliament, hence the tradition of their lower and middle-class status was definitely that of self-government and representative institutions. In the freedom of a new world, far removed from the watchful eye of the Crown and its vassals, their theory of basic human rights had further expanded with only an occasional check. This philosophy, new at Broad Bay, was like a blood transfusion into the sclerotic veins of its ancient feudal culture, and the Teutons began orienting themselves to entirely new conceptions of human society.

There was also a new political configuration, the township, with its manifold social implications. This too was essentially English. Its prototype in England was the parish, the smallest unit of civil government. From the time no man can remember, its control was in the hands of the common people. "They are commonly made church wardens, sidesmen, aleconners, now and then constables,"<sup>1</sup> says Harrison, using terms so long obsolete that their meaning is only known from dictionaries. These constables were those authorized to take over the main duties of local government. They derived their power from the general assembly of the parish folk, which was "the vestry," in which membership was held by all those who owned houses or land in the parish, (the "freeholders" of our town warrants). This body had certain powers which it could exercise within the larger framework of the state. It could define the duties of its officials, or even impose them (a power formerly used in the early history of our town), appoint committees, and require service of them, enforce its ordinances which were binding upon all the inhabitants, and levy taxes on the real estate of the parish. In this ancient English social unit and its governmental practices we have the nucleus of the control patterns which the Puritans brought to Broad Bay, many of the forms of which are still recognizable in current practices. Relieved of centralized pressure from the top, this parish form of local control was expanded by the Puritans in Massachusetts into the New England Town Meeting. To it was gradually added a host of additional offices required by the exigencies of life in the New World. Such conceptions and forms, planted in the feudal soil of Broad Bay, initiated what might be called the beginning of a democratic revolution.

From the arrival of the first Puritans in the mid 1760's the question of a township had become common talk. Georg Soelle, writing to Bishop John Ettwein on November 2, 1767, observed "and when they become incorporated which they are working for now,"<sup>2</sup> indicating that plans were well under way as early as 1767. Whereas the Puritans furnished the stimulus, the encouragement, and the ideas involved in the procedure; they were ably

<sup>1</sup>Description of England.

<sup>2</sup>Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.



seconded and supported by the abler Germans, who in the early and troubled days of the colony had moved about in the English world beyond the Broad Bay periphery. To this end Jacob Ludwig was the most active, and early in 1773, when plans had been fully effected and the petition drafted requesting township status of the General Court, it was Jacob Ludwig, who, with the petition in his pocket, embarked on a coaster for Boston to present the matter to the Court. He was the logical man for this task, for he was the furthest anglicized of the Germans and by patient practice had become in a measure bilingual in his own humorous and inimitable way. The Germans in the colony liked and trusted him, and the English had confidence in his good faith and ability. The Ludwig mission was a success and on June 29th the Court passed an act incorporating the Plantation of Broad Bay into the Town of Waldoborough. Why at this time the name was changed remains a mystery with no shred of evidence available to provide even the faintest clue. This act occurred under Thomas Hutchinson, the last of the civil governors of Massachusetts Bay, and in the same year that the famous tea was spilled by the Indians into Boston Harbor, all of which presaged rough water for the fathers of the new town.

Waldoborough was the thirty-second town incorporated in the Province of Maine, and the first in the old Lincolnshire or Waldo Patent. In the immediate neighborhood Newcastle had attained township status in 1753 and Bristol in 1765. The charter of township which Jacob Ludwig bore back to Waldoborough defined the first, but not the final bounds of the towns as follows:

AN ACT FOR INCORPORATING A PLANTATION CALLED  
BROAD BAY INTO A TOWN BY THE NAME  
OF WALDOBOROUGH

Whereas the inhabitants of the Plantation of Broad Bay, in the County of Lincoln, have represented to this Court that they labour under great difficulties and inconveniences by reason of their not being incorporated into a Town, therefore:

Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives, the said Plantation, commonly called and known by the name of Broad Bay, bounded as follows, viz, to begin at the northwest corner bound of the town of Bristol, in said county, at a stake standing on the bank of the Duck Puddle Brook, so called, thence running northerly by said Brook and Pond to the northerly end of said Pond to a Pine Tree marked on four sides, thence to run north 560 rods to a Pine Tree marked on four sides, thence to run north 22° and 30' east, seventeen hundred rods to a Spruce Tree marked on four sides, thence to run east southeast eleven hundred and twenty rods to a Birch Tree marked on four sides, thence, to run south, seven degrees east, sixteen hundred rods to a Maple Tree marked on four sides, thence to run south nineteen degrees west, nine hundred and six rods to a Spruce Tree marked on four sides, thence to run southeast one hundred and sixty rods to a Fir

Tree marked on four sides, thence to run south fifteen degrees east three hundred and twenty rods to a stake standing on the bank of Little Pond, so called, thence easterly by the shore of said Pond to the easterly part thereof, thence south fifteen degrees east, to a stake standing on the bank of Southerly Pond, so called, thence easterly by the shore of said Pond to the easterly part thereof, thence south fifteen degrees east, one hundred rods to a Spruce Tree marked on four sides, thence running south twelve degrees west, three hundred and twenty rods to a Spruce Tree marked on four sides, thence running northwest four hundred rods to Goose River, so called, thence southerly down said River, in the middle thereof, to its entrance into the Bay, thence running to Back Cove, so called, thence to continue by the shore southerly and westerly to the Southerly Part of Passage Point, otherwise called Jones's Neck, thence westerly across the Narrows of Broad Bay River until it strikes the southerly part of Haverner's Point, so called, thence westerly around the shore of said Point and northerly by the shore of the eastern branch of Broad Cove, thence round the head of said cove westerly and southerly until it comes to a Red Oak Tree standing on the land of Jacob Eaton, being the easterly corner bound of the Town of Bristol aforesaid, thence to run Northwesterly on said line of Bristol to the first mentioned bounds: — be and hereby is erected into a township by the name of Waldoborough, and that the inhabitants thereof be and hereby are invested with all the powers, priveleges and immunities which the inhabitants of the Towns within the Province respectively do or ought to enjoy.

And be it further enacted that Alexander Nichols, Esq., Be and he hereby is empowered to issue his warrant directed to some principal inhabitant in said township, to notify and warn the inhabitants in said township to meet at such time and place as shall be therein set forth, to chuse all such officers as shall be necessary to manage the affairs of said town. At which said first meeting all the there Present male Inhabitants arrived to twenty-one years of age shall be admitted to vote.

A true copy of an act passed the General Court the 29th day of June 1773.

Thomas Flucker, Secretary

A true copy attest

Jacob Ludwig, Town Clerk<sup>3</sup>

It is one of the ironies of history that the secretary recording the passage of this act was the son-in-law of the original proprietor, and the title holder of unassigned lands in the grant. The bounds listed in the act of incorporation were laid out by John Martin, Jr., "sworn surveyor of Broad Cove," and are rather charmingly naïve in their vagueness and in the assumption that pine, fir, spruce, maple, and oak trees with their markings would delimit these bounds in perpetuity. They did, however, serve the immediate purpose, having been run before the petition for incorporation was presented. They were offered by Jacob Ludwig as a part of the petition and were incorporated by the General Court in the act creating the township. The eastern bounds soon became the subject of a good deal of criticism and jest.

<sup>3</sup>Records, Town Clerk, I, Waldoborough.

On September 2, 1773, Alexander Nichols of Bristol issued the warrant for the first Town Meeting, whereunder "Andrew Shanck" was empowered to notify and warn the inhabitants to meet on Tuesday, the 21st day of September at "the westerly meeting house" in order "to chuse all Such officers as shall be necessary to manage the affairs of sd. town. At which sd. first meeting all the there Present male Inhabitants arrived to Twenty-one years of age shall be admitted to vote . . . for all Town officers as the Law Directs." Contrary to the weekly declaration of the Waldoboro Press it is interesting to note that the new meeting-house on the east shore (the present Lutheran Church) was in existence at this time.

The first panel of offices is a matter of interest as there was not one at that time that did not meet a vital social and economic need. Clerks, treasurers, selectmen, and constables are still a necessary part of our machinery of government, whereas fence viewers, tithingmen, wardens, deer reeves, leather sealers, surveyors of lumber, haywards, pound keepers, hog reeves, and cullers of fish have these many years now been functionless and ceased to have meaning, save as marks of humorous recognition, as when Horace McIntyre, for many years first selectman, was for as many successive years elected pound keeper. But now even this meritorious custom has died out, and these offices are merely a matter of historical record.

In the elections at the first Town Meeting the Puritans received generous recognition at the hands of the Teutonic majority. In fact, it could not have been otherwise since the Puritans were the only ones who knew what the major offices entailed. They had to shoulder the burden of the important posts and teach the Germans to function in minor offices. The first slate of elected officials represents a fine balance between German and Puritan, and demonstrates in these difficult years the sound judgment of the Germans in correctly evaluating the situation and recognizing the importance of intelligent choice. Squire Thomas was chosen moderator and presided over the first meeting. Surely there was no one in a mixed racial community, where each move in the meeting had to be clarified in two languages, who could have discharged this function with greater tact or finesse. But this burden was probably borne by Jacob Ludwig, the first town clerk. At this time Ludwig was competently bilingual, and with the moderator free to make use of his services, matters proceeded admirably.

With the exception of the year 1775, Ludwig held this post for the next twelve years, and in this period he was an indispensable agent in the meetings as an interpreter. He was a most methodical man, with the German passion for detail. Everything he undertook was meticulously finished. The town records written in his



beautiful and minuscular script are models of neatness and exactness. The English, too, is surprisingly good, though the spelling at times is amusingly "Dutch." "Sevear" for surveyor, and "poun-keeper" for pound keeper provided no obstacle, but I admit pausing in wonderment at "tockpottle," and not until I pronounced it aloud did I recognize it as Duck Puddle Pond, dutchified.

Captain David Vinal was the first Town Treasurer. His years as captain of a coaster gave him some knowledge and experience in rough bookkeeping, and his long acquaintance with the settlement from frequent visits on the river had built up for him a reputation of confidence and trust which made him a natural choice for the first selectman. His colleagues on the board were Christoph Newbert and John Weaver. Whether the latter was of English or German strain is not known. With this framework of government laid, the meeting adjourned until the next day, when it met at ten in the morning to elect the other officers required by law. In these days travel was by foot, by water, or on horseback, and time, much of it, was required for a man to get from one point to another. This condition was recognized, and allowance made for it in the division of offices. For example, the first constables were two, Philip Shuman and John Hunt. The latter lived on the middle west side and Shuman on the east side between the present village and its railway station. Hence duties could be discharged in both areas without waiting for tides in order to cross the river, or being blocked by darkness, by storms, or by ice.

This same principle seems to have been applied to all offices and was particularly relevant to the question of roads, hardly a problem in early days when there was one north and south road on each side of the river and one main line running east and west. These were little more than the bridle paths which led into them from any direction. The first surveyors were quite properly chosen on a geographical basis. Frank Miller lived on Dutch Neck, Jacob Achorn in upper West Waldoborough, while John Adam Levensaler was on the upper east side and Abijah Waterman in the southeast section.

Fence viewer was an important office in early days. Everybody kept livestock and everybody in consequence had to build fences. It was a constant subject of controversy between neighbors as to where, how far, and who was to construct a line fence, or whether a fence should be constructed at all. The services of these fence viewers were in constant demand, compelling on appeal the erection of fences and each man's rightful share of their construction. The early town records are full of such appeals, of the ensuing survey, and the fence viewers' decisions. Elected to this important post in this first Town Meeting were Henry

Stahl and Henry Creamer on the west side, and Christian Klein and Nathan Soule on the east side.

The tithingmen were old English functionaries or parish officers annually elected to preserve good order in the church during divine service, to make complaint of any disorderly conduct, and to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. At Waldoborough they were a kind of Sunday constable, a main function of which was to keep dogs out of the church during worship, to quell their disorderly conduct outside the building, and to silence any that were disposed to join in the stately Lutheran chants. Jabez Cole from the east side and Conrad Seiders from the west side were the first to be empowered with this authority. The first wardens were Daniel Filhauer of West Waldoborough and Ludwig Castner in the eastern section of the town (the old Walter Boggs place). Their duties were of the nature of a keeper, watchman or guard, whenever such duties might be necessary. These posts were probably the greatest sinecures in the early portfolio of Waldoborough town officials.

The office of deer reeve was a peculiarly difficult and onerous one. As early as 1764 laws were passed in the General Court of Massachusetts for the protection of deer and moose. The penalty for killing such game between December 21st and August 11th, or for being in possession of the raw hide of any deer or moose within that period was £6 plus the cost of prosecuting each offense. Towns which neglected to choose deer reeves annually incurred a penalty of £30, and every person so chosen was required forthwith to declare his acceptance or refusal of the office. If he refused to accept the trust or to be sworn to discharge his duties faithfully he was fined £5. Refusal to pay meant committal to jail. In Massachusetts proper, this law was doubtless necessary for the protection of the game. In the Province of Maine deer and moose had until very recently been a major source of the meat supply, and were still depended on by many Broad Bay families. Hence such a law was most unacceptable here and throughout the Province and was observed pretty largely in the breach. Many towns never elected such an officer. At Waldoborough the serious "Dutch" went through the formality and elected Jacob Achorn. His record as a law enforcement officer would afford a topic for an interesting review, if history on this particular point were not so utterly silent. It is significant that the office survived only a few years in Waldoborough and was the first to disappear from the town records.

Matthias Seitenberger was the first leather sealer, which was also a busy chore. Waldoborough used a tremendous amount of leather for boots, shoes, harnesses, saddles, aprons, and for numerous other domestic purposes. All that it used was provided locally

and tanned locally. There were several tanners in the town and many farmers were their own tanners. Every piece of leather that came from the tanneries for sale had to be passed on and certified by the leather sealer. The situation was similar in the matter of weights and measures, or as Jacob Ludwig recorded it in his quaint spelling, "waths and mashers." A standard of weight and a standard of measure had to be maintained in each community, and all measures and weights used by individuals engaged in business were tested by it and certified by the sealer, who in the first year of the township was Nathaniel Simmons.

The major export commodity of Waldoborough in early days was wood and lumber. Before a ship was loaded with it an official survey was made to determine the number of feet, and this amount was included in the ship's papers at the time of clearance. The first incumbent of this office was Abijah Waterman, a shipwright, and therefore a seasoned judge in matters related to lumber. The first haywards were John Vogler, William Kaler, and Andrew Waltz. In England the functions of this office were to look after the hedges and fences protecting the public greens and commons, and to keep cattle from injuring them. In Waldoborough the principal duty of these officials was to round up and impound stray cattle, horses and sheep. At this time great numbers of domestic animals were in pasture from early spring to late autumn, and many fences were flimsy affairs of brush and brushwood trees, consequently estrays were common.

Working in close conjunction with the haywards were the pound keepers, who received the estrays, impounded, fed, watered, and released them to the owner on identification. Bernhard Uekele (Eugley) on the west side and John Newbert on the east side were the first to hold this office. The hog reeves served in a similar capacity in reference to hogs. This office had its humorous and its difficult phases, for to impound a stray hog was not an entirely simple matter. The first hog reeves were Peter Gross and Andrew Storer. In the early history of the town this office assumed such importance that the number of reeves before the turn of the century reached a peak of twenty-four in one year. The economic importance of the hog, however, never warranted such an impressive array of reeves.

At various seasons of the year fish were in the Medomak in such plenitude that they were an important staple of food. The "Dutch" even fed them wastefully to their hogs. Paul Lash was the first to hold the office of Culler of Fish, an almost meaningless function in the township, since the culler's duties were to cull fish on the basis of their variety and condition for sale. Waldoborough had no fish market and each man was his own fisherman, hence in early days this office was not unduly onerous. Far more im-



portant was the work of Nathan Soule, the first fish warden, whose duty it was, as recorded by Jacob Ludwig, "to tack kear that the fish have a free Bass." In other words, Soule sponsored the fish against the mills which at this time clustered about each fall and rapid on the river and brook. The battle for a free passage to the spawning ground encountered so much indifference on the part of the millmen that the town at its annual meeting was compelled to act to insure to the fish a runway and thus conserve this important asset to the town.

It has heretofore passed unnoticed that there was also the office of *assayer*. In the old England parishes this was the officer who tasted food and drink of distinguished guests who might be paying an official visit to the parish, presumably to furnish assurance that the food or drink was neither doped nor poisoned. The first to hold this office at Waldoborough was Charles Samson, one of whose many activities was that of tavern keeper at Waterman's Ferry. The local function of this dignitary is hard to imagine if it were not to see that the standard of the spirits served in the many taverns was kept at a specified strength and purity. This post was probably as unpopular as that of deer reeve, and it, too, early became a matter of history, while that of hayward soon shifted its name to that of *field driver*, whose sole function was the impounding of estrays.

The old Broad Bayers were early faced with the realization that a town could not be organized and run without money — to them an especially bitter realization as they were called on immediately to grapple with the tax problem. Grapple they would, but it would be in their own peculiar and amusingly characteristic way. Hence the summons for a second meeting followed shortly to convene on October 19th, at "the easterly church." This was the church structure recently built on the east side on the shore of the farm now owned by Merle Castner. The warrant for this meeting was issued in "His Majesty's Name," and its purpose was almost entirely fiscal. An interesting article in the warrant was "To see what Sum of money the Town will agree to raise for the Support of a School in the sd. Town." Money raising was never a popular diversion with the poor but thrifty "Dutch." In the first place many did not have it, and in the second place those who did had no intention of spending it in that way. Their first move in this meeting was one that remained highly characteristic of them for two centuries. They authorized the sending of a petition "to the General Court to get relief of our Province rate [tax]." The petition held that in view of the great expense incidental to the founding of a town, the Province should for a period abate its regular tax on the inhabitants. They next voted that the fourth article in the warrant concerning an appropriation for a

school "be not acted upon." They voted to John Martin, Jr., for surveying the bounds of the town the sum of £5 15s. 10d. Twenty pounds "lawful money," was raised at the meeting "for paying necessary charges," that is, the expenses incidental to running the town. The selectmen functioned as assessors, and the two constables, John Hunt and Philip Shuman, were authorized to collect the tax, "they to have £2 for their labour." On this slim budget, less than seventy dollars in our money, the selectmen got by to the following spring.

On March 15, 1774, the second annual meeting was held. Some new names appear on the slate of officers, among whom were Matthias Hoffses and Bernhard Schuman, wardens; Philip Shuman, Peter Miller and Peter Procht (Prock), surveyors of highways; Nicholas Orff, leather sealer, and Gottfried Feiler (Feyler) and Stoffel Woltzgruber, hog reeves. At this meeting it was again voted "there shall be no money raised for Preaching and Schooling." In the matter of the protection of their dearly beloved livestock, however, the "Dutch" were not at all parsimonious and voted to allow £10 "old tenor for Wolfs Calpes killed in the town," which was nearly double what they allowed a surveyor for running their bounds. The sum of £30, about one hundred dollars, was appropriated "for the support of the town."

This was the period in which some of the first roads were laid out. Laying out a road was not building a road by any means, for it frequently involved only a survey and where necessary a passage slashed through the brush. If this line of travel remained *the road* it was gradually improved over the years. At this meeting a road was authorized on the west side "from the Bristol line" (north bound of the present town of Bremen) "to Peter Procht's Prich." Peter Prock lived on the west side at this time, just above the first falls of the Medomak. The river bed shallowed on his shore and here he erected a foot bridge across the river. It is presumed that his labor represented an investment and that he levied a small toll just as was the case at the two ferries farther down the river. In the same year a road was authorized to be laid out "from Georg Hiebner's [Heavener] to the rote above the Meeting House." Hiebner lived on the very tip end of Dutchmen's Neck and the road ran from his farm along the Neck until the upper end was reached and then a westerly course was followed until it joined the Bristol Road west of Meetinghouse Cove.

On the east side of the river the story of the first roads is not quite so simple, in fact it is rather peculiar. The main highway on the east side from the village to Mr. Foster Jameson's farm is in part at least if not in its entirety still private property, the town having no more claim than a right of way from gutter to gutter. This strange state of affairs probably came about in this manner.

This was the area occupied by the first German colony (1739-1742), and farm was connected with farm along the river by nothing more than a path. As the cabins were erected farther and farther back from the shore, the line of connecting travel shifted with them until the present highway was reached. It was first trail, then bridle path, and then widened for the passage of ox teams. In this way it became the main line of traffic across the farms, but still a right of way established through use. This all happened in the time before Waldoborough was incorporated into a township. The town does not own nor can it point to a single scrap of paper that would establish any title to the land over which the road runs, whereas the deeds of the property holders, or at least some of them, show a clear title to this land used as a roadway for upwards of two centuries. Thus on the east side the first recorded road surveys were in the southern section of the town beyond the Jameson farm. The first extension of this road was probably in 1774, when a committee was appointed "to lay out a road betwixt Slacke Falls<sup>4</sup> and Nathaniel Simmons." This stretch was probably laid out in accordance with the wishes of Squire Thomas by reason of the expanding businesses which he was building up at the foot of Thomas' Hill.

These were Waldoborough's first roads, and they were naturally laid out in the most populous sections of the town, including Dutch Neck which was at this time the seat of about twenty-five families, with a population of nearly two hundred people. Following the year 1774 a break unfortunately occurs in the town records; those for the year 1775 being omitted, it may be assumed that they are lost. It was in this year that Captain David Vinal acted as clerk and what happened to the minutes of the meetings is not known. This is a most regrettable lack as it comes in the year when the struggle for American independence was beginning, and its loss leaves the initial reaction of the town to the impending conflict somewhat blank.

Even as the new township was still feeling the early pangs of its birth, its new life was complicated by the dark clouds gathering on the horizon and the distant though audible rumblings of the oncoming storm. While John Hunt and Philip Shuman were collecting the first taxes on the east and west banks of the Medomak, and Jacob Ludwig was scrupulously recording the minutes of the first Town Meetings in his minuscular script in the book by candlelight, the stocks of tea, a beverage now under boycott in the colony, were accumulating in British ports or crossing the Atlantic in ships in the expectation that once landed and the

<sup>4</sup>Slaiغو, spelled variously as Slaco, Slacke, Slico. This name was given the brook by some of the Irish of the old Town of Leverett, and in honor of the home county of Sligo in Ireland.



duties paid, they would find their way into the interior and there meet purchasers far removed from the fierce zeal of the flaming patriots in Boston. In fact, while Waldoborough was deliberating on its newly acquired problems, three cargoes of tea arrived in Boston. Pressure aplenty had been put on the consignees not to receive it. This failing, a Town Meeting had been called to frame a united front policy on tea. Even as it was prolonging its deliberations to a late hour on the night of December 16th, men thinly disguised as Indians boarded the ships and emptied three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the water of the harbor.

According to local tradition there was in this gang of hot-heads a man from Lincoln County in Maine. His name was Benjamin Burton and he was a son of "stone-house Burton" of Cushing, of French and Indian War days. At the time he was in Boston by chance, having recently arrived on a coaster, and hearing of the plot he promptly joined and was stationed in the hold to fasten the slings on the tea chests.<sup>5</sup> Waldoborough, too, may have had its Tea Party representative, if we are to believe the *Wiscasset Christian Intelligencer*, which one hundred and twenty-odd years ago carried the following news item: "March, 1830, died at Waldoboro Mr. William Hendley, formerly of Roxbury, a Revolutionary pensioner, aet. 82, who was present at the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor." Whatever the local folk may have believed in such a matter, the stern voice of authority registers its doubts. Edward Channing in his big *History of the United States* records that "no one of the Tea Party's members are known by satisfactory proof."<sup>6</sup>

The reply of the Crown to the Tea Party was the Boston Port Act, whereunder the town was placed under blockade until it should indemnify the East Indian Company £15,000 for the destruction of its tea. This act became operative June 1, 1774, on which day Governor Hutchinson turned over the government of the province to General Thomas Gage and sailed for England. He had been unable to quell the rising storm and left his native land forever in disgust at the irrational opposition of the extremists.

General Gage, his successor, was an amiable and well-intentioned gentleman with an American wife, and was in no sense eager to prescribe the halter treatment for the Sons of Liberty. His alternate use of civil and military arms and vacillation between leniency and severity in handling situations further intensified the growing feeling of hostility to the Crown, and defined the issue more clearly to the colonists along the entire seaboard. Four regiments and a supporting fleet, with which he had led the King

<sup>5</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>III, 182.

to believe he could overawe the Bostonians, were to prove totally inadequate for the task either of conciliation or control.

The rapidly developing conflict came to a head on June 17th when Gage, learning that the House had by a nearly unanimous vote decided to choose five delegates to represent Massachusetts at the Congress in Philadelphia, sent the Secretary of the Province to dissolve the assembly. This official was none other than Thomas Flucker, son-in-law of the Proprietor of Old Broad Bay. The House, however, had foreseen such an eventuality and the Secretary found the door locked. While the Court was discussing the choice of delegates the proclamation dissolving it was read by the Secretary on the stairs, and the Governor and the Legislature never met thereafter. This defiance of royal authority in reality placed the resolving of the conflict beyond the control of human forces. It meant in our local history that Waldoborough would soon be feeling the economic effect of the coercive measures imposed by the Crown on Boston, and in consequence would be compelled to become clear with itself in reference to its own loyalties.

At Waldoborough political conditions in Boston did not produce any strong or immediate reaction. Some of the Puritans and a few of the more alert and flexible Germans, such as Jacob Ludwig and Andrew Schenck, were wholly devoted to the colonial cause. On the other hand, there was a Tory group made up of both Germans and English, but by and large at this time the term neutral was applicable to the great mass of Germans. They understood too little of the basic character of the forces which were shaping up for the struggle, and their primary preoccupation was the furtherance of their own economic well-being. Apart from these considerations they were still strongly bound by a tradition of subservience to the political status quo, and the monarchical forms were those with which they were familiar and to which they uncritically cleaved. The awakening of a strong partisan feeling on their part either for King or colony had to await a still sharper division of the issue.

In the March election of 1774, Captain David Vinal had not been re-elected as selectman. Whether or not this was due to Tory leanings is impossible to determine. It is clear, however, that the new board of selectmen which carried over into the Revolution, Solomon Hewett, Michael Heisler, and Andrew Schenck, were not loyalists. Hewett and Schenck were known as staunch advocates of the party in Boston which was opposing the Crown, and Heisler was a soldier in the Revolution. Hence there can be no question of how those who guided the destinies of the town, from March 1774 to March 1775, stood on the issue of the hour.

## XXI

### FAMILY DIFFERENCES

*The temper and character which prevail in our colonies are, I am afraid, unalterable by any human art. We cannot, I fear, falsify the pedigree of this fierce people, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulates.*

EDMUND BURKE

THE DECADE FOLLOWING the French and Indian War in Massachusetts had been one in which one grave emergency followed another in the relations between colony and Crown. These were largely induced by conflicts or fancied conflicts in economic interests, which in turn were consistently exploited by a group of radicals in Boston who made use of every difference to maneuver public opinion in the direction of separating the colonies from the mother country. In Boston alone, riots arising out of the enforcement of the Stamp Act had resulted in a property damage of more than £4000. The possibilities of friction and misunderstanding seemed to offer themselves in rich array. Crisis followed crisis. The Townshend Acts levying an import duty in the colonies on glass, lead, tea, painters' colors and paper; the assignment of troops to Boston — these and other points of friction gave to Sam Adams, the arch-agitator, ample opportunity, and he was tireless in his efforts to stir the people to a sense of grievance.

Events worked with him. The troops quartered in Boston, while in reality a necessity for the protection of the more conservative and propertied elements in the population, provided the Sons of Liberty unlimited occasions for soldier baiting. John Adams, viewing the situation at close hand, commented on it toward the end of 1770 as follows: "Endeavors had been systematically pursued for many months by certain busy characters to excite quarrels, encounters and combats . . . between the inhabitants of the lower class and the soldiers, and at all risks to enkindle an immortal hatred between them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>John Adams, *Works*, II, 229-30.



It is better than a possibility that Broad Bay unwittingly played a part in one of these episodes, in itself minor, but major in its effects. It was on February 22, 1770, that a petty customs official in Boston, while being driven into his house by a mob, turned in self-defense and fired into the crowd, killing *an eleven-year-old German boy by the name of Seider(s)*. To one familiar with the German migrations to New England, and the frequency with which Broad Bayers visited Boston on business or to work for long periods, and their very common practice of apprenticing their children in the city, it is difficult to avoid the conviction that this first young martyr of the Revolution was one of the Seider (or Seiders) family of Broad Bay. This unhappy episode immediately became public property to inflame the emotion of the masses, and the lad was given an impressive funeral as a martyr to the cause of liberty, when, as has been observed, if he was a martyr at all "it was to the lawlessness of the mob and the recklessness of the agitators."

The following month came the "Boston massacre," and thereafter the heavy ground swell seemed to be subsiding when in 1772 the storm flared in Rhode Island. The British revenue schooner *Gaspée* ran aground on a sand spit seven miles from Providence. At midnight a mob of one hundred men boarded and burned the vessel and then disappeared in their small boats in the darkness. This was clearly an act of high treason, and such it was declared in England by as firm a friend of the colonists as the just and mild Lord Dartmouth. Step by step the control of the Crown was loosening, and General Gage reported to the Home Office that civil government was near its end. In actuality this was not so much the case as it was that social control was passing out of the hands of the duly constituted authorities into those of the revolutionists. When Gage cancelled the writs for the autumn election of the General Court, the towns reacted by electing their delegates to a provincial congress, an organization which took over the administration of provincial control, backed by no other right than that of majority representation.

This battle of a decade had split New England. Those good men and women who had prospered and whose well-being was not limited by the bounds of town and farm were the ones to suffer most at the prospect of severing their ancient ties with the mother country. The glories of her past were a part of their heritage, and many had a deep sense of belonging to her even though they had never set foot upon her shores. Then, too, their hard-won prosperity and their privileged social position were closely integrated parts of the solid social and political order which she represented. The lawlessness of the radical mobs, drawn from

the lower social strata, inspired in their hearts grave misgivings of what their life would be like if control were to come from the bottom rather than from the top. This whole trend toward such an uncertain future seemed to mock their most basic values and to obscure their dearest objectives. Hence their hearts quailed at the thought of a fratricidal struggle which would shatter the very foundations of their cultural and economic security. In contrast with this group there were the artisan and farmer class, the little men in the small shop or industry or fishing hamlet, or in the tiny clearing hewed out of the forested hillsides, who were fighting their own way toward position and well-being, and who more and more with passionate intensity were resenting the control of a power beyond the sea, bent on gearing its own well-being into their free destiny and adjusting their activities to its own economic interests.

So it was that the people of Massachusetts Bay and the Province of Maine became Tories or Whigs in the decade when the issues dividing them were becoming ever more sharply defined. It was basically the age-old category of conservative and radical, or in the nomenclature of that day, loyalist and patriot. Nor were the loyalists an inconsiderable minority. John Adams held that, in the colonies as a whole, at least one third of the population was openly opposed to independence, and his position is borne out by later researches. The fairest estimates of a later day place the Tories at one third, the Whigs at one third and the indifferent, who were willing to go over to the winning cause, at the same figure. But it was the radicals who were vocal, and the coercive measures now in full swing compelled many who were loyalists at heart to give lip service to the cause of independence.

On the outer periphery of the Province the people in the towns were less affected by the economic policies of the Crown which had so vigorously fanned the flames of radical ire in the large centers. Nevertheless, in many of the smaller communities the zeal of the Boston "patriots" was ably matched. The settlement on the Georges was fired early by the heat of Boston propaganda. On the Medomak the stolid "Dutch" were far less deeply moved. Democratic processes were still something of a mystery to many of them, who were disposed from tradition to accept the monarchical concept uncritically. Furthermore the sufferings of earlier days were now past. They had struck root, were living in security, had achieved some degree of economic well-being, and preferred to let well-enough alone. Among them were some ardent patriots, both German and Puritan. There were likewise staunch loyalists,

but the great majority at this point were neutral. Only as the war brought on annoyances and inconveniences, both Whig and Tory feeling was to rise and events force a taking of sides.

As a consequence of fast-moving events, the first Continental Congress had met at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. From the hectic deliberations of this body emanated the Declaration of Rights of October 14, 1774. The Congress also attacked the mother country on the economic side by its nonimportation, non-exportation and nonconsumption agreement. To enforce this measure, committees were to be chosen in every county and town to publish the names of all those not cooperating in enforcing the embargo. In Massachusetts (including Maine) a form known as the "Solemn League and Covenant" was signed by all those agreeing to support the measure, and all nonconformists were slated to suffer complete boycott at the hands of their fellow citizens.

This, of course, was a highly divisive move. In many towns in the Province tarrings and featherings, riotings and burnings, became a part of the technique of action. On the Georges, under the fiery leadership of Captain Samuel Gregg, a party assaulted the house of Justice Fales of Tory sympathies and offered him the alternative of signing the paper or riding a rail, but were in part diverted from their aim by a pail of flip placed at their disposal by the Justice's wife. At Medumcook (Friendship) the "Solemn League and Covenant" was signed by fifty-five males and females. At Waldoborough the reception of the document is enshrouded in silence. Here Tory sentiment at this time, plus indifference, was so strong that the more zealous patriots hesitated to press a line of action involving such a divisive effect.

The first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had convened in October 1774. Cumberland, the only county in Maine represented, sent five delegates. The main purpose of this body was to function as the government of the Province, to organize it and unite it in a solid front against the Crown. To this end it issued on December 10, 1774, a manifesto "To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Towns and Districts of Massachusetts Bay." This document, sent to the selectmen of Waldoborough and all towns in the District, contained an outline of their common grievances; a summary of the measures recommended by the Congress and an admonition to all to prepare and arm as, to wit:

The improvement of the militia . . . has been thought necessary; . . . particular care should be taken by the towns and districts in this colony, that each of the minute men, not already provided therewith, should be immediately equipped with an effective firearm, bayonet, pouch, knapsack, thirty rounds of cartridges and balls, and that they be disciplined three times a week, and oftener as opportunity may offer, . . . that the



towns and districts are forthwith to pay their own minute men a reasonable consideration for their services.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the letter provided for "a gentleman to be appointed in each county to check on military preparations." In Lincoln County Captain Sam Thompson of Brunswick, a lieutenant colonel of militia, was the appointee. There are no grounds for believing that this manifesto brought any wide response in Waldoborough, although the town had had a company of militia since the days of the last Indian war, with Matthias Römele as captain and Martin Reiser as lieutenant. It is possible that, under the pressure of opinion from without, this company maintained itself in more than its usual state of readiness.

The Second Provincial Congress of Massachusetts convened at Cambridge on February 1, 1775, at Concord on March 22nd, and at Watertown on April 22nd. At this session there were delegates from York and Cumberland, and six from Lincoln County. That there were none from Waldoborough may be construed as evidence of the town's limited participation up to this time. This Congress continued active preparations of war with the Crown and for the suppression of loyalists or Tories within its bodies. On March 31, 1775, it published a list of those persons who had refused to renounce the commissions they held from the King agreeable to a resolve of the First Congress. This resolve covered about three hundred of the most conspicuous people in the Province, and it enjoined that their names "be entered on the town and district records, that they may be sent down to posterity, if possible, with the infamy they deserve."<sup>3</sup>

First on this list was the name of Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Commonwealth, son-in-law of Samuel Waldo and still one of the large landowners of old Broad Bay. Included also were the in-laws of the late General, and his only living son, Francis.<sup>4</sup> Among other measures the Congress strengthened its position in reference to *wavering* and *indifferent towns* by setting up a Central Committee of Correspondence in each county to coordinate the work of the smaller town committees and to prod or coerce the wavering towns into action. In Lincoln County, Pownalborough was the seat of operations of this central committee; and it was made up of James Howard, Timothy Langdon, Dummer Sewall, Samuel McCobb, and Joseph Waldo.

It was this committee that turned the heat on Waldoborough and prodded it to declare itself. The reaction of the town provides the first evidence of Waldoborough having placed itself

<sup>2</sup>*Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., 1774-1775; Act of Dec. 10, 1774 (Boston, 1838).*

<sup>3</sup>*Journals, op. cit., Act of April 12, 1775.*

<sup>4</sup>Died at Tunbridge, Kent, England, May 9, 1784.

officially on record in reference to the central issue of the time. Its illuminating and significant report to the Committee, bearing the date of June 5, 1775, follows:

To James Howard Esq. and to the rest of the Honorable Committee appointed by the Hon. Congress.

Gentlemen — We rec<sup>vd</sup> a letter from you to know how affairs stand in our town. Upon receipt of your letter we called a town meeting and we chose a Committee to correspond with you Gentlemen and we voted unanymously to abide by the Continentinel and Provencel Congress, and you Desired to know how affairs stand relating to our Provence Tax. Gentlemen — We voted to collect the mony as soon as Possible and Convey the same when collected to Mr. Henry Garner, treasurer for the Congress.

Gentlemen, We Shall Endeavour to Meat on the days appointed and we shall let you know from time to time all that is Worthy of Notice.

We with all submission. We remain your Servents.

P.S. We the Commite are chose to collect the above monys.

Jabesh Cole, Andrew Schemle [Schenck], David Vinall,  
Jacob Wenigeburla [Winchenbach], William Farnsworth.

This is a communication in which one must go between the lines for a full meaning. From it we derive the following inferences. This was the first time the town had been smoked out from its neutral dilatoriness, and to secure such a response the heat applied must have been rather excessive; a Town Meeting followed which was ignored by "loyalists" and attended by "patriots," for in no other way can the unanimous action be explained; that the town agreed "to abide" by the Congresses can only mean that it had not previously declared itself, and was only doing so now under pressure; when the town agreed at this time in its history to collect and pay out money, the categorical imperative must somewhere have been very obtrusively inserted in the picture; that it had been brought to heel is clear from its agreeing "to meat on the days appointed" and to correspond. On the whole, this document is not so much a declaration of cooperation as it is one of submission.

The electric events around Boston in April 1775 — Paul Revere's Ride, Lexington, Concord, and the call on April 23rd by the Provincial Congress for an army of 30,000 men — shocked the whole Maine coast into action. It was felt that the coastal towns were particularly exposed to attack from the British fleet. Squire Thomas, representing the towns in this area, had sought to obtain needed supplies, but had been unsuccessful. Thereupon further appeals were sent to the Congress for military stores, and brought in but a mere dribble. The inland towns of Sudbury, Marlborough, and Framingham were ordered to share of their limited stocks of powder with the Maine towns, and the selectmen of the

latter town sent one half barrel of powder to Thomas Brackett for use in Bristol.

In addition to the dearth of military supplies, the Maine towns were suffering acutely from lack of food and from all articles which it had been their wont to import. A severe drought the preceding summer had resulted in very short harvests; and the blockade of Boston and the coast by the enemy fleet shut the towns off from access to their distributing centers and prevented the importation of provisions from the colonies farther south. Furthermore, the towns by reason of the blockade found themselves shut off from disposing of their main exportable surplus, wood and lumber. Petitions begging relief reached the Congress from Deer Isle, Waldoborough, Machias, and other towns. A typical petition, that of Machias, reveals the plight of all. It states "a very severe drought last fall prevented our laying in sufficient stores . . . our laborers are dismissed; some of our mills stand still; almost all our vessels have forsaken us; our lumber lies by us in heaps."<sup>5</sup>

Waldoborough suffered in the general paralysis in trade and in the lack of essential military stores, although not critically in the lack of foodstuffs, as the Germans were the most frugal husbandmen in Maine, and from long and bitter experience they knew the art of making every thing count. On Sunday, June 18th of this year, a petition for powder from the Committee of Correspondence and Safety in Waldoborough was read before the Congress, whereupon it was resolved that "the petitioners have leave to withdraw their petition."<sup>6</sup> There was no help from this quarter as the minutemen around beleaguered Boston had no surplus of precious powder to spare. In the meantime the enrollment of soldiers for the local militia and for the Continental Army was under way in the town. On Saturday, July 1, 1775, Thomas Rice of Pownalborough was appointed by the Congress to swear the soldiers in Lincoln County in the place of David Fales of Warren, whose Tory sympathies had brought him into collision with the committee of that town. On July 5th it was resolved by the Congress that "13,000 coats be provided, agreeable to a resolve of the Congress on the 23rd of April last, to be proportioned to all towns in the Province." Waldoborough's allotment was ten such coats. At this time on the eve of the Revolution the population of the Maine counties was as follows: Lincoln, whites 18,563, blacks 85, total 18,648; York, 17,834; Cumberland, 14,072. The population of the whole Province of Massachusetts Bay was 349,094.

In England the events of the spring of 1775 left no ground for doubt as to their meaning, and rapid action followed. The admiral

<sup>5</sup>Acts of the Provincial Congress, May 25, 1775.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, June 18, 1775.



in command at Boston was instructed "to carry on operations upon the sea coasts of the four New England colonies as he shall judge most effectual for suppressing . . . the rebellion which is now openly avowed," and to seize all colonial ships not owned by loyalists.<sup>7</sup> There was little delay in carrying out these orders, war flared up along the entire coast, and a number of towns were bombarded, of which the most dramatic and disastrous was the destruction of Falmouth (Portland).

On October 18th four vessels arrived off the town and the commanding officer sent word ashore giving the two thousand inhabitants two hours in which to abandon their homes. He also stated that he was under orders to burn and destroy all towns on the coast without warning. The next morning the ships opened fire. The church, the town house, thirty stores, one hundred and thirty dwellings and many other buildings were totally destroyed. One hundred and sixty families lost all their property and stores of food, and were left homeless before the approaching winter. These attacks, even though previously anticipated, aroused the people along the Maine coast to fear, uncertainty and wrath, stepped up their awareness of war, and prompted many of the neutrals to cast their lot with the patriot cause.

In Waldoborough the reorganized militia went into action, for all the coast towns hastened to station their effectives at the most critical points. The local company was made up of men from the Georges, Waldoborough and Camden. Through the autumn and as late as December 31st a detachment of this company was billeted at Friendship for the protection of this little hamlet and to check any landing force that might march overland to Waldoborough. Among the local men enrolled in this company, commanded by Captain Samuel Gregg, were Philip Reiser and John S. Rinner, corporals; James Farnsworth, fifer, and privates William Farnsworth, Jr., John Feyler, Peter Lehr, Charles Seidensberger, and Samuel Sweetland. The year came to an end, however, without any local raids by the British fleet; and with the winter so far advanced cold and ice were deemed to supply all the protection needed, enabling the militia to disband.

The major center of war operations in the colonies throughout these months remained in Boston. On June 15, 1775, George Washington had been appointed to take over the command of the American Army and had set out at once for Cambridge to place himself at the head of "the rabble in arms" around Boston. With the British tightly locked up in the town, all governmental activities by the Crown in the Province came to a stop; and on the advice of the Continental Congress, Massachusetts resumed her

<sup>7</sup>Dartmouth, to the Lords of Admiralty, July 1, 1775, C.C.S. No. 121.

old charter form of government, and precepts were accordingly issued for an election of the General Court. This organization convened in Watertown on July 19th. According to the laws passed at this session Waldoborough was entitled to four or more representatives, although the town did not choose to be represented for a number of years.

On June 17th the colonials came face to face with the British regulars on the brow of Breed's Hill. As long as powder and bullets lasted, the successive waves of the British were mowed down by the unerring marksmanship of the militia. In this bloody struggle the enemy lost between one thousand and fifteen hundred dead and wounded, a greater proportion of loss than had been suffered by the British arms in any battle of the Seven Years' War. With the news of this battle confidence and determination surged through the colony. The fate of Boston was settled and its evacuation only a matter of time.

Through the summer the blockade was so tight that no supplies could reach the city from the surrounding country, and most of their stores had to be sailed in from Halifax. This line of supply extending along the Maine coast led to the fitting out of small privateers, many of them officered and manned from the Maine coastal towns. The ordnance brig *Nancy* was one of the richest prizes falling to the privateersmen, for she was laden with two thousand rifles and bayonets, eight thousand fuses, thirty-one tons of bullets, barrels of powder, and military tools of every description. This prize was hailed by Washington as "an instance of divine Providence," for with these stores he was able in the spring of 1776 to force the British out of Boston and to plan and execute Arnold's march through the Maine wilderness to Quebec.

There were men of Waldoborough participating in the year 1775 in these stirring events around Boston. Among others were Isaiah Cole of Colonel William Bond's twenty-seventh regiment; Conrad Heyer, who had hastened to Cambridge to join Washington's forces; and George Ulmer, a son of John Ulmer, Jr., who in his twentieth year had been captured on a fishing trip by the frigate *Lively*. The vessel and crew were taken into Boston, where Ulmer made his escape into the town and over the Charles River to the American lines at the imminent hazard of his life. There he enlisted in the American Army and served through the remainder of the campaign.<sup>8</sup>

The initial successes of the patriots were merely the prelude to a long, hard struggle. The issue was destined to be long in doubt largely because of the weaknesses inherent in the temperamental set-up of the American soldier. Such flaws in a large

<sup>8</sup>*Maine Inquirer* (Bath), Obituary note, Feb. 7, 1786.



measure were latent in his extreme individualism, and in his unconventional military organization. One major source of weakness lay in the fact that the colonials elected their own minor officers, a weakness which gave Washington no end of trouble, for he found the subordinate officers of "nearly the same kidney as the privates," and wrote that there was no such thing as getting officers of this stamp to exert themselves in carrying orders into execution, for "to curry favor with the men (by whom they were chosen, and on whose smiles possibly they may think they may again rely) seems to be one of the principal objects of their attention."<sup>9</sup> In this respect the men of Waldoborough differed little from their fellow soldiers. A second source of weakness was the dislike of long enlistments. The revolutionary service records of the Waldoborough soldiery is a tangled nightmare. They would enlist for the attainment of an immediate objective close at hand; but with that end attained or the few months of their enlistment at an end, they would streak back to their farms. There was no adequate realization that only the sustained effort of a trained and disciplined soldiery could enable them unaided to defeat the British, and that a few months of military experience was not sufficient to give a general an army. A substantial part of the Waldoborough enlistments were of short duration, a few months, a limited military objective and then home again. To be sure, there were a few, such as Charles Heavener, Conrad Heyer and George Ulmer, who saw the war in terms of a larger relationship and longer service, and who gave that service and contributed their share to the more critical campaigns of the war.

The lack of discipline on the part of the colonials was a further factor which rendered the issue a matter of doubt to the very finish. These men were for the most part unbridled individualists which made them undependable soldiers, frequently disobeying orders where their own judgment was otherwise, and deserting when the urge of other interests became imperative. In the main, the record of the Waldoborough soldiery in such matters was honorable, far above the average. For the most part their campaigns were short and not far from home. This fact minimized the causes for desertion in the local theater of the war, while in the larger field of operations of the Continental Army only Daniel Beckler, Friedrich Schwartz, and John G. Stilke, as far as we know, came under the cloud of suspicion.

In the summer of the year 1775, while Washington was holding Lord Howe tightly beleaguered in Boston, the expedition of Colonel Benedict Arnold through the Maine wilderness to Quebec was conceived. The personnel of this force was drawn

<sup>9</sup>Washington, *Writings*, III, 67, 97.



largely from Washington's army around Boston. Uncertain is the part taken by Waldoborough men in this daring drive across the chain of lakes, over the height of land to the headwaters of the Chaudière and thence down the river to the Saint Lawrence and Quebec. It is known that Captain Samuel McCobb of Arrow-sic Island recruited men in Lincoln County for this expedition; that this was one of the companies in the brigade of Lieutenant Colonel Enos, which making up the rear of the expedition, deserted when food became scarce and the going hard. The lists of those killed and taken prisoner contain German family names familiar in Waldoborough history, such as Secrest (Siechrist), Miller, and Newhouse (Neuhaus), but these names cannot be identified with certainty, nor can that of the Colonel Farnsworth who was Arnold's liaison officer on the Kennebec after the plunge into the wilderness. It was this Colonel Farnsworth's task to collect and forward supplies, to provide for the returning sick, and to forward Arnold's reports and messages to the outside world. It is only a possibility that this was Waldoborough's Colonel William Farnsworth. The one Waldoborough man believed with some certainty to have been at Quebec was George Ulmer. The writer of his obituary states that he was with Montgomery at Quebec, but we are not told whether he was in the famous march through the Maine wilderness or joined the forces before the city when Montgomery moved down from Montreal and assumed command of the joint forces before Quebec.

An interesting episode of this campaign was the part played by a gallant little Waldoborough "topsail schooner," named the *Broad Bay* and probably built in this town, as she is referred to in some of the officers' journals as "the Broad Bay schooner." She was clearly the outstanding vessel of Arnold's fleet, and originally was either a coaster or a fisherman. The expedition left Newburyport on September 18th on eleven small vessels, of which the *Broad Bay* was the only one to receive in the diaries more than passing mention. They were all small. Simon Fobes in his Journal describes them as "dirty coasters and fish boats." The *Broad Bay* was the key vessel and flagship of this fleet and had the honor of conveying the commanding officer of the expedition to the first base at Fort Western (Augusta). From the Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer we read:

Sept. 18, about nine o'clock the fleet sailed for Kennebeck River, bearing W. S. W., got over the bar and stood off until Colonel Arnold came on board the Broad Bay schooner, where little after the Swallow Sloop struck a rock, where she stuck, on board of which was Capt. Scott's company which was distributed among the fleet, and Capt. Han-

drick's company of rifle men, together with mine which were on board the Broad Bay.<sup>10</sup>

Colonel Arnold's "express" to Washington from Fort Western, September 27, 1775, contains the following reference to the *Broad Bay*: "I have ordered James McCormick, the criminal, condemned for the murder of Reuben Bishop on board the schooner Broad Bay, Capt. Clarkson, with direction for him to be delivered to Capt. Moses Nowell at Newburyport." This schooner seems to have remained the water base of the expedition, as is indicated in Arnold's order to Colonel Enos: "Fort Western, Sept. 29, 1775. You will bring up the rear and order all stragglers, except those sick, which you will send on board the Broad Bay, Capt. Clarkson." The whole story of the role of this gallant little craft is told in Arnold's express to Nathaniel Tracy of Newburyport, who may have been her owner: "Fort Western, Sept. 28, 1775. To Capt. Clarkson I am under many obligations for his activity, vigilance and care of the whole fleet, both on our passage, and since our arrival here . . . he has really merited much."<sup>11</sup>

There is a flash back from this expedition which furnishes us with the merest glimpse of Waldoborough in 1776, and the princely way of life of Squire Thomas. Among Arnold's officers captured by the British before Quebec were Major Jonathan R. Meigs and Captain Henry Dearborn, later a brilliant general in the Revolution. These two officers were paroled in the late spring of 1776 and proceeded southward along the Maine coast to their homes. In Dearborn's "Journal of the Expedition" occurs the following entry:

July 11. We started from Medumcook [Friendship] this morning for Broad Bay which is six miles distant from here. At 9 o'clock we arrived at said Bay where there is fine settlements, the inhabitants [Squire Thomas] seems to live very well; we were very Genteely Treated by Esqr. Thomas of said place, who I find was nephew to Gen. Thomas in the Continental Army, said Thomas favored us with his horses to carry our Packs as far as Damariscoty which is eight miles.<sup>12</sup>

It was during the decade of the Revolution that the first regular mail service was established in this section of the Province. In 1772 a weekly postal service was inaugurated between Falmouth and points along the coast extending as far eastward as Thomaston.<sup>13</sup> Before the close of the year 1775 this service had been expanded by the Continental Congress, and extended from Maine to Georgia. The first postmaster in Maine was Samuel Freeman

<sup>10</sup>"Journals of the Expedition," reprinted in Kenneth Roberts, *March to Quebec*.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>*Boston Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1772.

of Falmouth. From this point the post couriers rode along the coast to the Penobscot. They were paid twenty shillings a year for every mile of their route undertaken in the Continental service.

Early in the year 1776 the Massachusetts Legislature authorized the raising of militia regiments in all counties. The fourth such regiment was raised in Lincoln County and was made up of men from Waldoborough, Medumcook, Camden, Belfast, and the other settlements from the west side of the Penobscot.<sup>14</sup> Colonel Mason Wheaton and Lieutenant Colonel William Farnsworth were the top commanders of this unit. The third company was under Captain Andrew Schenck, with George Demuth as his first lieutenant and Zebulon Simmons as second lieutenant. The eighth company was under Captain Jacob Ludwig, and his second lieutenant was Jacob Winchenbach. These officers were commissioned July 3, 1776.

From the beginning of the struggle, military stores had been scarce in the Province of Maine. William Loud of Bristol, speaking of conditions in this area, observed: "I do not think one tenth part of the inhabitants have any [ammunition]." To meet this condition the Massachusetts Council on April 20, 1776, appointed Colonel William Jones as a committee to distribute £1200 to the inhabitants of the eastern part of Lincoln County to relieve current distress. The Commissary General was also empowered to deliver to Captain Samuel Nichols of Newcastle "for the use of the inhabitants of said county of Lincoln 10,000 weight of gunpowder, 20,000 weight of balls, 3000 flints, and that payment be made for the same inside of twelve months."<sup>15</sup> These supplies were welcome, but the suggestion of payment led Mr. William Loud to offer on behalf of the district a brief comment on its condition.

I doubt not Sir but that you remember Mr. Waterman Thomas of Waldoborough, who was up to the Congress for the year past [1775] on Acc<sup>t</sup> of Supply for many settlements but could not obtain it. As the inhabitants have been Drove to great Straits on acc<sup>t</sup> of not having market for their Lumber for the year past, and the supports of life having been so dear to them, I cannot see how it is possible at present for them to raise cash for ammunition.<sup>16</sup>

The early raids by the British on coast towns had made the Province immediately conscious of its need for defense in this area. Accordingly, on January 4th the House of Representatives resolved that "sea coast establishments" be raised. They were stationed in companies of fifty men, including officers, at the mouth

<sup>14</sup>Edward K. Gould, *British and Tory Marauders of the Penobscot* (Rockland, 1932).

<sup>15</sup>American Archives IV, Ser. 4, 1776.

<sup>16</sup>Wm. Loud to John Taylor, Esq., Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XIV, 360-361.



of the Sheepscot, at Pemaquid, at Medumcook, St. Georges and on the Penobscot. Such companies were stationed to prevent landing forces from British ships raiding the settlements. Waldoborough was defended from any such surprise attacks by the forces at Pemaquid and Medumcook. The company on the Georges was under Captain Benjamin Plummer and was in service from March 5th to September 6th, 1776. It included the following Waldoborough men: William Farnsworth, Jr., sergeant, Isaac Farnsworth, fifer, and privates Abel Cole, Ezra Pitcher, George Ulmer, Nathaniel Pitcher, Peter Hilt and James Sweetland.

Apart from these minor phases of the war, there were also Waldoborough men engaged in the major theater. In camp before the beleaguered city of Boston were among others, as we have said, Conrad Heyer, Isaiah Cole, and George Ulmer, Jr. John Stahl, who had joined a company raised to the west in Cumberland County, and young Philip Reiser were also there. A little insight into army life around Boston is afforded in a simple letter of this youthful soldier to his father, Major Reiser, in Waldoborough. Since it is the only thing of its kind from this period preserved in our annals it is reproduced here in full:

Camp Prospect Hill. February 28, 1776

Honoured father and mother. I take this opportunity to write to you to inform you that I am now in Good health hoping these few lines may find you the Same. I hope you will not think hard of my not writing to you before for I have been with Lieutenant Smith to take care of him for he has been almost at Deaths Door but he is now well and I have been sick but am now hearty and like the Army Very well and like my officers well, all that I dislike is that everything is exceeding Dear and cloathes in a particular manner. I expect to Go to battle every minute and if my life is Spared me I hope to be with you to pay you A visit next Spring with Sergt. Ulmer. Give my love to my Brothers all Enquiring friends. I should be glad if you would write to me every opportunity and if you send any letters you must Direct them to Prospect Hill in Col. Bond's Regiment and in Capt. fuller's Company which is the Company I Belong to. Sergt. Ulmer Remembers his love to you all and all his Uncles and aunts family No more at present. But I remain Your Dutiful Son,

Philip Razor

Address: Mr Martin Razor in Waldoborough, By favour Mr. Acorn.<sup>17</sup>

This lad later died in Camp at Prospect Hill, years before the cause to which he so cheerfully devoted himself had reached its attainment. His naïvely charming letter is an interesting reflection of the extent to which some of the second generation of young Germans in the better-to-do families in Waldoborough had adopted and were using the language of their new country. The Puritan influence was here proving its potency.

<sup>17</sup>Letter loaned by Emily Hazlewood of Boston, a descendant of John Martin Reiser.

After the unfortunate hiatus in the town records, the narrative is again resumed in a sketchy way with the meeting of March 4, 1776, "at the new meeting house on the easterly side of the river." These minutes are not particularly revealing. Of the details worthy of note, the following are listed: To the town warrant the third selectman affixed his signature as Johan Adam Löwen Zölner, thus settling himself the long dispute over the original form of the name of Levensaler; the town voted to send "Mr. Waterman Thomas up to the Concrese [Province Congress]"; at the April meeting a new Committee of "Corespontents and Inspection" was elected, made up of Bernhard Shuman, Jacob Eichorn (Achorn), Captain Solomon Hewet, Jacob Unbehinde (Umberhine), Bernhard Uckley (Eugley), Callab Howert (Howard), and John Weaver; the warrant for the meeting of May 7, 1776, was issued in the name of the Government of Massachusetts Bay in place of that of His Majesty, the King. From the minutes of this year it is clear that a strong Tory and neutral minority was not disposed to dispute the control of the patriot element in town affairs.

The Declaration of Independence was promulgated on July 4th of this year. It was printed in Massachusetts, and copies were sent to all ministers in the Province to be read publicly by them in the pulpit "on the first Lord's day after its reception," and to be recorded by the town clerks in their respective town books. No record of this document was ever made in the Waldborough minutes, and the preacher, "Doctor" John Martin Schaeffer, a *gentleman* of strong and outspoken Tory sympathies, stoutly refused to read it from the pulpit. The pastor's attitude clearly reveals the strength of the loyalist sentiment in the town, and the general tolerance with which it was regarded, for the Reverend Schaeffer was never compelled to comply, nor was he dismissed from the church, but continued against all suasion to refuse to pray for the success of the American arms, cynically averring that in England prayers were offered four hours earlier for the success of British arms, thereby implying that those who were there first would be served first. But the Declaration was read. The stubborn clergyman was circumvented by two of his parishioners, Jacob Ludwig and Andrew Schenck, who translated the document into German and read it before their mustered militia companies, thereby insuring its being circulated throughout the community by word of mouth. One of these companies commanded by Captain Ludwig marched to Megunticook (Camden) on November 3rd, embarked there for Machias and did a six months' period of duty guarding the town against raids from British war vessels.



In early days all connections with the west had been by water, the intervening forest being an untracked wilderness. Bridle and foot trails from town to town had gradually come into use and were then followed by roads of a sort. This year the first recorded overland trip on horseback to Boston was made by Benjamin Burton from the Georges River. He bore with him the petition for the incorporation of the town of Thomaston. He crossed the Medomak at Waterman's Ferry, which was the first of eight to be crossed to reach Boston. This journey required six days. The total expense to the town was £1 7s. 5d., equal to about \$4.56 current value. One shilling was the normal amount paid for a meal, and 4s. 8d. for crossing a ferry.

Through the early winter months of this year, Washington had tightened his grip on Boston. On the night of March 4th Dorchester Heights were occupied and fortified. A fierce two-day storm gave the Americans the opportunity to make their position so strong that assault seemed futile to Lord Howe. With both his fleet and army under the fire of American guns he was compelled to evacuate the town in order to save his forces. This movement was carried out gradually and was completed by the 19th. The next day the town was occupied by the patriots. From this time on to the end of the war, the main military operations took place outside of New England. This fact limits the role of Waldoborough in the war to smaller local campaigns, to the struggle with Tory marauders, and to the role played by her citizen soldiers at Valley Forge, Saratoga, and Yorktown.

The year 1777 was one of considerable activity on the part of the Tories in Lincoln County. In many of the towns surrounding Waldoborough, they had received harsh treatment at the hands of local patriots, and in consequence local feuds and grudges long smouldering had burst into open flame; and from this time until the end of the war, the Tories adopted and continued retaliatory tactics. The nearness of the eastern coast to enemy territory served to embolden them. In their raids and marauding excursions, they were joined by the disaffected, by those with private grudges, and by men who were not above using unsettled conditions to their own advantage.

Such developments were slow in coming to a head in Waldoborough, and where they did occur, events enacted came largely from marauders from other towns. Waldoborough was probably the strongest Tory center in the district, but there is no evidence that this sentiment brought neighbors to the point of committing outrages against one another. Feelings by and large remained cool and strained. Where differences in viewpoint were known to exist they were usually accompanied by commendable restraint. This condition probably arose largely from the fact that the local



Tories were neither active nor militant, but were willing to live and let live. Here again families were large, seven or eight brothers and sisters being the usual family pattern in this second generation. This fact, combined with intermarriage, set up values of blood kinship and family loyalty as a counterbalance to the differences of opinion which developed over the issues of the day. The Germans, too, were rather turgid in their interest in public affairs and were in the main unwilling to allow their domestic peace and well-being to be strained unduly by political differences.

The size of the Tory faction in the town undoubtedly was another factor which led their other-minded neighbors to observe a judicious restraint. Had this issue been pushed, as in other towns, to the point of persecution and outrage, a condition akin to civil war would have prevailed in the community. Of the number or percentage of Waldoborough Tories, we cannot be certain, although all contemporary observers agree it was large. Mrs. Mero, a contemporary in the Georges Valley, is quoted by Sibley to the effect that "in Waldoborough . . . were many tories. The old country people were almost all for the King."<sup>18</sup> Her testimony is supported by that of the Reverend Jacob Bailey, the Episcopal rector and Tory of Pownalborough, who was compelled in 1779 to take refuge in Halifax. From this town he wrote to the British General McLean in command on the Penobscot concerning dependable loyalists in Lincoln County. Under the heading "at Bristol and Broad Bay," he lists Cornelius Rhodes (Rothe) and son, George, John Martin, Dr. Martin Shepherd (Schaeffer), Michael Sprague, and two sons, Captain David Vinal, Peter Cremor (Cramer or Creamer) and two sons, George Cremor, George Young (Jung), George Light, Mr. Cyder (Seider), Mr. Umberhind, "and in general all the Dutch families in Broad Bay except ten or twelve families."

A passing glimpse of the milder activity of some of the local Tories is furnished by the account of this same Reverend Bailey on his expulsion to Halifax in June 1779. While the little sloop in which he was taking passage lay off Woolwich, he wrote: "Mr. Palmer<sup>19</sup> brought me several letters from my good friends at Broad Bay and presents for the journey." Sailing that day from the Kennebec they spent the night at Cape Newagen. The next day the sloop rounded Pemaquid Point and beat its way up the sound to Mr. Palmer's. It anchored near Loud's Island and filled its water casks. The following morning leave was taken of the "zealous friend," Mr. Palmer, and the sloop headed for St. Georges, but an east wind drove them back to Broad Cove where they could see "the Dutch Plantation at Broad Bay." Mr. Bailey con-

<sup>18</sup>John L. Sibley, *History of the Town of Union* (Boston, 1851).

<sup>19</sup>Probably Nathaniel Palmer, a restless Bristol Tory.

tinues: "I spent the night with Mr. Rhoads [Cornelius Rothe], a generous farmer born in Germany, who had amassed a good fortune, but whom the war had ruined.<sup>20</sup> Such a characterization is on the whole typical of the passive attitude of most Waldoborough Tories, and while we may deplore the lukewarmness of many of our German forebears, we can commend the poise and restraint they exercised in maintaining their community life intact and ready for the more cooperative days of peace.

Throughout the year 1777, the patriot faction in the town maintained a firm grip on its internal administration. Elected as its board of selectmen were Waterman Thomas, Nathan Soule, and Nathaniel Simmons, all of the recent Puritan migration and all staunch friends of freedom. On the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, it placed only two Germans, Peter Pracht (Prock) and Andrew Schenck, the latter a well-known patriot. The other seven members of this group were from the Puritan faction and all fervent in the cause of liberty. They were Captain Waterman, Captain Samson, John Hunt, Zebedee Simmons, Esquire Thomas, Captain Soule, and Captain Farnsworth. With such a lineup, the town was overwhelmingly in a position to give the fullest support to the patriot cause.

This year a determined effort was made to secure soldiers for a longer enlistment, and this meant to secure them for the Continental Army. The usual enlistments for short periods, with the soldier leaving service promptly on their expiration, or even before, made it extremely difficult for the commanders in the field to maintain an efficient military force. To overcome this fatal weakness and under pressure from the General Court, longer terms of service were sought. The town accordingly made the effort to raise its quota of one man out of every seven for a long-term enlistment by offering a bounty "to each seventh man above sixteen years of age if he would enlist in the continental army for three years or during the war." In fact, enlistments were so slow that a bounty was offered of £10 lawful money for each man "listing in town for three years or during the warre"; and for enlisting its quota of one man in seven for a long term, it offered the inducement of a £100 lawful money bounty. The fact that this inducement failed is significant of the temper of the town. It became necessary in the meeting of June 12th to up the bounty to £200.<sup>21</sup> In evaluating this monetary test of local patriotism, the fact must not be overlooked that this sum of \$666.67, calculated on a sound money basis, was actually very much less in terms of the much depreciated currency of that period. It did prove,

<sup>20</sup>Cited by Charles H. Allen, *History of Dresden, Maine*, p. 400.

<sup>21</sup>*Waldoborough Town Records*, 1777.

however, an inducement, and a number in excess of the quota for the year enlisted for service with the Continental Army.

The legislative appeal of the General Court for troops was read throughout the county by the ministers of the Gospel; and along with it, certain enactments which made it a highly penal matter to discourage enlistments in the Continental Army or Navy, to depreciate the bills of currency, or to disparage in any way the support of independence on the part of the people. Under these statutes any person suspected with good reason of being inimical to the colonial cause could be arrested on a justice warrant and banished to the enemy, unless willing to take an oath of allegiance; the return of a person so banished was punished by forfeiture of life. The effect of these legislative acts in the towns of the county was to provide the zealots with new instruments for persecuting their Tory neighbors and brought closer the day when the Tory outlaws, ranging at large through the towns, would take their toll of vengeance on the innocent as well as the guilty.

This year brought to the town of Waldoborough two military developments of more than passing moment. The first of these was the British plan to isolate New England from the rest of the confederation by having Burgoyne occupy the line of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, and to effect contact with the smaller British force under Clinton in New York. Burgoyne, moving southward, encountered little opposition until he reached the portage between Lakes Champlain and George and the Hudson River. General Schuyler, in command of small American forces, did everything in his power to delay this advance by felling trees across the route and filling up the creeks to flood the land. So effective were these tactics that it took the British force fifty days to move seventy-five miles.

In the meantime the call went out through all New England to the men on the hills, rivers, and shores to assemble to check this new danger. Colonel Dummer Sewall of Georgetown brought the call to Waldoborough. Proceeding eastward through the coast towns, he crossed the Medomak at Light's Ferry and conferred with the two captains of the local militia, Schenck and Ludwig. Captain Schenck mustered his company immediately. It was addressed by Colonel Sewall in English and by Captain Schenck in German.

The same procedure was followed with Captain Ludwig's company, and volunteers were called for. Among those responding were Isaiah Cole, Barnabas Freeman, John Fitzgerald, Charles Heavener, Frederick Schwartz, Peter Light, George Seitenberger, Charles Walsh, and George Leissner. These men proceeded overland to Georgetown (Bath) where they were fitted out and then



joined that stream of men coursing toward the Hudson Valley from many districts of New England. Here they formed a part of that "rabble in arms" across the line of Burgoyne's advance. It is presumed that they all engaged in the battle of Saratoga. Charles Heavener fought under Benedict Arnold in the initial battle of this campaign which arrested the advance of the British at Freeman's Farm. Shortly after, he was in the battle of Saratoga and later at Valley Forge, Monmouth, Stillwater, and Rhode Island.

By October 17, 1777, the rabble in arms had achieved its objective, and the threat of Burgoyne came to an end with the capitulation of the entire British force. These prisoners were marched to Boston, there to embark on British transports and proceed to England on parole. The terms of this Saratoga Convention, however, were never carried out, and the whole body of prisoners was held in Boston awaiting final disposition. It was at this time that the German population of Waldoborough received fresh accessions from the Hessian contingent, a few being released on parole under the sponsorship of Americans. On October 25, 1777, John M. Schaeffer petitioned for three Hessian prisoners, one each for himself, Waterman Thomas, and Andrew Schenck.<sup>22</sup>

The first of such additions was Heinrich Isence, born at Hanover, Germany, who had been captured by General Stark at Bennington. He was brought to Waldoborough by Andrew Schenck and after a brief residence in the town joined a fellow countryman in Union. This fellow countryman was Andreas Suchfort (Sukeforth) who was brought from Boston by Philip Robbins of Union. This Suchfort, who was a very powerful man, at one time lugged two bushels of salt on his back from Waldoborough to Union.<sup>23</sup> He later moved to Waldoborough where for a short period he owned the present Merle Castner farm. Ultimately he settled in Washington, where he died, leaving a very considerable posterity. Among the other Hessians who became residents at this time, or a little later, were John Peter Walther, paroled to General McCobb, Doctor Theobald, surgeon and chaplain, and Doctor John G. Bornemann.

The second major military event of the year in Waldoborough was the campaign in the Machias area of a local militia company under the command of Captain Jacob Ludwig. This year the coast had been infested by British ships which had maintained a virtual blockade that had had the effect of reducing the local stores of materials and markedly raising prices. Corn sold at \$2.50 a bushel, and all other foods were in proportion. To prevent

<sup>22</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XV, 266.

<sup>23</sup>Sibley, *History of the Town of Union*.

landing parties from making assaults on the settlements and seizing or destroying stores, two hundred men were enrolled to defend the coast from Camden to Machias. Captain Ludwig's company was raised along the Medomak and the Georges. Its Waldoborough contingent was made up of Jacob Ludwig, captain, Jacob Winchenbach, first lieutenant, and privates Gottfried Bornheimer, William Farnsworth, Peter Hilt, Godfrey Hoffses, Caleb Howard, William Miller, Valentine Mink, Henry Oberloch, Isaac Sargus, John Werner, and John Winchenbach. John Gross and John Hilt were in Captain Benjamin Lamont's company, Colonel John Allen's regiment. On November 3rd the company left Camden for Machias, where it arrived November 10th. The little we know of its activities at Machias is derived from the Diary of the commanding officer of the district, Colonel John Allen. Among its items are found the following:

Machias, Monday, Nov. 10, 1777, Captain Ludwig arrived with his company of twenty-four officers and soldiers. In the evening the Indians danced according to their usual manner. . . . 11th. The articles of war and a Resolve of the General Court was read to Capt. Ludwig's Company, who have orders to be ready to go to the Rhym to-morrow, the two Hessian prisoners who came with Capt. Ludwig enlisted. Wed. the 12th. In the morning Capt. Ludwig's men were supplied with what arms and other things they were in want of, and then set off for the Rhym. Dec. 6. Gave orders for Crosby's company to come up to the falls; Capt. Ludwig to command at the Rhym. Dec. 22. Capt. Ludwig disbanded his company. 23d. Capt. Ludwig made up his pay roll,<sup>24</sup> preparing to set off; his men went down to the Rhym to go in a shallop to Gouldsboro.<sup>25</sup>

No enemy attacks occurred in this sector, and Captain Ludwig and his men were back in Waldoborough by the New Year. The details of this insignificant military episode have been set forth here because they are typical of the colorless character of so much of the service of the local militia in this war.

The surrender of Burgoyne had in part relieved the gloom occasioned by the checks received by Washington at Germantown and on the Brandywine and his failure to prevent the British occupation of Philadelphia. At the close of the campaign around the latter city, Washington's army withdrew up the Schuylkill and settled down to a winter of the most acute misery at Valley Forge. Among the Waldoborough men in the Continental Army undergoing this tragic ordeal were: Daniel Beckler, Isaiah Cole, Charles Heavener, Conrad Heyer, George Leissner, George Ulmer, Jr., Lieutenant Philip Ulmer, and Ezekiel Winslow. The sufferings of the colonial troops during this winter are a theme

<sup>24</sup>Filed in the Secretary's office, State House, Boston, Mass.

<sup>25</sup>Frederick Kidder, *Military Operations in Maine and Nova Scotia During the Revolution* (Albany, 1867).

in every school history, but it is from Washington's own pen that an adequate idea of their miseries can best be gathered. He writes: "To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet) . . . is a proof of patience and obedience, which in my opinion can scarce be paralleled." And again: "For some days there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh . . . Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery."<sup>26</sup>

This small group of men from Waldoborough along with the few thousand others represent the real flowering of the American spirit in this struggle, for the terrible sufferings of these months and the constant and patient drilling under the Prussian veteran, von Steuben, knit these soldiers so thoroughly together in one compact army that when they took the field in the spring these men of the "Continental Line" were as good as any in the world. They were virtually able by their victories at Stony Point and Monmouth to end the war in the north so far as any major engagements were concerned.

The year 1778 was militarily a quiet one in the annals of the town. The local militia did little more than stand by. As was the case the year before, the patriot faction retained a firm grip on town affairs. At the meeting of March 26th, Zebedee Simmons, Captain John Ulmer, and Abijah Waterman, all trusted patriots, were elected as selectmen; and by vote of the town, they also served as its Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. The minor offices were filled in the main by Germans, both patriot and Tory. At this meeting the thrifty "Dutch" showed their traditional dislike of assuming collective responsibility for the poor by voting "not to grant assistance to John Mackintosh's wife and family of the town of Bristol," he having gone "into the Continental Service for this town for three years," and, it might be added, at a time when none of the local boys were disposed to get in so deep.

This year, owing to the depreciation and scarcity of currency, certain taxes levied by the General Court were payable in specific articles of clothing and food: a shirt was rated at \$6.00, a pair of stockings at \$6.00 and a pair of shoes at \$7.00. The town accepted the task of collecting and appointed Levi Soule and Captain Soule to "git clothing for their soldiers in the Continental service." The form of a new constitution for Massachusetts,

<sup>26</sup>Edward Channing, *Students History of the United States* (New York: Mac-Millan Co., 1900), pp. 210-211.



drafted by a committee of the General Court in January and submitted to the towns at their March meetings, failed to receive the consideration of Waldoborough until a year later, after it had failed of ratification on the part of the towns the preceding March.

In September of this year, a law was passed by the General Court under whose terms the estates of three hundred and ten Tories, "late inhabitants of the state," were all confiscated. Of this number only seventeen were dwellers in Maine and of these two were closely associated with Waldoborough history. These were Francis Waldo, son of General Samuel, and the latter's son-in-law, Thomas Flucker. Since both had long since retired to the enemy, they were termed "absentees." Under the law in question the Judges of Probate were authorized to appoint agents to administer their estates, just as if the late possessors were already dead.

Flucker did not live many years thereafter, for in 1784 he is styled as "an absentee lately deceased." Francis Waldo died in June of the same year, leaving as the only male of the line, General Samuel's grandson, Samuel, son of Colonel Samuel, deceased 1770. With the property of Thomas Flucker, the proprietor of Old Broad Bay, declared as confiscate, the practice of squatting on the unsettled lands of the town became general. In fact, there was something of a scramble and seizure of such lands by the local folk. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of the town did not squat, they seized, had surveys made, and then had these surveys recorded as their respective claims. At the close of the war this procedure led many of them straight into conflict with General Henry Knox, whose wife, Lucy, had become the residuary legatee of the old Waldo estate.

Before the year had passed, the only three counties in the Province, York, Cumberland and Lincoln, were created by the Congress into a maritime district called "the District of Maine," thereby extending this name for the first time over the Waldoborough area.

As the struggle deepened, the depreciation in the value of the paper currency, which was almost the only circulating medium in the District, became alarming. Thirty dollars in bills, which were constantly decreasing in value, were now the equivalent of only one dollar in specie. There was little that could be done to check this inflation, since both nation and states were without any basis for establishing a sound fiscal system. The people of the town were reduced to the economic status of barter, and the men in the armed forces to the status of serving without pay.

The records of the town for the year 1779 reveal little in the way of business relating to the war. At a February meeting it

was voted to pay the thrifty clerk, as expressed in his own words, "£1 fer pabber fer the year 1778." At its March 16th meeting, it was voted that "the town will pay for clothing sent to continental soldiers, amount £67 8s. 0d." At the May meeting it registered its disapproval of having "a New Constitution or form of Government made," and decided to send a representative to the General Court with the town of Warren, "if Warren will send with us." Warren sent its own delegate this year in the person of Moses Copeland, and apparently rejected the moneysaving suggestion of the thrifty "Dutch," for at their July meeting the latter "voted not to send a representative." On September 6th it was voted to send Jacob Ludwig as a delegate to a convention in Concord convening the first Wednesday in October "to take into consideration the prices of merchandise and Country produce." In order to kill two birds with one stone, Mr. Ludwig was also instructed to drop in on the General Court to offer a petition "concerning our heavy taxes to get them eased."<sup>27</sup> Due to the ravages of war in eastern Maine, the court had abated all taxes of the towns in that area; and Waldoborough was not averse to being treated in the same way. This is a meager record, indeed, for the most stirring year of the war in this area, but many of the "Dutch" seem to have been more interested in roads and bridges, and "in preventing rams running at large during unseasonable periods of the year."

For the people of Lincoln County 1779 was the most exciting year of the Revolution. In it the war came to their very doors and the county became the scene of considerable military and naval operations. It all came about in this way: The privateers operated by the patriots in Penobscot waters had for some time been harassing British shipping on the route to Halifax. Owing to their intimate knowledge of this coastal area, these attacks on the enemy commerce were made with ease, speed, and safety. Hence it was that the British in Halifax conceived the advantage of establishing a post on the Penobscot at some point which would command these harbors, the coast, and a wide region of territory, and incidentally could be used as a ready source of ship timber for the royal navy-yard at Halifax. Pursuant to this plan, a force of nine hundred men under General McLane embarked at Halifax and, convoyed by seven or eight naval vessels, landed at Castine without opposition, on June 12th. The work of clearing out trees and underbrush was started immediately for the erection of a fort and defensive works in the center of the peninsula. In a few days the fleet left the harbor, leaving three sloops of war assigned to the station, under the command of the detested Captain Mowett, the scourge of Falmouth.

<sup>27</sup>Records of the Town Clerk, Waldoborough.

A tremor of alarm ran through the District of Maine. General Cushing of Pownalborough addressed a letter to the General Court on June 24th advising an immediate expedition to dislodge the enemy before the work of becoming entrenched had been completed. Directions were forthwith given to the Board of War to charter or impress all armed vessels available in Massachusetts ports and to equip them for sailing in six days. Six hundred men were detached from the militia in Cumberland and Lincoln counties, three hundred men were detached from the York militia, and between three and four hundred more soldiers and marines were commandeered from other sources, bringing the force to more than twelve hundred men under the command of General Solomon Lovell, with General Peleg Wadsworth second in command. The fleet consisted of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports. This flotilla of three hundred and forty-four guns was commanded by Richard Saltonstall of New Haven, a man of some naval experience but of a strongly willful temperament. The expedition had been assembled with so much speed that it put in its appearance on the Penobscot on July 25th.

Waldoborough may claim the distinction of being the main source of supply and distribution for this expedition. The *factotum* clearly was Squire Thomas; for we learn that on September 24, 1779, a Committee of the House reports that Colonel Waterman Thomas "has advanced large sums of money to procure provisions for the troops at the Eastward," and of his need of money "to procure provisions for the soldiers now doing duty at Cambden."<sup>28</sup> The scope of this supply problem furnishes us with a good index to the magnitude of the business done by the Squire at his commercial center at the foot of Thomas' Hill. From June 26th to July 26th, 1779, Squire Thomas had furnished supplies totalling £16,547. This total can be broken down into the following items: Captain Charles Samson transporting supplies by water, £50; Isaac Farnsworth driving beef overland on the hoof, £33; Squire Thomas furnishing 3537½ pounds of bread, 10,361½ pounds of beef, 9 bushels of peas, 194½ pounds of coffee, 119 gallons of molasses, 33 gallons of rum, 31½ pounds of soap, 3½ pounds of candles, and 80 gallons of milk.<sup>29</sup> The Squire in his capacity of colonel also led a company of volunteers to the scene and has furnished us with a full on-the-spot account of the naval disaster.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, as this enterprise soon led to sustained defensive operations, Colonel Thomas became the "Quartermaster and Commissary for the whole Eastern Department," and so much of this supply work was effected through his loans and

<sup>28</sup>*Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XVII, 193.*

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 345.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 307.



credit, that on May 5, 1780, the Province was owing Colonel Thomas the very considerable sum of £32,459.<sup>31</sup>

General McLane had knowledge of this expedition four days before its arrival. In consequence he bent every effort toward making his position defensible, but even then much vital work remained unfinished, and he was poorly prepared to receive his enemy. Accordingly, as soon as the flotilla made its appearance, he dispatched a messenger to Halifax asking for reinforcements. In this expedition facing the British at Castine, one of the Lincoln County regiments was commanded by Colonel Samuel McCobb and was recruited in the area between Waldoborough and the Penobscot. One company in this regiment was commanded by Captain Philip Ulmer, and it included among others the following men from Waldoborough: Jacob Achorn, John Achorn, Michael Achorn, John Benner, Jacob Genthner, Martin Hoch, George Hoffses, John Hunt, Charles Kaler, Paul Mink, Valentine Mink, Christopher Newbert, Henry Oberloch, Peter Orff, Isaac Sargas, Joseph Simmons, John Ulmer, Jr., Christopher Walch, John Welt, John Werner, and Peter Winchenbach.<sup>32</sup> These men were enrolled for a campaign of two months and had all seen considerable service in the militia. Some of them were boys in their teens, but they knew guns, were excellent marksmen and unsurpassed soldiers in the bush fighting which the terrain rendered necessary.

For two days after the arrival of the force, nothing was attempted owing to the surf occasioned by a brisk wind from the south. The morning of the third day was calm and foggy, and in consequence the American fleet was able to draw up in a line just beyond the musket range of the enemy, while two hundred of the militia and two hundred of the marines from the ships made their landing in small boats. The enemy had deployed its naval force in the harbor in such a manner as to bring the entrance under the control of its fire. Hence no landing could be effected save on the western side which was a cliff two hundred feet high, steep and difficult to scale. At the top was posted an enemy force which opened a brisk fire on the Americans as they landed. At the landing place the summit was found inaccessible, and in consequence the force was divided into three parties, one deploying to the right and another to the left in search of places suitable for ascending, while the center maintained a brisk fire to distract the attention of the enemy.<sup>33</sup>

In local histories, wherever there are situations involving distinction and glory, it is customary to have the local boys first on the scene. Apart from such justifiable though perhaps mistaken

<sup>31</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XVIII, 257.

<sup>32</sup>Mass. Archives, Muster Roll, Secretary's Office, Boston, Mass.

<sup>33</sup>Account based on William D. Williamson's *History of Maine* (1839), II, 468-478.

pride, there is excellent evidence for placing the Waldoborough men in the van of the attack. Cyrus Eaton, who was able in his lifetime to talk with some of those engaging in this assault, records that "Capt. Ulmer's company was among the first to ascend, in the face of an opposing body of troops, the bank where they landed," which was so steep that it could only be surmounted in broken ranks by the men clinging as they could to the bushes, and forming their lines anew as they reached the top and were joined by the rest of the men. During this ascent the bullets were said by some of those engaged to be pattering around them like raindrops. Ulmer instructed his men to fire twice during the ascent, then to reload and make the top.<sup>34</sup>

This maneuver having been successfully effected, the enemy was speedily driven into the fort, leaving thirty men killed, wounded, and prisoners. Considering the obstacles faced, this assault was one of the most distinguished feats in American military history, calling for rare skill, determination, and individual heroism. From the standpoint of sheer "guts," it outranks the better known feat of Wolfe's men scaling the cliffs at Quebec, which were no higher, where the men followed a well-beaten path which they were not forced to climb under heavy rifle fire. Certainly no one in the world other than backwoodsmen could have accomplished such a miracle. It leads Williamson to observe that "there was not a more brilliant exploit of itself during the war than this."

This conflict had been sharp but short, lasting only twenty minutes, during which time a force of four hundred men had scaled the most difficult part of the enemy's defense, forced an army twice as numerous to retreat to its defensive works, and thrown up breastworks within seven hundred yards of his main positions. Had the men storming the heights been reinforced immediately by the balance of the American forces, the British positions along with their whole base could in all probability have been taken and this campaign ended the day it started,<sup>35</sup> but military etiquette intervened as well as the failure of the military and naval commanders to agree. While they differed, argued, and delayed relative to their next step, a greatly superior British fleet put in its appearance from Halifax carrying two hundred guns and fifteen hundred men, and the campaign was over. The American flotilla with its supplies and equipment was penned up and destroyed; and the troops were compelled to retreat up the Penobscot, to cross the river as best they could in small boats and make their way overland through the wilderness to their homes. It may

<sup>34</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *History of Thomaston, Rockland, etc.* (Hallowell, 1865).

<sup>35</sup>Williamson states: "It was afterwards fully ascertained that Gen. McLane was prepared to capitulate, if a surrender had been demanded."

with entire confidence be said that the high and stubborn regard of Saltonstall for his own opinions was the major cause of this catastrophe. He was later tried by a Court of Inquiry, found incompetent, and thereafter forever disqualified from holding a commission in the service of the state.

There is further good reason for believing that Waldoborough men had spearheaded one of the most heroic episodes of the American Revolution. Christopher Newbert, a boy in his teens, lost an arm in this action, and the certificate on file in his pension papers in Washington, dated at Waldoborough, July 24, 1780, and signed by Major Philip M. Ulmer, certifies that the said Newbert was a soldier in his company and that he lost his arm in battle at "Majabagaduce" on *July 28, 1779*, the very day the initial assault was made. This evidence bears out the position taken by Eaton, and as the action recounted was the only one taking place on July 28th, it clinches the evidence for the part played by Waldoborough men in this campaign.

In this battle of Castine, the Americans lost one quarter of the four hundred men staging the initial assault. Christopher Newbert was one of these casualties, his right arm having been shattered by a cannon ball deflected from its trajectory by a tree. His father, John Newbert, paid £13 in bills of the new money for surgical bills and other expenses. Later Christopher lost his right eye and had his right leg so badly fractured that it barely escaped amputation. Despite these infirmities "it is almost incredible with what skill he could drive his own ox-team, load stones and do other work with his left arm."<sup>36</sup> By a resolve of the Court dated February 20, 1781, Newbert was allowed half pay from August 28, 1779, the date of his discharge. Later he was pensioned by the Federal Government. When he died in September 1826, he had received \$2790.27 in pension money. In later years he moved from Waldoborough to Liberty, where he lies buried on the shore of Sennebec Pond.

The outcome of the Castine campaign was complete disaster. Massachusetts had financed the expedition at a cost of £50,000 added to her debt. Prodigious wreckage of property, loss of face, and universal chagrin were its fruits. In Maine the consequences were even more fateful. The currency was now forty to one. The price in Falmouth in June of a bushel of corn was \$35.00; of wheat meal, \$75.00; of molasses, \$16.00 per gallon. In August \$19.00 bought a pound of tea.<sup>37</sup> Debts were heavy, coastal trade was blocked by the enemy, an embargo on the shipping of many essential articles was in effect, business was paralyzed, food was

<sup>36</sup>Sibley, *History of the Town of Union*, p. 334.

<sup>37</sup>*Extracts from the Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1720-1778* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd & Co., 1821), pp. 111-112.



scarce due to severe droughts, the enemy was established close at hand, Tories were moving in from other parts of New England to enjoy the protection of the British forces, and in conjunction with the local Tories were starting small-scale raids for vengeance and plunder against the patriots in the county, a condition which continued unabated until the end of the war. Against these depredations the local militia remained mustered, and furnished such protection as it was able. Captain Starrett's company, containing sixteen Waldoborough men, was stationed to the eastward at Glen Cove, while Captain Jacob Ludwig's company was detailed to duty at Waldoborough from September 21st to November 1st. On this duty were the following Waldoborough men: Lieutenant Jacob Winchenbach, Sergeant Gottfried Bornheimer, and privates George Hoffses, Charles Oberloch, Christopher Walch, Conrad Heyer, Henry Miller, Charles Kaler, Peter Walch, Philip Mink, Matthias Heavener, Martin Heisler, Christian Hoffses, John Werner, Solim Mink, Henry Walch, Christian Schmidt, Jonathan Stover (or Storer), Joseph Ludwig, and Paul Mink.<sup>38</sup>

This year of distress in Lincoln County ended with unusual severity. A heavy fall of snow, two feet deep or more, fell at Christmas; there was another at New Year with still deeper snow. The wind was strong to the northwest and in consequence everything disappeared; "fences did not emerge for the balance of the winter." Travelling could be carried on only on snowshoes. There were no thermometers to register the temperature of these times, but the intensity of the cold may be inferred from the fact that for forty-eight days the sun did not have the force to soften the snow even on roofs. The whole coast was frozen for miles out to sea. Lieutenant Benjamin Burton, stationed at Camden with a body of militia under Captain George Ulmer, went under a flag of truce to obtain the release of a prisoner at Castine. On this errand he proceeded directly across Penobscot Bay to Castine and returned on the ice.

The new state constitution, long under discussion and draft, was completed in January of this year (1780). It was then printed and distributed among all the towns and plantations for their ratification by a required majority of two thirds of the voters present in each town. This approval was obtained and the constitution went into effect on the last Wednesday of October and remained unaltered until after the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. Under this new dispensation, the first Governor of the District of Maine was John Hancock. As usual in all questions involving any change in the status quo, Waldoborough was dilatory and anti. On this question it had repeatedly voted against

<sup>38</sup>Gould, *British and Tory Marauders on the Penobscot*.

adoption and at its meeting of September 18th of this year it voted "to drop the matter of electing a Governor, persons for Counsellors and Senators."

The town from its very beginnings as a corporate entity was slow, indifferent, and conservative in action. Not until a year after the General Court had decreed that towns would have to pay their own soldiers did Waldoborough act. At its March meeting of 1780 it ambiguously voted "that all soldiers that shall be cawled for this present year shall be raised by way of a town warrant." This can only mean that the town would provide its quota and appropriate money for the soldiers' equipment and pay. Then again at its meeting of May 22nd it tardily voted "to raise £2100 to pay the soldiers that listed last spring for eight months," just one year behind in the matter of action. Unqualified admiration is at least due from posterity to those men of the town who served the cause eight months without pay. Or did these soldiers receive pay in kind? If so, such compensation was even more dilatory, for in the meeting of September 18th it was voted "that the corne that has been paid by the towne to the soldiers last spring be valued at \$40.00 per bushel." The Legislature continued its policy of levying commodity instead of money taxes, and this year Waldoborough seems to have met this demand with reasonable promptness, for on October 28th it voted to raise the money "to purchase for the army 3360 lbs of beef agreeable to a resolve of the State of September 25, Esqr. Thomas to furnish three quarters of the quota and Mr. George Demuth the other quarter at 30 cents per pound, the assessors to assess the inhabitants £3040 for to pay for the sd. beef."<sup>39</sup>

Beyond these facts the town records give little insight into the happenings of the year 1780. It was, however, an active and exciting year for the people in the local area. Throughout the winter both the British and the Tories had continued their harrying tactics, and many an individual had been plundered, threatened, and abused by them. General McLane was himself a man of noble spirit, but not his subordinates who when abroad were beyond his control. The Tories especially, many of them deprived of their property and foot-loose, relying on the nearness of the British forces for a refuge if needed, became constant prowlers and raiders both by land and water. They knew every detail of the coast, and, from the inside waters, raided the coasters which were compelled to lay in close to shore to escape the British cruisers farther out. These operations were carried on in large open boats known as "shaving mills," driven by both oars and sails, which enabled them to take up positions that took fullest

<sup>39</sup>Records of the Town Clerk, Waldoborough.

advantage of the prevailing winds. Their superior mobility often placed the coasters at their mercy, and they were able to seize and loot or to drive them deep into the inlets where they would be abandoned by their crews. This kind of warfare was not a matter of the "destruction that wasteth at noonday," but rather of the "terror that flieth by night." There were mysterious doings and fleeting shadows; this was an eerie time. On a moonlight night in 1780 a rowboat landed in the Farnsworth Cove, and eight or ten men stepped ashore. Lugging among them a heavy chest, they crossed the Farnsworth meadows, disappeared in the woods and were never seen again.<sup>40</sup> Such activity was in no sense the exception. People everywhere in Waldoborough hid their valuables in the woods and swamps, and those having gold or silver articles, a few spoons or suchlike, buried them.

Tories from other colonies were also active in these raids. Certain Maine towns had long been a haven for them. As early in the war as the British occupation of New York, a plan had been drawn to cut Maine off from Massachusetts and use it as a refuge for loyalists, with Falmouth as capital and William Pepperell, a grandson of the baronet, as governor. With the arrest and expulsion of some of the leading Maine Tories, this scheme collapsed, but it remained true that loyalists were treated more indulgently here than they were farther to the westward, which in these days accounted for the presence of strange faces in this section of the county.

One of the most notorious of such guests was Captain John Long who moved about freely and in whose wake mischief invariably followed. This year he was cornered in Warren and despite his threats of death and the flourishes of his big knife, he was unable at the end to disengage himself from the bearlike embrace of John Spear. He was disarmed, pinioned, and brought to Waldoborough on horseback, here to be received by a relay of guards who were to escort him to the county jail. Just what happened while he was in the custody of the Waldoborough men remains a mystery, but Captain John made his escape and continued his mischief into 1781 when he was finally lodged in the Boston jail. This incident is cited here not as exceptional but as a rather typical common occurrence.

To meet the distresses of the "Eastern people" General Peleg Wadsworth was appointed in 1780 to command the whole Eastern Department between Piscataqua and St. Croix. This year the ice went out of the rivers around April 16th, and shortly thereafter the General set up his headquarters in Thomaston. He was given a command of eight hundred men and was empowered

<sup>40</sup>Oral tradition: Alfred Storer from his great-grandmother, Nancy Farnsworth.



to raise a company of volunteers in Lincoln County and to apply martial law in a district ten miles in width along the coast east of the Kennebec. This is believed to be the only time that the civil law was ever suspended in Waldoborough since its incorporation. The General also issued a proclamation interdicting all intercourse with the enemy, British and Tory alike. This was a difficult edict to enforce since in the nature of the situation it forbade intercourse between friends and even between members of the same family. It was useful, however, since there was a good deal of illicit trade with the enemy, some of which was carried on by the thrifty "Dutch" and Puritans in *sub rosa* fashion at Waldoborough. In order to avoid detection, they had beaten a trail through the woods north of the town and across to the Penobscot. This trail ran through North Waldoborough north of the Medomak Pond, thence northeast behind the mountains, passing a considerable distance north of Union and then due east to the Penobscot. Along this route the "Dutch" drove their herds of beef on the hoof where it was received at the river by the British for the use of their force at Castine.

In this way some of the men of Waldoborough who were not *too* ardent in the cause of freedom were able to turn an honest penny in sound money. Such action aroused the ire of the patriots in Union, who plotted to break up this traffic by raiding the "Dutch" in transit. The latter, however, were always successful in outwitting their angry neighbors.<sup>41</sup> Waldoborough, in fact, was something of a thorn in the General's flesh from the beginning, for as early as April 1780 he reported to the Council in Boston as follows: "The enemy's garrison does not exceed 500 land forces, exclusive of about forty tories that have joined them this spring chiefly from this town [Thomaston] and Waldoboro." In a later report he lists "George Smouse, a traitor that made his escape from my guard and joined the enemy." His list also carries the names of Jacob Young, George Cline and son Joseph.<sup>42</sup>

General Wadsworth stationed his forces at strategic points along the coast. His object was to put an end to British incursions on the west side of the Penobscot and to control the activities of the Tories in the area west of the river. The eastern outpost of this defense system was composed of two hundred militiamen at Camden under the command of Captain George Ulmer of Waldoborough. Smaller contingents were posted at other points. This unquestionably served as a deterrent, but it could not keep the Tories from breaking through into uncovered spots. In the spring of this year Waldoborough was such a point and the scene of an outrage that led Wadsworth to adopt the sternest measures.

<sup>41</sup>Sibley, *History of the Town of Union*.

<sup>42</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XVIII, 304-305.

This outbreak occurred on the west side of the river. A small band of Tories, taking a young man, Stephen Pendleton by name, from one of the islands in Muscongus Bay as their pilot, proceeded up the Medomak under cover of darkness, landed on the shore and secreted themselves before dawn in Levi Soule's barn. Soule's homestead was the old Friedrich Kuentzel farm, Lot No. 16, located exactly one and one quarter miles below the first falls of the river. Soule was the son of Captain Nathan, originally of Duxbury. When Mr. Levi Soule came out at dawn to look after his stock, he was surprised, taken, bound, and returned to his wife's room in the house. While the band was searching the premises for valuables, Pendleton was left to guard the prisoner. In the meantime Soule took a knife lying on the table and dropping it on the bed instructed his wife to cut the bonds. Pendleton covered the prisoner with his rifle and threatened to shoot. Soule's reply was: "Cut!" Whereupon he was shot by the guard, the same bullet breaking one of Mrs. Soule's fingers.

The sound of the gun in the quiet of the early morning alarmed the neighbors, and the Tories were compelled to flee to the woods. A posse was raised and a grand manhunt started which continued for several days. The first day the pursuers were eluded, and thereafter the raiders travelled by night, subsisting on the bark of trees; and by following a circuitous route back to the mountains, they reached the Penobscot and took refuge at Castine. For many years thereafter the widow was wont to relate the story of this tragic event, showing her crooked finger as evidence of the veracity of her tale.<sup>43</sup> The sequel of this episode is found in a resolution of the House of Representatives under date of April 26, 1781: "Whereas Stephen Pendleton of Penobscot Sound, who last summer murdered Mr. Soule of Broad Bay . . . et alii, are now held as Prisoners, lately taken on board an armed sloop in the enemy's service . . . the Governor is requested to take measures that sd. Pendleton . . . be effectually secured for trial." John Hancock, in disapproving the resolve, stated laconically, and it may be added, incomprehensibly: "It would be necessary that I should be furnished with the evidence of his being the Murderer."<sup>44</sup>

At about this same time, Captain Charles Samson had a brush with the enemy. Another small party of Tory raiders proceeding up the bay landed on the east side, on the shore of the Samson farm, and made an attempt on the person of the Captain by way of repayment of an ancient grudge. Mr. Samson, however, was aroused before the Tories had forced an entrance and consequently

<sup>43</sup>Account based on Eaton's *Annals of Warren*, and Samuel L. Miller, *History of Waldoboro*.

<sup>44</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., XIX, 222-223.

was able to defend his castle until the racket of gunfire raised an alarm which caused the attackers to flee.

Aroused by these outrages, General Wadsworth issued a proclamation prescribing the penalty of death to anyone aiding or secreting the enemy. The first victim of this edict was Jeremiah Braun, a dim-wit from the Damariscotta area, who was apprehended guiding a pillaging band through the back-country. He was tried by court-martial on August 23rd at Thomaston, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. It was quite generally felt that Braun was too simple to comprehend the meaning of his action; and there were a goodly number of people, largely women to be sure, who interceded for his pardon; but Wadsworth was inflexible and the following day gallows were erected on Limestone Hill, "and the miserable man conducted to them in a cart, fainting at the sight and rendered insensible from fear." In this connection Williamson observes that "this act of severity though painful in the last degree to the General, proved a salutary preventive of similar transgressions — in verification of the maxim — 'retributive justice to foes is safety to friends.'"<sup>45</sup>

Another troublesome Tory was Nathaniel Palmer, the pirate of Broad Cove. In the Waldoborough area he was generally believed to be the leader of a small gang of pirates operating among the islands of Muscongus Bay and preying on coasting vessels bound to and from Waldoborough and points farther east. This was such a nuisance to the local folk deprived in this manner of their property and their freight, that the evidence was accumulated which led to his arrest and trial. The case against him must have been convincing, for he, too, was condemned by a court-martial. Palmer, however, cheated the gallows by escaping from his guard. Years later he returned to his old home, where he resided unmolested for the rest of his days, living the life of a pariah.

Such events were typical of the whole year in Waldoborough. The record of Lieutenant Burton's notebook indicates from the assignment of officials to court-martial duty that a good many Tories must have faced military justice even though the names of no others have been preserved. In December the troops which had been called out in the spring went into winter quarters in their own homes; and General Wadsworth was left at his headquarters in Thomaston, with a small guard made up of militiamen detailed to this service from the surrounding towns.

The British at Castine, through their intelligence service, were thoroughly informed of Wadsworth's defenseless status. Accordingly, on the night of February 18, 1781, he was taken prisoner by a group of raiders and removed to Castine. Philip

<sup>45</sup>Williamson, *History of Maine*, II, 482.



Sechrist of Waldoborough was one of the bodyguards and in their struggle with the British, several of the enemy were killed or wounded, and one of the guards, Hickey by name, was badly wounded in the thigh. As soon as his condition would permit, he was, by the strange irony of fate, taken to Waldoborough and placed under the care of Doctor Schaeffer.<sup>46</sup>

The depredations committed by the British, the Tories, and their outlaw associates, and the acts of retaliation and revenge which they occasioned, reached their climax in 1781. Acute economic distress was general in all the towns and plantations. In addition to the local taxes, the General Court continued to call on the several towns for their quotas of soldiers and for particular articles such as blankets, shirts, shoes, stockings, and beef. The muster-masters and collectors ranged the county to see that these levies were forthcoming. Such taxes and paying the wages of her soldiers in the service was not entirely pleasing to Waldoborough folk. The Germans had little money and even when they had more they were slow to part with it. In keeping with this attitude, the town voted on February 8, 1781, "to postpone the matter concerning raising men for the continental service till the town has petitioned to the Honorable Court and received an answer." This petition in all probability urged the Governor to review with General Washington the critical and distressing condition of these eastern towns and to suggest to him that the five hundred men to be raised this year in Maine be retained for local service (which Governor Hancock actually did.) Happy as Washington said he would be to grant such a request if practicable, he could not dispense with the eastern recruits and said they should not delay to join General Lincoln at Newport, since an attack by the enemy in New York was daily expected. This year Waldoborough seems not only to have balked at this request, but also along the entire line, for on September 3rd it was "voted unanimously not to pay any more taxes until further orders." Such recalcitrancy may have arisen from the fact that the Court had previously abated all taxes in some of the plantations a little farther east and in the more immediate theater of the war, and that Waldoborough was under the firm conviction that a similar concession was its due.

The good local people did not stop at this point. They went further and on December 24th "voted that the town is not able to pay the beef tax." Possibly so much local beef had already gone on the hoof to the British at Castine, that the supply may have been a little low, or possibly Tory votes were instrumental in reaching such a decision. In the case of the tax there is ground for believing that a number of local patriots advanced the beef

<sup>46</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 198.

poundage on their own responsibility and that after the war the town reconsidered its action on the question of payment, for on January 8, 1783, it was "voted to raise money to Sq. Thomas beef charges," and again in 1786 a committee was appointed "to Rectify any Mistakes about a tax cald the Beif tax." This committee reported that "there ought to be abate in what is cald the Areage tax to the persons hereafter mentioned" — apparently an abatement in real-estate taxes to those who had supplied the beef. This roll of honor includes the names of John Weaver, Matthias Remilly, John Ulmer, Martin Razor, George Demuth, Francis Isley, Ludwig Kastner, John Newbert, Lorain Sides, Christopher Newbert, Matthias Storer, Andrew Storer, and John Vogler. In reply to Washington's insistence that he must have men, the town as its last reluctant act of the year tardily voted on December 24th "to choose a committee to get men for the continental service for three years or during the war."<sup>47</sup>

Judge Williamson states that "never, in the savage wars, had this eastern country been infested with any worse than her present enemies. They were vile mercenaries, renegades, and revengeful tories and freebooters, whose business it was to deal in blood, treachery, and plunder."<sup>48</sup> In the face of such calamities it cannot be said that Massachusetts was indifferent to this Eastern District. The Court this year passed measures to inflict on prisoners the same ill-treatment which the eastern people were receiving; to adopt more efficient measures for defense; to furnish bounties ranging from £50 to £120; to encourage privateering; to employ in such a capacity sloops, row-galleys, and whaleboats mounting cannon, and to have the French admiral at Newport send a frigate and cruisers to eastern waters. Samuel McCobb of Georgetown was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and placed in command of the forces in this area. Such measures mitigated but did not bring an end to the internecine strife.

A great hope, however, was born when the news reached this section that on October 27th Lord Cornwallis had been compelled to surrender the British Army at Yorktown. By proclamation the Congress set December 13th as a day when the people should repair to their churches in Thanksgiving and prayer. In Waldoborough the day was observed by the Tories with apprehension, by the neutrals with indifference, and by the patriots with jubilation; for it meant in all probability the end of major military operations; and thus the conclusion of danger and extraordinary sacrifice.

Although the major struggle was ended, the war continued to smoulder in these eastern parts. The only act bearing on the

<sup>47</sup>Records of the Town Clerk, Waldoborough, for the year 1781.

<sup>48</sup>Williamson, *History of Maine*, II, 496-497.

war in the town records of 1782 came in March when it was voted that "Capt. Samuel Gragge [Gregg] be put on the Committee of Correspondence." Captain Gregg had been the firebrand of the patriots on the Georges in the early days of the war and in its later years a constant privateersman. In 1781 he had moved to Waldoborough to be near his old kinsman and companion in the Indian wars, Colonel William Farnsworth. Thereafter the two were never separated and their earthly remains have been lying side by side for the past century and a half in the little private cemetery on the old Farnsworth estate.<sup>49</sup>

On the 30th of November, the commissioners representing the belligerents agreed on the provisional articles whereunder Great Britain acknowledged the complete independence of the thirteen colonies. The definitive treaty was signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. This was followed by an entire cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of the British from the colonies, and the disbanding of the American Army on October 18, 1783. It was not, however, until December that the garrison at Castine was broken up and the post abandoned. Thus it may be said that the war was waged in Lincoln County longer than in any other part of the country. The year 1783, however, had been an entirely quiet one. There was even some fraternization of the British soldiery in some of the Penobscot towns, which led to a number of desertions from the enemy force on the part of men who ultimately settled in these parts.

It has been repeatedly emphasized in this chapter that the rift in Waldoborough between patriot and Tory was never characterized by outrage, but merely by strain, suspicion, and a silent social pressure. In a comparatively short time this rift healed as inevitably as a wound in healthy tissue, leaving an united citizenry facing the problems of peace. Just what were these problems and what had been the effect of eight years of war on the town?

The economic derangement effected by the war is offered here in the words of those who lived through it and experienced its effects. We are fortunate in having such a contemporary evaluation which enables us to see the problems faced through the eyes of those who faced them. This document is a petition seeking relief from taxation; and if we are to make due allowance for overstatement, the residuum leaves with us a faithful picture of conditions existing in the town in the spring of 1783. The words of the petition follow:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled.

The Petition of the town of Waldoborough in the County of Lincoln Humbly Sheweth, that by Reason of the Late War, this town has

<sup>49</sup>Summer residence of Mr. Glenn Mayo, of San Antonio, Texas.



been Reduced to Great Distress, and though now by the Blessing of Providence Peace be Restored unto us: yet we shall sorely feele the Effects of the War. By our Enemies taking Post at Penobscut and Continually infesting this Coast with their Privateers and small Boatts, our Lumber and fishing Trade in which alone we had any Concern Has been almost totally Suppressed, almost Every Vesel we owned in the Beginning of the War, fell into their hands: and tho from time to time Vesels have been purchased, Money borrowed for this purpose, whereby a debt has been Contracted, as the Inhabitants Could not possibly subsist without Some to convey their lumber to Market, yet of this we have been stript of our Lumber and fish on Boord, or the Returns of it in Provision for the Support of our families, so that by a Late Computation our Losses by water amounts to £3160, Besides the Arms, Ammunition Provisions and Apparels that have been taken by Plundering Refugees. The Season for a Number of years Past have been Verry unfavourable, and the Drought so severe that the Peoples Attention has been more than Ever to Cultivate their farms; yet they have not been able to Raise above half enough of Bread for their Consumption, and the risque of Importation being so Great and many Dispos'd to take advantage of the necessities of others, there by the Price of the Necessities of Life has been raised so high that People were in the Greatest Difficultys and obliged to part with every Commodity they had to Dispose at the Buyers Price, so that Corn has been sold for four Dollars and more, and other articles in Proportion. Our hay has also been Cut off with the Drought for several years, so that our Stoks has greatly Diminished by what they were at the Beginning of the War, and at Present there is such a Scarcity of Bread that hardly all the Lumber we have on hand can procure us bread for the Season, a Cord of Wood not fetching above half a Bushel of Corn Besides the Debt contracted by Individuals thro the occasions by the War, the most part of the State Taxes for some years have not been Discharged and the town is utterly unable to Discharg the same, and if your Honours should now exact from us these taxes it would utterly Ruin the town, and Give such a Crush to the town, as it Could not for many years Recover of, and Put it out of its Power for the future to pay Such a Proportion of taxes for Defraying the Expences of Government as otherwise it might. We would therefore beg your Honours would take our Distressing Situation under your serious Consideration and Discharge us of these taxes that were Due before Peace was made, and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever Pray

Philip M. Ulmer  
Joshua Howard  
Jacob Ludwig

Selectmen of Waldoborough

Waldoborough, May: 13: 1783.<sup>50</sup>

Of understatement on the question of taxes the people of Waldoborough were never guilty. When due allowance is made for this fact, we are still left to infer a highly distressing condition and a standard of living that must have reminded the older inhabitants of earlier days, and perhaps worst of all a burden of debt that was bound to cripple the economy and reduce the level of well-being for years to come.

<sup>50</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XX, 227.

The social repercussions of the war brought changes no less deep, but perhaps more happy and more enduring. In earlier chapters, there has been set forth an analysis of those forces remoulding the feudal German society on the Medomak into an English colonial town. First in order of time were the social patterns brought from Massachusetts by the Puritans during their period of infiltration of the late 1760's; second, the ingrafting of the democratic civil forms of the New England Town Meeting on the trunk of the old feudal tree; third, the impact of the American Revolution from 1775 to 1783, and its influence was very marked indeed. In season and out, through these years, the principles of freedom, of self-government, and the rights of man were dinned into German ears. They were the theme of daily discussion by every fireside; they were the source of endless and varied social pressures; they were everlastingly creating situations to which the Teuton was compelled to adjust himself, and this he could do only by discarding his former preconceptions in order to comprehend forces which were buffeting him about.

In order to find himself and to keep his footing amid prevailing chaos, he was compelled to think in terms of the entirely new and strange values set forth either by Tory or patriot. For the one, he was bound to suffer persecution and find his estates confiscate; for the other he wove, spun, knit, surrendered his cattle, paid burdensome taxes, and perhaps risked his blood. In the face of such sacrifices, he was forced to grope for the underlying meanings and to reach interpretations of them. Lastly, but in no sense least, this struggle snatched him from his own fireside and bore him far away into the new English world, to Machias, Castine, Boston, New York, Saratoga, Valley Forge, Philadelphia, and Yorktown. He drilled, camped, cooked, ate, and fought by the side of other and different Americans. He suffered with them, was nursed in their hospitals, learned to speak their language, to adopt their ways, and to accept their views of the meaning of this struggle. He finally triumphed with them and when he returned to his humble home he was different in consequence of what he had undergone. The war was his melting pot and from this crucible the second generation of Germans emerged as men very different from their fathers. A new social pattern was in vogue on the Medomak and the older mode of life and thought receded deeper into the past. Two forces alone were left which were to perpetuate the older culture in dimmer outline for another half century. These were the German language and the Lutheran faith.

## XXII

### ANNALS OF THE 1780's

*Even as are the generations of leaves, such are those likewise of men.*

HOMER, *Iliad*, Book VI

THE NINTH DECADE of the century saw early the victorious conclusion of the war for independence, the soldiers back in their own homes and the town adjusting itself to new forms of civic administration and changed economic conditions. The local area was truly impoverished, its people heavily in debt, specie withdrawn from circulation and the paper currency still falling in value. This condition affected the local folk more in their imagination than in field, barn, and household, for the citizenry was a sturdy one. It had survived more dire days in the past, and hardship was the order of things in the only life it knew. Economically the local folk was as nearly self-sufficient as man could ever hope to be in the temperate zones, and, to a greater degree than in neighboring towns, the war period with them had been one of expanding population, and likewise one of expansion in their farm economy and in the extension of their arable acreage. They had moved ahead by extending themselves into new lands and filling up the back-districts.

In the spiritual life of the town an attitude of extreme conservatism was manifest. This has remained characteristic of the community throughout its entire history, and is an attitude that originally had its inception in extreme poverty. In this decade such money as people had was worthless and in consequence they were slow and niggardly in their provisions for education and religious life. Their main element of strength lay in the fact that at the end of the war the town had a united citizenry. The cleavage of war days between Tory and patriot had not led to outrage by neighbor against neighbor nor of citizen against citizen. Outrages, to be sure, had been committed, but not by those within the gates of the city, and in 1783 the town did not oppose by vote at least the return of its Tory refugees, as was the policy in neighboring communities. An idea of the basic progress of the



town through the war years may be derived from the county tax of 1781. This levy was £20,000 and the proportionate part paid by the town and its neighbors was as follows: Warren, £538 13s.; St. George, £472; Friendship, £366 3s.; Thomaston, £538 13s.; Waldoborough, £1016 15s. From these figures it may be seen that the value of assessable property in the town was far out of line with that of its neighbors.

In the annals of these war years came the first murder in the community. This gave rise to a good deal of local excitement and some division of feeling, which leads to the suspicion that it was not a murder in cold blood. Jacob Lash, the murdered man, lived on the west side of the Medomak on the river road above the upper falls. An inmate of his household was Andrew Kinkalius, a cordwainer. On the evening of October 14, 1776, the two men became involved in a disagreement which ended in a fight, during which wounds were inflicted with a knife on Lash which resulted in his death. The culprit was tried in the June term of court at Pownalborough, found guilty, and sentenced to be burned in the left hand, to forfeit all his goods and chattels and to suffer six months imprisonment, a sentence so light as to lead to the belief that certain mitigating circumstances must have entered into the judgment of the court.<sup>1</sup>

From the earliest days the wild game, which existed in the greatest abundance, had been one of the major staffs of life. Now with the outward push of the settlers, and with new cabins and clearings in the back-districts, game became scarcer, and hunting for food led the men farther and farther into the "up-country" sections. Deer still frequented the woodlands adjacent to the clearings, and there were still moose in the bogs to the east and west of the Robinson Ridge, in the swamps along the Union Road and in those north of Medomak Pond, but to find these animals in large numbers the hunters went as far north as Washington, into the bogs of the upper Medomak and to the region of Sennebec Pond in the present towns of Appleton and Hope. The best time to hunt was March, but moose were killed in all seasons of the year. Their yards in the winter season often extended over forty or fifty acres, and they were hunted by men in sizable groups, with sleds taken along on the hunt in order that the large quantities of meat might be brought home for food purposes.

The bears were more slow in retreating from their old haunts and remained numerous and troublesome for years. Cornfields, sheep-pens and hog-sties were never safe from their incursions. It was a well-constructed fold or pen indeed that could keep them away from a favorite morsel. Consequently they were hunted and

<sup>1</sup>Charles H. Allen, *History of the Town of Dresden*, p. 251.

slaughtered without mercy. The skins were used for caps, robes, mittens, rugs, moccasins, and greatcoats. The meat, too, was eaten despite its fat which was repulsively excessive. If the sparerib was cut through in the manner of pork, it was necessary to slice off three quarters of its thickness in pure fat before an edible portion could be secured. Bears were also taken in steel and log traps, for every means was used to exterminate them. Whenever one was sighted in the cleared areas the cry went out: "A bear, a bear!" and the hunt was on. Their numbers may be inferred from the fact that in 1784, during the season of chokecherries and blackberries, while Matthew Kelloch of Warren was passing "from Westons Landing to Mr. Andersons," he shot fourteen bears, young and old, without going out of his way.<sup>2</sup>

The beaver, sable, otter, and other fur bearers were by this time scarce in the more settled districts, but foxes were very numerous. After a light snow in some sections the fields appeared as though they had been raced over by sheep. The hunting of them was a matter of business as well as sport, since their pelts were worth a dollar each at a time when dollars were scarce. Raccoons, too, were mischievous and plentiful. When the road was cut through from Union to the Medomak meadows in the northern part of the town, forty were taken or killed by the workmen in a few days. In the town of Union one hunter caught forty-one in one season, nine of which were taken in a single hollow log.<sup>3</sup> Muskrats were equally numerous, along the brooks; when drowned out of their dens by high water, a man could pass along and bring back all that he could carry on his back. Minks, sable, and beaver, hunted for their pelts, were now to be found mainly in the inland areas.

Even though the beaver had gone he had left the fruits of his labor behind for the settler. His whilom industry had been a godsend to the first pioneers, giving them lands already cleared for crops, for in constructing his dams he had flooded considerable areas, converting them into ponds. From these he removed the trees for food and building purposes, and with no undergrowth the time came when his abandoned dams decayed, and the land thus drained left luxuriant meadow spots. There was one dam on the county road leading to Warren which was once as high as a man's head and was used as a bridge in early days.

Game birds provided a seemingly inexhaustible food supply. Ducks in season were everywhere, and the wild pigeon numerous beyond belief. They came in countless millions and travelled in flocks so large that the two ends would not be visible in the sky

<sup>2</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 223.

<sup>3</sup>John L. Sibley, *History of Union*, pp. 408-409.



at the same time. They were an excellent food and extremely easy to capture, a man with a net sometimes taking sixty dozen in a single day. They were commonly salted down for winter use, but a few of the wealthier citizens such as General Knox used to fatten them and keep them alive until the early winter.

The wildcat, bobcat, lynx, and panther were present, but were among the more infrequent partakers of the farmers' hospitality. The wolf, however, was a frequent and pestiferous visitor. He was a great traveller. In this region he made his headquarters in the deep sylvan recesses along the coast between the Medomak and St. Georges River. Here he mated and reared his young in the low ledges and dens of this area; and from this point issued forth in packs each night on the long hunt which took them many, many miles abroad, with a raid at one farm one night, and at another miles removed the next night. Possessed as they were of canine sagacity, it was never possible to predict where an assault would be made on sheep, poultry, colts, calves, and swine.

To protect their stock farmers surrounded their yards with fences of long poles set perpendicularly and contiguously and pinned them together on transverse poles. Sometimes a group of settlers would erect in common a large enclosure of this kind for the protection of their stock. Such a neighborhood structure was located in very early days on the site of my present home.<sup>4</sup> In view of the destructiveness of such "vermin," warfare against them was perpetual and pitiless. Large neighborhood parties would from time to time scour the forests on errands of death, and a large bounty was offered for wolf scalps.

The Puritan infiltration which had started in the late 1760's received renewed impetus at the end of the war. It now became a part of the settled policy of the government. In 1784 a Land Office was set up in Boston, new townships were surveyed in Maine, and land offered so cheaply that a considerable stream of immigration was set up. These offers proved especially attractive to those returning from the war, who, possessing little more than a few depreciated bills and sturdy qualities of character, moved into the eastern country and started a new life. Waldoborough received its portion of this new tide. Two of these new families, the Browns and the Heads, assumed an early and conspicuous prominence.

Doctor Benjamin Brown was a leader in the town from the time of his advent until his death. He was born in Swansea, Massachusetts, in 1756, a descendant of Chad Brown and Roger Williams. After completion of his medical training he entered the service of his country in 1778, and was assigned as surgeon to the

<sup>4</sup>Lincoln County Register of Deeds (Wiscasset), XXV, 26.



frigate *Boston*, under the command of Commodore Samuel Tucker at the time she conveyed the Honorable John Adams as American envoy to France. The three men became warm friends on the long voyage, and it is probable that when the Commodore settled in these parts the interest of Doctor Brown followed him. On March 10, 1788, Andrew Waltz sold the west end of his Dutch Neck Lot, No. 33, along the present Bremen Road, to Doctor Brown, who built himself the house which is still standing there, and which for many years subsequently was the home of Edgar Schwartz. Doctor Brown later sold this house, acquired property in Waldoborough Village and built the so-called Governor Marble House on Friendship Road, where he resided until his death in 1831. He gradually acquired land on this site until his farm extended from the north bound of the Ralph Hoffses farm to the southern line of Richard Castner.

Brown was at one time a man of considerable means, which was heavily invested in shipping. This resource, however, was largely destroyed by the French preying on commerce during the Napoleonic Wars, and Doctor Brown was compelled to continue the practice of medicine for a livelihood. He rode the circuit of his practice on horseback carrying his equipment in his saddlebags. Like so many of the Waldoborough men of this time he was an individual of exceptional capacities, who commanded universal respect and confidence and whose activity and influence reached into every phase of community life. He represented the town in the General Court and in the Maine Legislature, and from 1815 to 1817 represented this district in the United States Congress. "The happiest day of his life" was when John Adams, having completed his term as President, came to Waldoborough for a reunion with his old friends, Brown and Tucker, and was entertained at the doctor's home on Friendship Street.

The Heads, John and Joshua, were of an English family of decidedly mercantile traditions. Their father, Joseph, was educated in England, and returned to America after the Revolution to find his father's business ruined. Set up in business by his father's friends, he made good, paid off the family debt, educated his brothers and sisters, married, and had a family of five sons and two daughters. Two of his sons, John, who married Sarah Ross, and Joshua, came to Maine. The brothers started trade at Broad Cove, but soon removed to Waldoborough, opened a store on the site of the old Town House, and remained in trade until after the disastrous war of 1812. This store held the first post office and John Head was the town's first postmaster. He died in 1844 at the age of seventy-nine.

The Honorable Joshua Head, born at Boston, July 18, 1767, prospered greatly in all his undertakings, and in consequence was

able shortly to return to Boston and marry Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain Phoenix Fraser. He then returned to Waldoborough and became a permanent resident. He was an active and competent personality, who engaged in many lucrative activities, including farming and real estate. In his lifetime he was actively connected with every phase of life in the expanding community and achieved both wealth and recognized leadership. He was town treasurer for many years, a customs official, selectman, representative to the General Court and a candidate for Congress on the Federalist ticket. He built the impressive mansion still standing on the northwest side of Kaler's Corner. His wife bore him twelve children, four of whom died in infancy. In 1827 death deprived him of her, and ten years later of his youngest daughter, who had become his housekeeper. He then removed to the home of a married daughter in Warren, where he died, August 3, 1841. Cyrus Eaton, who was an old friend, describes Head "as a pleasant, Christian man, and a true gentleman of the olden school." The family name was still a familiar one in Waldoboro in my boyhood, but now there are only descendants under other family names.

In this decade shipbuilding in the town was getting under way, and seafaring activities were assuming a larger role in the town's economy. There was also lumber, fishing, the beginning of small family industries, and agriculture. The latter was pursued in either a large or small way by nearly everyone, but it was still rudimentary in character. The tools in use were still primitive. Carts were scarce. The stoneboat with varied accessories was the main vehicle for hauling on the farms. Plows were just coming in at this time and only a few farmers of means possessed them. Travel throughout the town was by boat and on horseback, the wife riding to social functions and church behind her husband on the pillion. Money was both too scarce and too worthless to allow for the introduction of tools and accessories that would relieve life of some of its drudgery.

The records of the Town Meeting provide the completest account that we possess of the economic and cultural advance of these years. The story they tell is one of strict and consistent conservatism. The "Dutch" for a number of decades remained standoffish in their participation in community affairs. The view prevailing nowadays that the Town Meeting was a thoroughly democratic forum, where, if ever, the voice of the people was heard and felt, should be taken with some reservations. Boston, the cradle of American democracy, is a curious illustration of this fact. In 1764, with a population of sixteen thousand, its average Town Meeting attendance in this decade was five hundred and



fifty-five, or three and one half per cent of the population. In Waldoborough conditions were not so very different, for not more than a small fraction of the voters participated in these civic forums.

For example, at the annual meeting on April 4, 1785, only twenty-two votes were cast for John Hancock for governor, against no opposition. On January 7, 1787, when the question of separation from Massachusetts was voted on for the first time, there were five votes cast for separation and twenty-five against it. On April 3, 1787, at the regular annual meeting, fifty votes were cast for governor, and on April 6, two years later, only sixty-three votes were cast. The number attending Town Meetings was sometimes so small that it was customary when the weather was cold to adjourn to some near-by house which was heated and which easily accommodated the full attendance. For example, on December 14, 1780, the meeting was adjourned from the old meetinghouse at the Cove to Mr. Bernhard Uckley's house, which was on the site of the old Eugley Homestead still standing at Eugley's Corner. On February 13, 1783, the meeting was adjourned from "the easterly meetinghouse to Captain Andrew's house" on the present Lawrence Davis farm. On March 16, 1783, the meeting was adjourned from the Cove Meetinghouse "to Mr. Conrad Seider's house on account of the severe cold," and on March 25, 1783, to Captain David Vinal's house. From this it will be seen that meetings alternated from the church on the east side on the shore of Merle Castner's farm to the old church on the west side at the Cove. By so doing the inconvenience arising from inaccessibility was equally shared by the inhabitants on both banks of the river.

In a town with a land area as large as Waldoborough it was inevitable that roads should assume a role of major importance. The "Dutch" were prodigal in getting them authorized and laid out, but equally niggardly in the matter of maintenance. Each family wanted a road leading to or past its clearing or into its section of the town, and they wanted them all at once. They obtained their roads through exercise of the fullest reciprocity, each group getting what it wanted by helping other groups to get what they wanted, and seldom did they deny one another such support. We should, however, be on our guard against construing such roads as being roads in the later sense of the term, for years usually elapsed between authorization and completion.

The procedure of getting a road followed a rather common pattern. The town would first vote to lay out a road between two given points. The vote might then be followed by action within a reasonable time, or one or two years or frequently a longer



period of time might intervene. If there was immediate action it meant simply that the selectmen would examine the possibilities and lay out a road by marking trees. Here matters might rest for a year or so, or some clearing of trees or underbrush might follow. The next year the citizens might get around to work out their taxes on such a road before the road appropriation was exhausted, or they might not. In the latter case the road simply remained authorized and its improvement indefinitely deferred. For several years after a road was really opened up, it remained of little value save to travellers on foot or on horseback. On one side there might be a stump in the track, on the other a hole, and possibly between them a firmly embedded and jutting rock. There were low, wet places, too, and here logs were laid crosswise and sometimes earth was thrown in to fill the interstices.

The old foot and bridle paths along the river had for years now been crossing fields and were both inconvenient and a nuisance to the farmers. In consequence the need of roads was acutely felt, and the town dedicated itself to this task from the hour of its incorporation, even in the war years. The record of these early roads is rather complete, save for those in use before the incorporation of the town. The main exception is the road from the village to Foster Jamesons, which is the oldest settled section of the town. Here no road was ever laid out and the highway is the property of the landowners living along it, the town simply having a right of way from gutter to gutter.

The companion road on the west side came on March 15, 1774, when the town voted to establish a road from the Bristol (Bremen) line "to Peter Pracht's [Prock's] Prich." Prock's bridge was a private, handmade contraption crossing the river in the first shallows above the lower falls. At the same time a road was authorized on the west side from Georg Hiebners (Heavener farm on the tip end of Dutch Neck) "to the rote above the Meetinghouse" (joining the Bristol road west of Meetinghouse Cove). A committee was selected to lay out a similar road "betwixt Slacke [Slaigo] falls and Nathaniel Simmons" (Foster Jameson farm). So far as is known these were the first roads of the town, and they represent a rather even distribution of highways between the people on the two sides of the river. This division seems to have been somewhat unequalized during the two-year period of missing town records, in which the eastside road was extended from the Slaigo brook into South Waldoborough, for at the meeting of March 4, 1776, it was voted "to establish a highway from a place called Back Cove until it meets with the way laid out before," namely its junction with the South Waldoborough road. From the very beginning the town had its surveyors of highways,

electing in the year of its incorporation Frank Miller and Jacob Eichorn (Achorn) on the west side and Adam "Levencelner" and Abijah Waterman on the east side.

What has been said concerning the interval between authorizing a road and laying it out or completing it, is clearly illustrated by the warrant of November 1, 1779. This document contains the following article: "To see if the town will open a road from the westerly meetinghouse [Cove] to Georg Hiebner's shore." On March 16th it was voted "to run the road from western Meetinghouse to Mr. Georg Hiebner's shore," a period of six years having elapsed before this road became an actuality from the time of its first authorization in 1773. In the warrant of March 1, 1779, articles were inserted to see what the town would do about laying out a road "from the town road to Mr. Henry Benner's [probably the present Union Road]," and also a road "through Mr. Jacob Unbehands [Umberhine] to Damerscotty [probably old No. 1]." The town, however, having its hands full with taxes and war levies did nothing.

Money for the building, repair, and improvement of these early roads was not raised by taxation but by a levy on labor. By vote a certain sum would be stipulated for roads, the rate per day for men, oxen, plows and carts would be settled by vote of the town, and then all citizens labored equally on the roads until the appropriation stipulated had been worked up. For example, on April 4, 1780, it was voted that "every man shall work two days on the highways." On March 8, 1782, it was voted that "Mr. John Vogler and others shall have a road laid out." Vogler was settled in the eastern part of the town (the present Ivan Scott place) on the Seidensparker Pond and it is most probable that this road into this section went into East Waldoborough from Thomas' Hill, at this time one of the two busiest centers of the town.

The year 1783 which virtually ended the Revolution witnessed an ambitious program of highway planning. At the March meeting held on the west side at the house of Captain David Vinal, a road was voted "along fresh water on the west side." This was an extension of the road from Peter Procks north toward the present Winslow's Mills. It was also voted to establish a road "between William Farnsworth, Jr., and Mr. Philip Ulmer's land." In all probability this was the road extending from the main road in South Waldoborough at the meetinghouse corner easterly to the upper waters of Goose River. Another road was approved "from William Schnaudiel's to Daniel Achorn's," probably on the east side running up the fresh water. At the same time the selectmen were instructed "to petition this quarter session to lay out the



county road between Michael Ried and the road from Bristol." Since Ried lived on the Old County Road this vote meant an extension of this highway. To implement this large program the town at its May meeting voted that £100 be worked out on highways, a man to be allowed four shillings a day for such work, and a yoke of oxen to be allowed 2s. 8d., per day, with plow or cart three shillings a day.

The next spasm of road planning came in 1786. In its May meeting the town voted to consult with Warren on a road from the Georges to the "Medummak River." This task was entrusted to Colonel Farnsworth, Equire Thomas, and Jacob Ludwig. It was also voted to have the selectmen "lay out a way on both sides of the New Bridg in Waldoborough," (the present lower bridge on the river). In June of this year it was voted "to lay out two roads from Waldoborough to St. Georges," and Paul Lash and Henry Ewell were elected to assist the selectmen in this work.

In the year 1787, £200 was the sum set to be worked out on highways. The following roads were projected: the laying out of a road in the present "Genthner Neighborhood" was left to the discretion of the selectmen; a vote was carried to have the Old County Road running from West Waldoborough to Nobleborough "cleared out on Mr. Light's"; the road authorized the year before leading from the present Four Corners across the first bridge and connecting with the road on the west side was voted "to be established" this year, and also "a road to the Bake [back] Settlers, viz. John Fitzgerald and others." This apparently was the way leading south off the Warren Road down into East Waldoborough. The last road to be laid out this year was the present North Waldoborough route leading "to Jacob Benner's, Charles Filer's, Charles Boardman's and others." At this time there were eight road districts in the town.

The following year, 1788, £120 was voted "to be worked out in menting the Highways and Prived ways," and it was also agreed to accept the road "on Jacob Genthner's Land [Genthner Neighborhood] at the tock pottle [duck puddle] so cawled as laid out by the selectmen July 4, 1787." Road work this year was three shillings per day for a man, two shillings per day for oxen, and one shilling for a cart or sled. This apparently was not too attractive a rate since the surveyors were authorized to hire men, and if a man refused to work, the surveyor was to collect from him in money the equivalent of his labor plus the cost of collecting, and in the case of delinquents of the year before, the bill was to be committed to the tax collectors.

The delays that characterized road construction applied equally to the first bridge across the Medomak. The "Dutch"



wanted this bridge and wanted it badly, only they did not want to pay the costs. Successive Town Meetings blew hot and cold on this issue, until the river was finally spanned. The first move was made March 26, 1778, when it was "voted to build a bridge across the river at Eichorn's mill." This mill was on the west side at the lower falls, hence the bridge as first projected was to be above the site of the present lower bridge, and Captain Hewet, Captain Ulmer, and Peter Cramer were in charge. On May 28th the site was fixed as "between the land of Captain John Ulmer [east side] and Captain Solomon Hewet [west side]." In June they voted that "the town will not buy the land of Capt. Hewet or of Capt. Ulmer," and that "the town will not raise money for to build sd. bridge across the river below Eichorn's mill." The location of the bridge turned into a battle between the salt-water folk who preferred the lower site and the fresh-water folk who wanted it farther up the river on the site of the old Lovell Bridge. Lack of agreement and of funds kept the matter in abeyance until March 16, 1783, when it was voted to build the bridge and a committee of nine was named, headed by George Werner who owned and operated the mill at the upper falls. He must have done some smart work, for on March 25th it was voted that the new bridge would not be below Mr. Eichorn's mill but "over a course above Mr. George Werner's mill [Lovell bridge site]."

Here the matter again rested until May. It may be assumed in this interim that the salt-water folk were busy, for in the May meeting it was voted "to postpone raising a sum of money to build a bridge across Medomak river." The question remained a subject of local argument until May 2, 1785, when a vote was passed "to build a bridg across Medomak river att ye Lower falls." Whereupon a determining argument appeared in the person of Captain John Ulmer and "promist to give a way thro his Land from ye Road by his house to ye Bridg, two Rods in width." To clinch this decision Ulmer went further, and at the May 16th meeting it was voted "to receive Capt. John Ulmer's gift of half an Acre of Land for a Landing place by the Lower Falls on the Medomak River." Salt-water strategy had triumphed over fresh-water strategy, and the whole deal was pushed through this meeting.

The problem next in order was the building. As usual, costs were the major consideration and the construction "was awarded to him who would build it most cheaply to be finished by Oct. 1st." Captain Cornelius Turner seems to have been standing ready to take it for £72 10s., and Colonel Farnsworth, Mr. George Demuth, and Captain Vinal, all lower river men, were appointed a committee "to see that the same is weel built." As a parting

instruction from the voters, Captain Turner was "obliged to receive any good man for Labour and find his own provision, the sum of two Shillings for a good day's Labour on said Bridg, and if any man brings a good yoke of oxen and finds fodder for them he [Captain Turner] to give to ye amount of won shilling per day." The money for the bridge was authorized at the meeting of June 20th. At a meeting held February 20, 1786, "at Capt. Cornelius Turner's barn" it was voted "to accept of the Bridg as itt now is made." Thus was laid the first bridge over the river, a wooden structure supported on a pier in midstream from abutments raised a few feet above high-water mark — a likely victim for the first major freshet.

The treatment of the poor in the early days of the town is both unique and interesting. At first there was very little pauperism among the Germans because it was with them a strongly developed social tradition to respect the dignity of age and to care tenderly for its helplessness. That others should not feel and act likewise was a thing which they failed to understand and against which they reacted intolerantly.

If a newcomer in the town gave evidence of possessing insufficient means for self-support, he or she was summarily ejected. An illustration of this attitude is furnished in 1776 by an incident affecting a Boston woman, "Dab Rossel," possibly Daphne Russell by name, who found herself in town without means of livelihood. Her case was quickly and unromantically settled. At the meeting on May 30th, it was voted that "the selectmen is to sent Dab Rossel to Boston in a vessel and from thar to her Home and to endamnify Him that will carry the afore sd. Dab Rossel to Boston and to her Home." The town, of course, was poor and money was scarce and of little value, but even in better days there was no laxness, and sentiment was not wasted on a public charge, and if there was a way of escaping responsibility it was resorted to. It was common practice in the war years to care for those dependents of soldiers who had gone to the war in fulfillment of the town's required quota. Such a case was that of John MacIntosh of Bristol near the Waldoborough line, who had gone to the war for this town under a long enlistment, and whose family had come in consequence to acute need. Despite its manifest duty the town "voted [March 26, 1778] not to grant assistance to John MacIntosh's wife and family; he having gone into the Continental Service for this town for three years."

To the few of their own town's folk who became public charges, charity was a little more ample but still grudging. On January 8, 1783, an article was inserted in the warrant "to see if said town will take old father Sechrist's poor sarcomstances into



consideration." This problem was left to the selectmen "to do the best they can to separte the said family in the said circumstances." This is the first case of aid to the poor in the history of the town and it is probable that charity would not have been so richly bestowed if Mr. Sechrist had had any working days left in his ageing body. With Mary Elwel it was different. She had some work left in her so it was voted that "the Selectmen shall but [put] Mary Elwel from house to house as the Selectmen shall order to work for maintenance." These were the only cases of town poor from 1773 to 1790. In this time there was poverty everywhere, but pauperism was almost nonexistent.

The situation was somewhat similar in the field of tax abatements. Prior to 1790 there were only three cases of such abatements. In 1777 it was voted "to excuse Dr. Schaeffer of his taxes while he is employed as a minister in the town." The ministry of this versatile rascal may have ended in 1779, for in July of that year it was voted that "Dr. Schaeffer shall pay rates for the present year." The second abatement was in September 1787 when it was "voted to give John Handel all his taxes in David Vinal's bills." Handel was not an original settler, but seems to have been one of the Hessians who filtered into the settlement after the surrender of Burgoyne, and had squat on land on the eastern border of the town. The last abatement in these early days was in 1789 when it was voted "to excuse Jacob Wade from paying his taxes to the amount of £1 18s. 4d. This is a rather remarkable record considering general fiscal conditions in the war and postwar years, but Waldoborough in its economy was so nearly self-sufficient and its tradition of mutual aid among the Germans was still so strong, that there was no lack of necessities and there was little use for the luxury of money except for taxes.

The early finances of the town are a puzzle to the modern mind which finds it difficult to interpret some of their aspects save in terms of fraud. Treasurers' accounts seldom balanced and collectors were frequently unable to turn in all the taxes they collected. In the earliest times discrepancies were small, but they had their root in a practice which was continued and which in the 1790's led to serious scandals and loss of public funds. Today such practices would be termed graft and theft, but in the eighteenth century there was a quite different way of looking at a public financial trust, both in England and the colonies. A public official often had large balances of public money in his hands and looked upon these funds as his own for the time being. In England officials often invested their balances, retained the interest on such bonds and sometimes made large fortunes from their rise in value.



This was also common practice in the colonies, and no less a person than Samuel Adams as collector of taxes used the money of Boston in this way. He was accused by Governor Hutchinson of making defalcation, but the verdict of his fellow citizens absolved him from any criminal intent.<sup>5</sup> The first fiscal officials of Walldoborough were Puritans from Massachusetts Bay, and they brought the practice to the Germans who may have been a little slow in understanding it, but, once understanding, used it clumsily to their own grief. From the first there were such appropriations of public funds for personal use, and in these years when money values changed overnight, an official in arrears on sums due could scarcely chart his financial course.

The difficulty started in the first year of the town's corporate history. The warrant for July 9, 1776, contained an article "to see if the town will vote that constables<sup>6</sup> in the year 1774 shall pay in the town rate [tax] or have an execution levied on them." On July 25th the town voted that "the constables is to pay in the rate from the year 1774." The sum, to be sure, was not large since an audit of Captain David Vinal's treasurer's report listed a shortage of £6 2s. 2d., as still "being in the Constables' hands," namely the tax collectors'. Tradition, however, seemed stronger than mandate, for the practice continued, and in the May meeting of 1789, it was voted that "ye Treasurer to give executions on ye Delinquent Colectors." These petty peculations, however, were growing; but the town remained careless in the handling of its monies until the time came when drastic measures were necessary to protect the public interest.

In the early days the budgetary procedure of the town was rather simple, it being the custom to raise a stipulated sum for routine expenses, with all other needs covered by special appropriations. In 1773, £20 were raised for paying necessary charges. The next year this was increased to £30. During the war years the special appropriations were very heavy, and the routine charges, too, increased. By 1779 the town was voting £100 "to pay the town charges." The officers were not paid fixed salaries, but merely during the time they worked on town business, the sums ranging through the 1780's from shillings and pence to seven pounds. Such accounts "were allowed" or "not allowed" by vote in Town Meeting. For example, in 1787 Martin Schaeffer was "allowed £5 10s. for being treasurer for one year."

The town officers in some cases were burdened with a considerable chore due to the large area to which they ministered. The distance east and west across the town averaged between seven

<sup>5</sup>Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1927), III, 52, 121.

<sup>6</sup>The constables were the first tax collectors.

and eight miles, and from the northern to the southern bound the stretch was around fourteen miles. The town in this decade was expanding in all directions, and these very considerable distances had to be travelled by the officials afoot or on horseback. In some cases, to get to a single place to handle a single item of business and return was a day's work, especially since over so many of the roads a horse could not proceed much faster than a man on foot.

Against this heavy administrative burden the officers were sometimes disposed to rebel. There was little, however, they could do about it, since if elected they were legally required to serve, penalty for failure so to do being at least a fine. This question first rose in 1776 when Jacob Winchenbach, Jacob Ludwig, and Nathaniel Simmons had been elected selectmen. For some reason they seemed to have been disposed to lay down their offices, for in the warrant for the July 26 meeting is found the following article: "To see if the town will vote that the officers which the town has chosen last March as town officers, that they shall serve each one in his office or to pay his fine or their fines according to law." The article was passed "that the officers chosen last March shall serve in their respective offices or to [do] thar fine." This was hardship but there was some relief in the rapid rotation in the major offices from year to year.

At the March meeting of 1785, the issue of hardship was rather uniquely met by voting "to chose five selectmen" and for a brief period at least the town had such a board made up of Waterman Thomas, Peter Cremer, Joseph Ludwig, Cornelius Turner, and John Martin Schaeffer. The duties were so heavy that on election Squire Thomas and Joseph Ludwig had asked to be excused from acting as selectmen and assessors, and Dr. Schaeffer from the assessorship, whereupon as a solution the device of five selectmen had been propounded and put into effect until it became clear that the number was scarcely compatible with the legal proprieties. The town, however, did have the legal right to excuse a citizen from serving in an office to which he had been elected, and this principle came into more frequent use with the passing of time. The community remained humorously merciless so far as its hog-reeves were concerned and every man elected thereto served. It was almost automatically incumbent upon newcomers and newlyweds to serve in this capacity and their election never failed. Dignity, personality, and wealth were no bar to becoming a hog-reeve. It was almost a form of initiation to citizenship and wedded life in the early town, and the great, such as Joshua Head, Isaac Reed, and Squire Bulfinch, as well as the lowliest, started their local political careers at this lowly rung of the ladder.



In these days everything that cost money was a matter of much debate, and backing and filling. This was appallingly true of the town sending a delegate to represent it in the General Court. Miller states that the first representative was Mr. Jacob Ludwig, in the year 1779. He is correct in his man, but the date is rather flexible. The travelling expenses, board in Boston and pay of such a delegate involved a rather considerable sum, and from this expense the town shied off for many years. Its vacillations in this regard are faithfully reflected in the minutes of the Town Meetings from which one or two typical entries are excerpted: May 30, 1776: "Voted the town will send no representative." May 15, 1779: "Voted to send a Representative" etc. July 9, 1779: "Voted not to send a Representative." The town continually affirmed and reversed itself on this question down to May 1788, when Jacob Ludwig was again elected representative to the General Court, and this time a committee was appointed "to instruct him," made up of John M. Schaeffer, Peter Cremer, John Ulmer, Joseph Ludwig, John Benner, Esquire Thomas, and David Vinal. It indeed looked this time as though the town meant business.

It is almost proverbial that sheep cannot be kept fenced in. Rams supposedly are even more difficult to restrain, and the vagrancy of Waldoborough rams seems to have been a source of endless exasperation to the sturdy Teuton farmers who loved a dependable routine, and whose calculations on the spring lambing dates were constantly being upset by rams who had no adequate respect for fences. There was nothing left in such cases but to try the restraining power of legislation, and on May 28, 1778, it was voted that "the Town will not have rams run at large in said town at unseasonable times of the year." But the rams were no respecters of such generalities, perhaps they did not know what an "unseasonable time" was anyway, for the irate citizenry got more specific, and on March 16, 1779, voted that "the rams is not to run at larch till the 2 of November." This ordinance inscribed in Jacob Ludwig's dutchy English seems to have held in the rams for some time, for not until March 12, 1781, were further restraints needed, when it was decided "to build two pounds in the town"; but pounds cost money and a German farmer would stand many annoyances before he would submit to the major one of paying out money. So the rams continued to enjoy occasional freedom which seems to have degenerated finally into license, for on June 20, 1785, it was voted "to build two pounds in the town," one on the west side on land donated by Captain David Vinal from his farm, and the other on the east side "on the land of Deacon Simmons," his son, "Joseph Simmons



being present promist to give land for the same purpose" (Foster Jameson farm). These were the first pounds in the town, and they were certainly nothing more than simple enclosures.

At the same meeting it was "voted that those men who build the pounds shall be excused from working on the highways as many days as they are building ye pounds." But even pounds did not check the ruthless vagrancy of rams, and on May 4, 1789, other means had to be conceived and a committee was appointed, made up of Peter Gross, Charles Kaler, Susaman Abrahams, and Esquire Thomas, "to prosecute any person that shall let his ram or rams run at large from the first day of September till the 25th of November." Nor was this the end, and the battle with the rams passed merrily over into the last decade of the century.

During this decade Medumcook (Friendship) did not cease to importune for union with Waldoborough. It was a mere waif of a settlement, too small to incorporate, but its citizens were ambitious and eager to secure the advantages that went with being a township. There was a strong group in the southern part of Waldoborough, led by Charles Samson, who favored annexation, and the Medumcookers were united almost to a man on the issue. Repeated overtures were made and always met with a flat refusal by Waldoborough, the last coming in 1789, whereupon the Medumcookers appealed to the General Court in order to effect union by compulsion.

This appeal provides us with a brief glimpse of Friendship as it happened at this time to be seeing itself. Their petition alleges that the incorporation of Waldoborough and Cushing into townships "left them only 40 lots of 100 acres each, and destitute of material advantages as a means of supporting their people." It further alleged that "many families were necessitated to live several months in the year without basic necessities"; that the inhabitants were "miserably housed, lodged and clothed"; that with the incorporation of Cushing one fourth of their taxable property had been detached, and from their fewness of numbers it was inconvenient for them to remain a separate plantation any longer; hence they humbly petitioned for annexation to Waldoborough.

The General Court promptly served notice on Waldoborough "to show cause if any why this petition should not be granted." Without any loss of time the selectmen of the town appointed George Demuth, Cornelius Turner, Jacob Ludwig, Thomas McGuyer, and Joseph Ludwig to handle this issue with the Court, and without delay they filed a vigorous remonstrance. This document in turn gives us a brief glimpse of Waldoborough looking at itself in the year 1789, and may be summarized as follows:

1. The town of Waldoboro is already so large as to make it very inconvenient for its inhabitants to attend to public business.
2. Already seventeen miles long, to add Medumcook would make the town 26 miles long, which would make it impossible to attend town meetings, especially so as every third meeting would be held in Medumcook.
3. Waldoboro wished an entire German settlement and we wish to remain in our present situation.
4. Ever since settling we have remained a hard labouring people living neither in affluence or poverty, so much so that there never has been any of our inhabitants become chargeable to the town. It is feared that this case would become very much altered if Medumcook was added to the town.
5. Union with Cushing is a natural union geographically.
6. The case for Waldoboro has been poorly represented since Waldoboro had no representatives in the General Court last year, and the very gentleman we chose to represent us this year proved an industrious agent for the Plantation of Medumcook.<sup>7</sup>

In view of the vigor of the opposition the General Court refrained from coercive action. The issue persisted down to 1791, when, on June 11th, the warrant contained an article inserted by Waldoborough parties "to see if according to the request of a number of inhabitants the town will vote to have the Plantation of Madamcooke enexed to this town." This last gesture, too, was rejected with vigor and thereafter Medumcook followed its lonely career until 1807, when it was incorporated as the one hundred and sixty-seventh town in the state. This episode also initiated the feud of the "head-tide" folk with Captain Charles Samson which followed a colorful course for the next quarter of a century.

In Waldoborough's early history there was much litigation involving both the town and its individual citizens. Consequently it had long been a source of annoyance that the legal machinery of the county was centralized at Pownalborough on the Kennebec. It was too distant and it was off the beaten line of travel. As early as 1767 the people of Broad Bay petitioned Governor Bernhard and the General Court for a change in the location of the court, alleging that Pownalborough

is very near the Westren side of said County & quite Remote from by far the Greatest Part of the Inhabitants of said County — that their are but a Very few Houses near said Place in which People who have necessary business at Courts can have Lodging and Entertainment so that a Great Part of the People during their necessary attendance on said Courts are much distressed for Necessarys and are Obliged to lodge on a floor or in Barns or set all night by the fire during their whole stay at said Courts.<sup>8</sup>

This petition brought no relief and the question was not raised again until 1785 when, on June 20th, the town voted that

<sup>7</sup>Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., Doc. Ser., 2nd Ser., XXII, 217-218.

<sup>8</sup>Mass. Archives, Vol. 118, pp. 211-212.



"the selectmen shall be a committee to transact with the town of Pownalborough on the purpose of the Supreme Court being removed to some other place more convenient." This end apparently was not achieved, but beginning March 1786 one term of the lower court was established at Hallowell and one at Waldoborough.

This decision raised the all-important question of a seat for the Court in the town. To secure a suitable place a committee made up of Esquire Thomas, Captain Cornelius Turner, and Captain Ludwig was appointed "to provide sum Proper House for the Court to meet in when they come to set in this town." At the meeting of June 5th

Captain Cornelius Turner appeared and agreed to build a house for this purpose, 30 feet square, 10 feete posts and to furnish the same so as to be Convenient for the Court to set in and to accomplish the Same By the time the Court comes next September and to build said house near the Road between the ferry [Rodney Creamer farm] and the New Bridg and give the town the privilidge of said house for the Courte to meete and set in for the space of six years, . . . which the town Accepted of according to the above Egrement.

Captain Turner made good his word and the house was christened by a Town Meeting held there on September 12, 1786. This courthouse was located on Kinsell's Hill, which is formed by the southern slope of Kaler Hill. Here was located all the necessary adjuncts of a court, including a whipping post, where Frederick Castner recalled in his boyhood seeing an Irishman lashed for theft. The Court sat here for the next six years, but continued to hold sessions in Waldoborough until 1799.

The winter of 1785-1786 was one of outstanding severity. The night of Tuesday, January 18, 1786, is believed to have been the coldest ever experienced in New England. The snow came early and it remained all winter. It snowed and snowed, and froze and froze; fences and stonewalls disappeared. All winter long oxen and wood sleds with heavy loads passed at will over walls and fences in all directions. Goods were hauled on runners until the third of May. Ploughing was started a day or two after the snow disappeared. It had been so deep that there was no frost in the ground, and farming operations could be started at once.<sup>9</sup>

The staunch and unwavering conservatism of Waldoborough folk was startlingly apparent even in earliest times. It was reflected in no way more curiously than in the consistent refusal of the town to participate in the new structure of county, state, and federal government which was growing up in the revolutionary and post-revolutionary years. The new forms involved in these changes seem to have impressed the Germans as unnecessary

<sup>9</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, p. 285.



innovations and departures from the ancient and feudal tradition which had been the core of their culture for centuries, and on them all they resolutely turned their backs. Their record in this respect is appallingly consistent. Beginning in 1779 they refused to have any part in ratifying the "New Constitution or form of Government" for Massachusetts Bay. On September 18, 1780, they voted "to drop the matter of electing a Governor" and the usual lesser officials. In 1781 they would have nothing to do with choosing "a county register or county treasurer."

Again, on April 5, 1784, they defeated a move to have a town vote taken on state officers, and not until April 4, 1785, were any votes cast for state officials, and such votes were very few indeed: John Hancock and his slate received twenty-five votes. Thereafter the vote increased somewhat in size, and in 1787 Esquire Thomas was given forty-three votes for Senator from the county, although it was voted to send no representative to the General Court for that year. Strangely enough the town seems to have participated in the ratification of the Federal Constitution. This document had been drafted in May at Philadelphia, and at its November session the General Court called for a Constitutional Convention to act upon it and authorized the towns to choose as many delegates as they were entitled to under the state constitution. Waldoborough at its meeting of December 10, 1787, voted "to choose a delegate to represent the town in a convention ordered by the General Court." In January 1788 three hundred and sixty representatives convened in Boston, of whom forty-six were from Maine. There was in the District strong opposition to ratification. York County voted against it; Cumberland for it, and Lincoln for it by a margin of two votes, one of which was cast by Benjamin Brown.<sup>10</sup> If Doctor Brown was the Waldoborough delegate the town had at least its part in determining the fundamental law of the new nation.

The issue of fish has been a perennial one in our history. From the time of the incorporation of the town those who looked forward each year to the coming of the alewives, shad, salmon, and other fish, fought their annual battle with the millmen for the passage of the fish to the spawning grounds. In the first Town Meeting Nathan Soule had been elected "to tack kear that the fish have a free Bass," but the fish came in such awesome numbers each year that it was sometimes difficult for their proponents to make the town folk realize that they might need any consideration. But the time came when the fish, having faced many frustrations, became indifferent and a scarcity was noted. This caused general concern, for there were many who could still

<sup>10</sup>*The Massachusetts Centinel*, Sat., Feb. 9, 1788.

remember when the fish alone had carried the settlers through some of the gravest emergencies of their past. In consequence drastic measures were taken for their protection, and on March 11, 1778, came the first fish legislation, it being enacted "that no person or persons shall be allowed to catch any salmon, shad or alewives, or set any seine, net or pot or other machine for such a purpose for one year." As a penalty such persons were "to forfeit for the benefit of the town, the seine, net, pot or other machine so used and to pay a fine not exceeding 3 pounds for the use of the town." Thereafter the fish became the object of annual solicitude, and the date was set each year, mills or no mills, when the dams were to be opened for the passage of the fish. In the year 1790 the date was set for the 12th of May.

The question of setting the District of Maine off from Massachusetts was first agitated in this decade. Around 1785 the movement had grown to the extent that its supporters had founded the first newspaper in the state, the *Falmouth Gazette*, the first number of which appeared January 1, 1785. After much agitation and many meetings held over the course of the year, Waldoborough on January 7, 1787, gave its usual conservative verdict of five votes for separation and twenty-five against it.

It was in the middle of this decade that Waldoborough received its first Jew in the person of Susaman Abrahams. Susaman was a wandering trader and one not without means. On June 2, 1785, "in consideration of £60 paid by Susaman Abrahams trader," Philip Schuman sold his farm of one hundred and thirty acres located on the east side of the Medomak "about three quarters of a mile from the falls at the head of Broad Bay river." This would place Susaman's new house between the present Atlantic Highway and the Maine Central tracks. Schuman also sold his stock with the farm, which affords us an idea of the stock carried by the small farmer of this period. This is listed in the deed as one yoke of oxen, seven years old, one pair of steers, three-year olds, one pair of steers, one year old, three cows, one heifer, three years old, one heifer, two years old, one bull, two years old, and twelve sheep.<sup>11</sup> The swine Schuman was significantly not able to effect any sale of, at least not to Susaman.

Abrahams was no ordinary individual; he was amusing, original and unique.<sup>12</sup> His background was the Hamburg ghetto, and his case history certainly had its shaded portions. In his early days in America he had travelled as a pedlar dealing in old clothes. To save expenses he customarily lived on bread and butter, and carried his butter with him in a covered pewter porringer. He

<sup>11</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 18, p. 87.

<sup>12</sup>Sibley, *History of Union*, p. 110.



had fled the Old World to escape the consequences of some misdemeanor, and had had a hand in the sinking of the ship which brought him to these shores. In Waldoborough he seems to have transferred his interest from old clothes (for here there was little else) to the tanning and coopering business. He was a meticulous accountant and kept his records in Hebrew characters which were read from right to left, possibly a baffling problem for the tax collectors of that day. English was difficult for him and he invariably translated from Hebrew through the medium of German into English, a process which usually wrecked the idea with which he had started.

He was entirely practical and hewed to the reverse of the doctrine that the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. Consequently he was very observant of his written or printed prayers, but his behavior was not always consistent with his outward piety. On his arrival in Waldoborough he was promptly and ironically elected to the office of hog-reeve which must have been a severe strain on his orthodoxy, and with almost equal promptitude he was appointed along with Squire Thomas to membership on a committee to prosecute those whose rams persisted in running at large at unwanted seasons of the year. In all this there was no taint of persecution, but rather a savor of Rabelaisian humor characteristic of the earthiness of the local peasant stock.

In the 1790's Susaman shook the dust of Waldoborough from his sandals and turned his back upon the town forever. It all seems to have come about in this way. On a certain Christian Sabbath in July, Susaman had occasion to write a letter and not being able to write in English he needed an amanuensis and accordingly sent for "Christopher Newbit," but Christopher being a righteous man went to the constable instead and charged Susaman with intent to sin on the Sabbath. This charge resulted in a fine of five shillings.<sup>13</sup> The Jew was inconsolable. Apart from the extortion of five of his shillings, he could not reconcile himself to justice of this sort. The Christian Sabbath was not his Sabbath, and his reaction was to run the entire gamut of his ritual. Seated on the ground he tore his hair, spilled ashes on his own head, wailed and fasted, and then in rage unappeased he left town. Again the fact is here emphasized that persecution was a factor utterly foreign in this situation. Susaman was treated exactly as any Christian would have been at this time for a similar offense.

From here he went to Thomaston and later moved to Union. In the latter town on one occasion a fellow Jew came to keep the Passover with him. The iron vessels before being used were heated red hot that no leaven by any possibility might remain attached

<sup>13</sup>Jacob Ludwig's Notebook (ms.), Libr., Me. Hist. Soc., Portland, Me.



to them. After all these elaborate preparations had been completed Susaman's appetite got the better of his piety, and he brazenly cooked and consumed a huge mess of eels, of which he was desperately fond, to the utter horror of his guest. Despite his professed faith in Judaism he quite regularly attended Christian worship and was a pew holder in the first meetinghouse in Union. He observed the Jewish Sabbath (Saturday) by abstaining from hard labor, but rode about and transacted business. On Sundays he would work secretly for a part of the day at his tan yard, and once fell into a vat and was nearly drowned. On November 29, 1810, he was married to the widow, Mary Jones, of Friendship. He died October 6, 1830, about eighty-seven years of age. Susaman's whole career in this area rather clearly reveals the absence of any deep racial prejudice in the settlement at this period.

There were also negro residents of Waldoborough in early days. There had been slaves in Maine since the 1730's, and this condition of servitude had been tolerated down to 1788, when, on March 26th, this condition was virtually abolished by act of the legislature. Two of the negroes had some connection with Squire Thomas. The case of "Africa Peter" has already been reviewed, but there was also "old Rial" and his wife who came to Waldoborough in the early 1780's. On June 2, 1783, the town underwent one of its periodic purges in order to divest itself of undesirables, for on this date the following were warned out of town by action of the selectmen: "Aron Simmons, Joseph Sherman, Barnabas Simmons, William Chapman, Moses Simmons, Joseph House, Charles Dunnels, and *a negro man named Ryall* with their families." However the others may have disposed of themselves, it is known that Ryall stayed, which could only mean that some powerful influence was exerted in his behalf and guarantees given that he would not become a public charge. This new legislation of 1788, however, had made the Ryall-Thomas relationship clear beyond peradventure, and the colored man continued his career on his back lot working at odd jobs and in season specializing in the butchering and dressing of hogs.

On April 30, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated in New York as the first President of the United States. In this election the people of Waldoborough, true to their tradition of conservative indifference, failed to participate. One of the first acts of the new administration was to make the costs of the Castine expedition in 1777 an item of the national debt, thus relieving the inhabitants of the state and District of a very considerable part of their local debt. This act doubtless went far toward removing the current suspicion among "the Dutch" of the new order of things. On June 25th of the same year the General Court set off from

Lincoln the counties of Hancock and Washington. Thereafter the bounds of Lincoln County were reduced to the area between the New Meadows River and the Penobscot. The eastern bound of the town came at this time also under critical scrutiny.

Tradition has it that when this bound was originally surveyed in 1773, the amount of rum consumed by the surveying party resulted in an extremely tortuous boundary line, so that many of the settlers along this eastern line had difficulty in determining in which town they resided or just where their property was located. This confusion was slow in being cleared up. Two committees were appointed in succession to "straten said line," but nothing came to pass until May 1789 when it was voted to choose a committee to meet with a committee from Warren "to agree about the line" between the two towns. At this conference Waldoborough was represented by Captain Turner, George Demuth, and Esquire Ludwig. The line was arranged by mutual agreement, and was surveyed and marked by James Malcolm. In the next century the line was again questioned by Waldoborough, and in 1836 the Supreme Court appointed as arbiters Jonathan Cilly, John S. Abbott, and Lucius Barnard. Their report was accepted and the bound adopted as laid down. All other bounds of the town have remained as originally surveyed a hundred and eighty-odd years ago.

During the 1780's the east and west sides below the First Falls began to assume something of their present-day form. The highways had been laid out in their present positions; the farm-houses had been moved back from the river and new houses erected on lots adjacent to the present road. The village as we know it was not yet there, although there was a considerable settlement around the falls, and it had begun to threaten the primacy of the Slaigo brook area, which early had assumed considerable importance as a business center due mainly to the large-scale operations of Squire Thomas. The question of where the real center of the town was going to be was not finally settled until the lapse of another quarter of a century.

The last two decades of this century witnessed in the older areas along the river the gradual disappearance of the log cabins and the rise of the frame house. The first of these had come around 1769, when David Holzapfel erected the present Smouse house on his own farm as a residence for himself. During the Revolution there had been little major building. Money had been scarce and of little worth, and the insecurity arising from the war discouraged people from such undertakings. The end of the struggle, however, ushered in a considerable building boom in which the log cabin disappeared and the low-posted Cape Cod house became

the prevailing architectural type. From this period date the oldest houses in the town: the Walter Boggs house built by Ludwig Castner, the house of Mrs. Arthur Scott built by Franz Eisele, my home built in 1785 by Isaiah Cole on the slope of the original Cole's Hill. The house of Mrs. Lawrence Davis built by Captain Stephen Andrews, and the Ewell and Carrie Feyler Hart homesteads date from this same period, albeit a little later. There was also a second type of home, contemporaneous, but in a more pretentious style. This type would include the square-roofed mansions erected by Abijah Waterman (the Andrew Currie house), Colonel William Farnsworth (the Glenn Mayo home), possibly the Charles Samson house (S. E. Patrick home) and the Waterman Thomas mansion on the Slaigo brook (burned in 1865). The log cabin lingered longer in the back-districts, but there it also gave way to the more commodious and pretentious houses as fast as the circumstances of the property holders made such a transition feasible.

By way of brief summary it may be said that the 1780's was a period of rebirth and readjustment. It witnessed the end of the long struggle for independence, and the beginning of a long period of unfettered development leading up to the climax of the Great Days of the mid-nineteenth century.



## XXIII

### EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

*Men themselves, and not the Gods, increase their troubles by their own folly.*

SOLON

THE EARLIEST EDUCATIONAL traditions and patterns at Broad Bay were those of eighteenth-century Germany. The English and Scotch-Irish who had settled the Town of Leverett in 1736 had made no beginnings in the educational or religious fields. Both were clearly implicit in their plans as well as in those of General Waldo, who set aside Lot No. 19, the present Andrew Currie farm, as a ministerial lot, and somewhere along the east side of the river, in a location now unknown, reserved land for a school lot. But religion and education in this early community never passed beyond the stages of the original plan. Accordingly, it remained for the Germans to lay the foundations of a purely German system of schooling in the settlement, patterned in all respects on that with which they were familiar in their old homes.

It cannot be affirmed that these first settlers were educated, or that there were no illiterates among them, but it is possible to remain strictly within the bounds of fact in stating that many of them could read, write, and handle the simple calculations of arithmetic. The rudimentary system which they had known in their old homes had been long established and it was a compulsory one. Since the seventeenth century the *Volksschule* (common school) had existed in the towns for the children of artisans, and in the country for the children of peasants. The only basic modification effected in the eighteenth century was that the control of schools passed from the church to the state, but even under state control clergymen continued to be employed very commonly as teachers, and compulsory attendance, a church duty in the seventeenth century, became a state duty in the eighteenth. Throughout this latter period regulations were made more exacting, the curriculum was improved and the period of compulsory attendance extended through the fourteenth year, "until they have learned not only the most essential things about Christianity

and have finished with reading and writing, but also can stand a test on the material presented to them in approved text books." This material judged by modern standards was limited indeed. A Prussian *Schulordnung* of 1763 restricted the body of instruction in the common schools to reading, writing, religion, singing, and some arithmetic, which altered nothing essential in the system as it had existed throughout the entire century.

The legal framework set up in support of any system furnishes but a single aspect of its workings. Another phase is provided by the extent to which practice falls short of its regulating machinery. In Germany the legal requirements laid down by the Princes were not popular, and everywhere the principle of compulsory attendance encountered poverty, indifference, parental obstinacy, and the ever familiar profit motive. Exemptions from attendance at school were common, especially in the planting and harvest seasons, but yet in the end, as Professor Paulsen observes, "it would not have been easy to find a child entirely without some formal instruction," even though it were not of a very high order.

In the larger centers the ministers were oftentimes teachers, and the sacristan or sexton sometimes functioned in this role, while in the country artisans frequently assumed this duty and in this way added *ein paar grosschen Schulgeld* to their meager incomes, and in many cases little more to the formal training of their pupils. A sentence of Paulsen's drawn from his own experience as a boy in a country school in the early nineteenth century gives us some insight into the early schooling of our forebears before they ever reached these shores. It follows:

I recall from the first country school I attended that learning to read remained for many, who attended the school only during the winter months, a stupendous task through the spelling, the syllabifying up to the reading of words, and sometimes with small success; writing was oftentimes a wretched copying of letters, and lastly the principal object of long torment, learning to recite parrotwise the church catechism, a few mottoes and hymns.<sup>1</sup>

This brief outline of the educational system under which the first Waldoborough Germans grew up furnishes us with a clue to the pattern of early education in the new settlement and to the degree of literacy possessed by the people reaching these shores. Naturally some had more education than others and were able to write with some degree of ease. In the Archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, are preserved let-

<sup>1</sup>These data on the early German school system are based on Friedrich Paulsen's *Das Deutsche Bildungswesen in seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1909).

ters by Philip Vogler, David Rominger, and Georg Hahn. Other documents bear the legible signatures of Michael Seitz, Balthasar Kastner, Nicholaus Orff, Michael Rominger, Peter Kroehn, Jacob Ried, and Matt. Seitensberger. The office of the Registry of Deeds at Wiscasset, Maine, contains hundreds of signatures of the early Broad Bayers, some in a beautiful script and others scarcely legible, as though written by hands so gnarled and knotted by toil as to be no longer capable of the finer muscular coordination required by writing. Here and there among those of the first generation are those who affixed a simple mark in the place of a signature, and many of the next generation reverted to this easier method for lack of education.

At least one of the settlers completed his training in the rudiments in a Broad Bay school. In the memoirs of Philip Christopher Vogler, it is written: "In 1761 there was an awakening [a religious revival] in his neighborhood, and he became concerned about his salvation. His youthful years had been spent in ignorance and in school he had not gone far enough to learn to read, so now he grieved that he could not seek for himself the comforting words of the Holy Scriptures, nor read them." When Brother Soelle, the Moravian missionary, came to Broad Bay all the Voglers "joined the group which Brother Soelle served, also keeping school for the children and our Brother Philip took this opportunity and learned to read."<sup>2</sup>

That the early fathers of the settlement were to some degree literate should not be taken to mean that they were necessarily avid of education. The fact was that they regarded it as a good thing within limits, and these limits were simply enough education for the usual business dealings and for rendering their religion more meaningful. Doctor Benjamin Rush, an observer of the early German settlers in Pennsylvania, has defined their limited interest in education in the following words:

All the different sects among the Germans are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children and to the establishing and support of the Christian religion. For this purpose they settle as much as possible together and make the erection of a schoolhouse and a place of worship the first object of their care. They commit the education of their children in a peculiar manner to the ministers and officers of their churches. . . . They are proud of a cultivated ministry, treat all with proverbial respect. They of all others usually took good care to build a schoolhouse near the church. They of all others speak of the schoolmasters as next to the pastor. But free schools in the sense of divorcing them from the church they have never yet learned heartily to love.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Philip C. Vogler, *Memoirs, Archives, Moravian Church*, (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>3</sup>*Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1789.)



To this pattern the Broad Bay Germans in nearly all respects rigidly adhered. The original church and ministerial lots and one of the school lots were in close proximity to one another at Meetinghouse Cove, thus making it easy for the minister to function in his twofold capacity, and a school system completely divorced from the church was vigorously resisted by them for twenty years after Broad Bay had become a town. Apart from a limited training they were in the main suspicious of education, for there were some at least who recalled that in the Old World some of the most learned men had been their bitterest enemies. There was in addition the conviction that too much schooling made boys lazy and engendered a superior attitude toward farming. All these varied views were represented among Broad Bay Germans and were parts of the crazy-quilt pattern of education during the first half century in the settlement.

The first German colony at Broad Bay of which there is any detailed information was that of 1742. It was made up largely of Lutherans who were in the main young people, and were bent on perpetuating in the new world their most cherished institutions of church and school. Implicit in their contract with Samuel Waldo was the provision for both these needs, a minister and a schoolmaster, Mr. Waldo obligating himself to pay the former a yearly "salary of £70 sterling for ten years," and the latter a yearly "salary of £30" for the same period. In this way the colonists were assured, as they thought, of both church and school during the initial years of becoming established and adjusted. This schoolmaster, the first at Broad Bay, was John Ulmer, a brave, resourceful, competent, and highly intelligent man with a saving sense of humor even in the more dire and tragic situations of life. Ulmer's schoolmastering was limited to his earliest years in the settlement, for in the period of expansion following the Indian wars his rise to leadership and his accumulation of wealth led him to give up his earlier professional interests.

Possessed of plenty of initiative and of an eye ever casting about itself for the main chance, Master Ulmer brought to the wilderness with him in 1742 letters of commendation from his minister, his mayor, the judge, and the State Procurator of Entzberg. Of these documents only the last seems to have been preserved. Despite its prolix and florid legal style, it affords the most personal glimpse that we get of this first schoolmaster, and for this reason it is given here in full in what is obviously an abominably poor translation of the original document.

I, John William Fischer, State Procurator and Master of the Cellar, Entzberg Community, Cloister Maulbronn in the Duchy of Würtemberg, attest, so everybody may see, or wherever this is read; that the

bearer of this, John Ulmer, schoolmaster here by the help of God, resolved with his kin to migrate to New England and quit Würtemberg.

If, as his superior, besides the testimonials given by the Minister, Mayor and Judge, by special affection, I wish to attest to his possession of excellent conduct and merit, apart; that during ten years he fulfilled his offices and services so diligently, uncomplainingly, and with a zealous spirit, that his true teaching, kept honorable, and his discipline renowned throughout the whole world; that the youths of the school at all times flourished and grew in the Divine word and grace, sufficiently brought forth, and the seed sown in sour wheat and with great patience and complaisance not only got to be blossoms, but splendid fruit also and on account of the twigs [fine conception of his teaching] he planted, the scholars as well as the parents, besides the church and school visitations, at his leaving laid before him a handsome gratitude as well as the assurance that in a lifetime he should not be forgotten.

Not less has he made himself useful in the ascis [excise] and tax service, and other occupations of penmanship. To me he was honest, and what I ordered him to do and trusted him with, he did with facility and integrity; he was honest to the heller [penny], and his uprightness will be an everlasting glory to him, and it is painful to lose this honesty, fine without exception, out of the Commune entrusted to me.

Since there is no means to prevent him from his intention, I wish from the bottom of my heart that this undertaking may be to a prosperous and joyful end and future fortune, for the good works he left us, his faithfulness, his unadulterated doctrine, his good and God fearing laudable life and fine morals and conduct, cannot bring after them anything bad, but the good God will bring him and his, where he shall find bread again.

I recommend, therefore, the aforesaid John Ulmer, my past true school servant, to everybody, and beg that whoever may help him, may do so considering his good conduct, and this fine testimony, also to show him good will and assist him kindly in his welfare, accompanied with the assurance that whatever is entrusted to him will bear good fruit.

As a true statement, I have not only attested this with my own hand, but have put my seal of office thereon.

So done the 4th of May 1742. State Procurator and Master of the Cellar.

[Signed] FISCHER<sup>4</sup>

The translation of this document is so crude as to make meaning obscure in parts, but slow and careful reading leads to a comprehension of most of its detail. Here in the judgment and esteem of his contemporaries, based upon his ten years of service in Entzberg, is reflected the caliber of this first schoolmaster of Broad Bay, which leads justly to the inference that in a frontier community his capacities would rapidly push him into a larger sphere than that of desk and bench. All subsequent history proved such to be the case.

In these earliest days on the Medomak there could have been little thought of education. The single purpose of the colony

<sup>4</sup>Found among the papers of the late Andrew Ulmer of Rockland, Maine, and preserved by his son, A. H. Ulmer. Now in possession of Mrs. J. E. Greeley of Dover, Maine, who had the above translation made.



was to survive. Its deep distress may be inferred from the fact that in the spring of 1743 it petitioned Governor Shirley in Boston to send a ship to remove it from "Eastern parts." The next year (1744) France declared war and unleashed her Indian allies on



the Maine frontier. In 1745 the Louisburg campaign absorbed a large part of the colony, including the Ulmers, in Waldo's regiment for service at Cape Breton, the soldiers taking their families with them.

The following spring a considerable portion of the settlement was destroyed in an Indian attack. From 1746 to 1748 the



soldiers and settlers drifted back to rebuild their homes and to begin life anew. The little schooling there was in these years set the pattern of education at Broad Bay for many years to come. It was casual in character and few children received its benefits, since children old enough to go to school were old enough to work, and this the most of them did from daybreak to nightfall the four seasons through. John Ulmer, however, did unquestionably look after the education of his own children and grandchildren. There was no evidence of illiteracy in this family, for in such leisure as he had he gathered them around him in his own cabin with a few other children from the neighborhood, and here there was reading, spelling, simple arithmetic, and above all penmanship. This art is mentioned in the Procurator's testimonial and it was one in which Ulmer took especial pride. In consequence it survived as a tradition in the Ulmer family down into the third generation, the signatures and letters of the grandchildren being models of penmanship of exquisite beauty.

This little occasional school of John Ulmer's set the pattern of early education at Broad Bay. Here and there in the colony were other men and women, heads of families, who were not teachers, but who by the light of the winter fireside taught the catechism, verses of Scripture, the lines of dearly loved hymns, and passed on to their children their scanty knowledge of figures and reading, as well as their little skill in penmanship. This instruction was imparted with few of the now common accessories of education; there being no chalk, blackboards, copybooks or texts, and few could afford paper or ink, although goose quills were available for all who had occasion to use them.

In the third German migration to Broad Bay (1752) there were two, possibly three, schoolmasters of the Reformed Church, and Hans Georg Hahn. This was a most substantial addition to the teaching profession in the settlement. After receiving their lots and having become settled on them, these masters, too, followed the method of Ulmer and accepted in their own homes the few pupils which were sent them. The next year (1753) there came the last and largest of the German migrations, which greatly augmented the number of children in the colony. In 1754 the storm of war broke and the people of Broad Bay were compelled to spend the next seven years in the five garrisons, or stockades. Life under such crowded conditions was difficult and such education as there was, was continued as a casual and desultory affair. Not until early in the next decade did Broad Bayers emerge from the stockades and assume a normal routine on the farms. For the first time the colony was freed from the Indian menace, and its first real period of expansion followed, during which edu-

cation was free to develop the pattern which it followed down to the end of the century.

During this era of expansion there were at one time or another at least six men offering some schooling in the settlement. Living in various sections, each attended to the needs of the children in his own immediate area, but the groups gathering around each master were small, for only a few could afford the little leisure and the little money for schooling. Children were too important economically, and families were so poor that only the few favored ones were able to provide their young with a little instruction.

The language used was German and the curriculum was the same as in the *Volksschule* in the old country — only much less of it. Learning to read and to write, to use the simple processes of arithmetic through fractions, to commit the catechism to memory as well as the old German hymns embraced about all there was, and all, in the judgment of many, that one needed to know. For his pains the schoolmaster was paid by his wealthier patrons in specie, and by his humbler ones in commodities and labor. Religious instruction varied according to the profession of the teacher and of his clients. The Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Moravians in their religious instruction taught and interpreted the doctrines of their own sects to their own little groups. This limited schooling of a limited number naturally produced a higher percentage of illiteracy in the second generation, which represented a condition that was to carry on until the inauguration of a system of free schooling and compulsory attendance. In fact, these early wounds in the body politic left scars of illiteracy that were not totally effaced until the end of the nineteenth century.

The second of the early schoolmasters at Broad Bay was Hans Georg Hahn, the founder of the Hahn family in these parts. Hans Georg came to the settlement in 1752 with his wife, Barbara, and four sons, the eldest of which was under eight years. Pennsylvania had been Hahn's intended destination, but instead he landed in Boston, and hearing of a settlement of his fellow countrymen at Broad Bay, decided to proceed there. On arrival he found himself in a place as he describes it "where there was neither church or school," but there was a small group in the settlement with Moravian leanings, and this group was leaderless. Since Hahn already had a well-developed interest in the Moravian faith, he determined to tarry in the colony, and shortly became the leader of the Moravian group. In his own words he states: "I held services for them, performed marriages and baptized children. I also kept school for the children."

Hans George was not a teacher by profession, for carpentry was his trade, but he was no ordinary carpenter. When



he had finished with the rudiments of education provided by the *Volksschule* he continued to educate himself. As a carpenter he had worked on the buildings of the Moravian center at Herrnhaag, and here had had the chance to observe the forms of worship and to draw inspiration from the serene and scholarly atmosphere of the place. Here perhaps he developed the love of reading which made books a major interest and solace to the very end of his life. It was this reading, combined with good native intelligence, that made him the leader of the Moravian group in the early colony. From the first his cabin was a gathering place for the *erweckte Seelen* (awakened spirits). Here he exhorted them on the Sabbath and on weekdays as occasion offered, and held school for their children for a period of eight years. The location of Hahn's first home, which was his school, is not a matter of certainty. His coming in 1752 would naturally place him in the Dutch or Gross Neck district and references in the Soelle *Diary* tend to confirm this assumption.<sup>5</sup>

Hahn's teaching was limited to the children of his Moravian followers and was of course deeply tinged with the doctrines of that sect. His crusading zeal in religious and educational work made him perhaps the most hated man in the settlement, a fact which finally led him to the decision to abandon his work. We learn from his wife that "in 1757 we sold our place at Broad Bay, planning to move to the Brethren in Pennsylvania, but the people who had been accustomed to gather with us would not let us go."<sup>6</sup> These simple words reveal how valued and vital Hahn's work was. He decided to stay and face it. He did just this, endured persecution and in the end prevailed over his foes. In consonance with Moravian practice, Hahn wrote a brief memoir of himself for use at his funeral service and for the permanent record of his church. Here it seems fitting that these brief words of his life and death should become a part of the record as a luminous sidelight on the history of Old Broad Bay. It follows:

I was born Feb. 1, 1718 at Ebersbrunn. When I was old enough I learned the trade of a carpenter of Balthaser Betz in Reweiler. In my twelfth year I partook of the Holy Communion for the first time in the Lutheran Church.

For four years I was partly at home and partly in Herrnhaag; I liked the latter place very much. I loved the Brethren there and was beloved by them. A bad kind of fever, which would not leave me there, forced me to return to my parents. There I remained about half a year. When I was well again I returned to Herrnhaag.

Work was very scarce in Herrnhaag and by the advice of the Brethren I again set out for home. On the way I met my old master who re-

<sup>5</sup>J. J. Stahl: *N. E. Quarterly* (Dec., 1939), p. 755.

<sup>6</sup>Margaretha Barbara Hahn, *Memoir*, *Morav. Arch.* (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



joiced to see me and offered me work. In 1744, I married his daughter, Margaretha Barbara, and remained eight years longer in Reweiler, where I attended the Lutheran Church.

In 1752 we went to Broadbay in New England. At the place where we lived there was neither school nor church, so a group gathered around me of those who were concerned for their own and their children's salvation. I held services for them, performed marriages and baptized children. I also kept school for the children; until finally the Brethren, Sam Herr and Soelle, came to us as preachers.

In 1771 with several other families we travelled to Wachovia and arrived on Nov. 12, when the beautiful text of the day was: Cast all your care upon Him, for He careth for you. We supported ourselves for a year in Salem, and then moved to Friedberg, where for three years we lived not far from the Schoolhouse, and attended services often. In 1775 we moved to Friedland.

Here ended Georg Hahn's account of his own life, and the memoir is concluded by some unknown Moravian brother, who after Hahn's death added the following paragraphs:

At first he attended the services in Friedland, but finally drew away because of self-righteousness and self-esteem. He lived at home quietly and for himself, reading much in his books and edifying himself in quiet. Yet he was always glad to be visited. Especially during his last illness it was evident that he placed his trust only in Jesus, his Saviour; he was often heard calling upon the Lord for grace and help and mercy. Once when asked whether he had anything against anyone, he answered: No, and added:

Where shall I turn, as mortal must?  
Oh, Jesus, Lord, in thee I trust!

And so he waited for his last moment, which came on Sept. 21, at three o'clock in the morning, when his soul passed into the hands of his Redeemer. His age was 70 years, 8 months and some days.<sup>7</sup>

In the afternoon the remains of our neighbor, Georg Hahn, were accompanied to their resting place in our God's Acre. He passed away yesterday morning about 3 o'clock.<sup>8</sup>

Another of Broad Bay's early schoolmasters was Georg Soelle. This missionary to the Moravians took up his residence in Broad Bay in 1762 and took over Hahn's duties as preacher and teacher, thus meeting the twofold duty of the German ministerial tradition. This same year a mission house was built for him on the shore of the Vogler farm, now the Davis Dairy farm, and here Soelle resided, preached, and kept school. The subjects of instruction were those already sketched, except that the religious part must have embraced much Moravian doctrine and church history. This school was a sizable one since all Moravians were impelled to send their children from a sense of religious duty, whether or not they were needed at home. With such children

<sup>7</sup>Diary of the Salem Morav. Cong. of Sept. 1788, Morav. Arch. (Winston-Salem, N. C.).

<sup>8</sup>Friedland Diary, Sept. 22, 1788.

must be included those of a small group of Moravian sympathizers, and it is regrettable to add, the children of some of Soelle's Lutheran persecutors.

The first term of this school began December 20, 1762, "with our own and a few outside children and continued through the whole winter." The following year (1763) Soelle was moved to note: "Many people have come to me to get me to take their children into school. I have had some of them this winter including those of a man who is one of our principal enemies here."<sup>9</sup> Generalizing from this latter fact, the conclusion is reached that the gall of some one Lutheran was exactly equal to the Moravian's Christian forbearance. This school continued to function for eight years and among those deriving their education from it were the young Romingers, Voglers, Seitenbergers, Orphs, Holzapfels, Heyers, Wagners, Seitzes, Hahns, Schumachers, Jungs, Kroehns, Kastners, and quite possibly the young Lutherans of either the Leisner or Reiser families.

Georg Soelle stands alone as the one pure spirit in the dark and evil days of our early religious history. He lived for Christ alone, and in a mystical relationship to him that in religious experience is commonly associated with seeing visions and hearing voices. His memoir is long and made up largely of mystical experiences in the religious crises of his life, which to the modern reader can only appear strange and largely meaningless. Hence the memoir of this early schoolmaster which follows, includes the main details of his life with most of the mystical data omitted.

I was born Nov. 6, 1709, on the island of Erroe in Denmark. . . . In my twelfth year I was overcome with such fear of the dear God, such terror, that I went into the church, threw myself on the floor and with many tears besought God to forgive my sins; I lost my fear, and for twelve years went my own way with a feeling of security.

In 1734 I was in Odensee school, when I was overcome by new unrest. I felt the horror of sin. . . . Once I saw a beautiful grapevine, with blood-red grapes from which my hands and feet became as red as blood. Another time it seemed that I was one of those who bore the body of the Saviour, and as it vanished from our hands I heard a voice call three times distinctly, "The Brethren have overcome!" Now at this time I had not heard a word about the Unity of Brethren.

In 1741 I was called as a Lutheran preacher and was ordained and spoke openly of the Grace that led a poor sinner to the feet of Jesus.

Soon thereafter in 1742, I met Brother Grasmann, and so learned to know the first member of the Unity, in whose conversation and fellowship my heart found good. . . .

In 1747 my dear old Pastor, whose Deacon I was, went home in his 82nd year as a sinner redeemed by the blood of Jesus. This ended my

<sup>9</sup>Georg Soelle, *Kurze Historische Nachricht von dem Häuflein in Broad Bay, etc., Morav. Arch. (Bethlehem, Penna.)*.

service there, and as the Saviour had made it plain to me that I belonged among his Brethren, I now decided to go to the Unity. . . .

On Oct. 26th, I reached Herrnhaag when the beautiful text for the day was: "I dwell among my people." I went on to Marienborn; was received into the congregation on Dec. 1st., and in April 1749, partook with them of the Lord's Supper. . . . With other Brethren I went to Barby, where for three years my heart was at school, and I learned to know myself better, and the Saviour showed me much Grace.

In 1753 I was called to America, and on Sept. 14th reached Bethlehem with some other Brethren, conscious of the Saviour who revealed himself in grace to us. From there I preached the Gospel of Jesus' sufferings and death in Oly, Lynn, Yorktown and Philadelphia. In 1760 I journeyed to New England; and in 1762 to Rhode Island, and from there to Broadbay, where I remained for eight years. In 1770 I moved with several families to Wachovia in North Carolina.

Succeeding paragraphs contain the details of Soelle's mission in the Carolinas. A part of the last of these only, written by one of the Brethren, and containing the last details of the end of Soelle's life, follows:

On the last evening before his blessed home-going, that is on May 4, 1773, several of the Brethren visited him, and someone asked him whether he could see the Brethren who loved him dearly and had come to call on him? He answered: "I am very glad that the Brethren love me, but I am very weak and feeble in body, though strong in heart." So he talked on for more than half an hour about the blessings which his heart had found in the wounds of Jesus, speaking partly in English and partly in German as though he were addressing a large congregation. Finally when the Brethren sang hymns for him, he joined in in a weak voice until the final moment approached. About eleven o'clock that night he passed gently into the arms of Jesus, as the last blessing of the congregation and of his choir was given in the words, "Into the peace of Jesus go with spirit, soul and body, thou brother of the Lord." He was in his sixty-fourth year.<sup>10</sup>

There was another early schoolmaster at Broad Bay, one who construed his duties very lightly indeed. In passing, a brief gesture of pedagogy on the part of "Doctor" John Martin Schaeffer should be mentioned. When Doctor Schaeffer came to Broad Bay he was doubtless aware that he would be expected to manifest some interest in education. This fact confronted him with a problem requiring some thought. In the first place, there were his ministerial duties requiring some time and the minor obligations of the office, which were well paid. Again, there was the medical phase of his work which entailed calls over a wide range of country, and was time-consuming but highly lucrative. Then there were always in a new settlement excellent openings for business ventures, which also might command large profits. Teach-

<sup>10</sup>Memoir filed in Salem Morav. Arch. (Winston-Salem, N. C.).



ing was time-killing and by comparison with other activities was unprofitable. Perhaps Mr. Soelle would collaborate with him and take over this phase of the parish work; the Doctor would undoubtedly be able to send him a goodly number of Lutheran pupils, possibly on a per capita commission basis. Amid such possibilities we simply add an account of a courtesy call that Mr. Soelle once paid on his Lutheran colleague, and in Soelle's own words:

Inspite of all this [persecution] I paid him a call and found him very friendly. I, however, serene and of good courage in the presence of my God, told him of my sole purpose here [at Broad Bay], and with that ended my call and took friendly leave. He promised to visit me soon, saying that he certainly must do that, since he expected to be able to persuade me to become his assistant in preaching and *in the keeping of school*. I replied that I was here only to serve the few who had asked it of me, and that I could go no further in that matter.<sup>11</sup>

There is no further record of Doctor Schaeffer's educational program, and it is extremely doubtful that it ever projected beyond this stage. The Doctor just was not interested in the profits accruing to mankind from education.

The Lutheran and Moravian brands of early education at Broad Bay were further augmented in a somewhat lesser degree by that of the Reformed Church. This came about with the migration of 1752 which had in it two schoolmasters of the Reformed Church who later became active as lay preachers and teachers to the Reformed group. The records of the period contain references to their religious work, but little that would enlighten us on the educational side. This is understandable in view of the fact that their teaching was private in character. Both men in their teaching followed the practices and patterns of their Lutheran and Moravian colleagues. One of them, name unknown, lived on the west side on Lot No. 9, on a part of which the present Lutheran church now stands. This lot originally ran in a general easterly direction twenty-five rods in width to the river bank, and it was near the shore that the unknown schoolmaster had his cabin. In the deed of the Pemaquid Proprietors to Andrew Weller under date of September 21, 1763, one of the bounds is described as follows: "South by Lot No. 9, in the occupation *of the late schoolmaster*."<sup>12</sup> This unknown teacher, it is to be inferred, had lived and labored no later than 1763, and on his demise without valid title to the land, it was granted by Shem Drowne to the "Dutch" as one of the two school lots originally promised to them by General Waldo.

<sup>11</sup>Soelle, *Kurze Historische Nachricht* etc., Morav. Arch. (Bethlehem, Penna.). [Italics mine.]

<sup>12</sup>Lincoln Co. Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.), VII, 84. [Italics mine.]

Of the second of these Reformed schoolmasters the name is known, but little more. He was Heinrich Lange, or anglicized, Henry Long. Here again a deed is the source of our meager information, a deed under the date of July 22, 1767, in which Martin Sidelinger conveyed to Henry Long, schoolmaster, "a lot at Broad Bay containing five acres, which I fenced and improved some years ago, and which said Henry now dwells upon."<sup>13</sup> The bounds of the lot defined in detail locate the schoolmaster in the area of a mile above the lower falls. At the time of the incorporation of the town he was the only one of the five early schoolmasters still engaged in educational work. John Ulmer had become a prosperous capitalist, Hahn and Soelle had gone to "other parts," and one of the Reformed schoolmasters had died. If any others among the German settlers had taken up the work of schoolmastering, there is no record of their names.

This educational fumbling and chance instruction in the early days at Broad Bay had one quite terrible implication. Such little schooling as there was, was entirely centralized. All the schoolmasters lived and taught in, or rather close to, the present village area. After 1760 population expanded rapidly to the very outer periphery of the town's bounds, a fact which placed three quarters of the pupil population beyond possible access to any schools or teachers. In these outer areas great masses of children were born and grew up as utter illiterates. Still worse, when they in turn became parents, they were indifferent in the main to educational values. It was in this manner that illiteracy and limited educational standards became a fixed tradition in the town, for these back-district folk constituted a strong majority, and in Town Meetings they were little prone to raise monies for educational purposes. Ignorance like a pall of darkness settled over the outer areas of the town, and it was not until the present century that it was completely dispelled. The condition is given its proper emphasis at this point, for it colored the history of the town darkly for a century and a half.

In 1773 the Plantation of Broad Bay became the Town of Waldoborough. Township status brought many new obligations, among which, under the terms of an old Massachusetts law, was a legal compulsion to maintain a church and free schools. For the Germans this created a problem, since they already had the semblance of a school system that was German, and to them it seemed to work out in a reasonable, satisfactory way. Under it those who wanted education for their children could have it by paying the costs; those who could not send their children to school by reason of the fact that they were too economically

<sup>13</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, V, 213.



necessary at home, and those who were disinterested were not being taxed for the training of other peoples' children. So things were working out rather well as they were. A system of free schools would raise problems and cause embarrassment; it would entail general taxation, a practice to which the majority was opposed, and it would raise the language issue. Should German be the medium of instruction, such schools would be meaningless to the Puritan children; were both languages to be used, that would mean two schools in a single center and as such an unacceptable tax burden; were English to become the sole medium of instruction in such a school system it would make the subject matter unintelligible to many of the young Germans, and worse still, it would be a fatal blow to religion, for the old Germans were rigidly set on keeping the doctrines, teachings, and preachings of their church in a language they could understand.

To them the two institutions, their language and their church, could not be separated without bringing about the ruin of the latter. Therefore they would not depart from their present educational arrangement. If the Puritans wanted schools for their children they were free to do exactly what certain Germans were doing, that is, hire their teachers and let them function in the way now current in the colony. They could also join together in a neighborhood and build their own log school; it would only be just that those should furnish the labor and material whose children were the ones to reap the profit, and this is just what the early Puritans had to do. So it was that the first English schools in Walldoborough had to be patterned on the semi-private system of the Germans. However, they had a somewhat broader curriculum, and were under the direction of better trained teachers.

For a quarter of a century after 1773 the conservative German majority at Broad Bay successfully resisted in one way or another every effort on the part of the Puritan minority, supported by a handful of the more progressive Germans, to inaugurate a system of free public schooling in the town. The record of school affairs in the minutes of the Town Meetings is a scanty one, but interpreted in the light of the German majority view and as their way of maintaining the status quo, it becomes highly meaningful and even tactically ingenious. In almost every meeting the minority hammered on this issue, but in one way or another the ponderous conservative majority deflected, turned back, or steam-rolled them, down to the very end of the century.

The question of schools was projected into the first meeting of the new town that took up fiscal matters. Article IV, of the warrant of October 19, 1773, read: "To see what sum of money the Town will agree to raise for the Support of a school in said town." The majority met the issue indirectly by a vote "that the



fourth article in the warrant concerning the school be not acted upon." The following spring the question was brought up again, and on March 15, 1774, the raising of money was placed under the ban of the majority for both "Preaching and Schooling." From this point on to March 4, 1776, the pages containing the minutes have been carefully excised from the clerk's records by some unknown vandal, but in the interim no headway apparently was made on the school issue. In 1776 the pro-school group tried new tactics, and on July 9th there appeared in the warrant an article "to see if the town will raise money to have schooling for six, eight or twelve months." A half-loaf is better than no loaf, and they probably hoped to draw for a six-month school a sizable vote from those who would oppose a more general measure because of their uncertainty of what it might mean in terms of taxes. On July 25th the rejection of this article is recorded in almost churlish words: "The town will not raise money for . . . schooling in the town." And why should it, since what education there was in the town was being run in the manner the majority wished?

The next move apparently of the free-school party was to evoke the power of the old seventeenth-century Massachusetts school law, and in this way to bring these obdurate "Dutch" to a full stop. The method used becomes clear in the warrant of December 4, 1779, Article V: "To see if the town will vote to raise money to keep a Schoole in sd. town by a complaint of the Grant Jury." Here was the threat of an indictment and this was serious, indeed, for failure to comply might mean that the General Court would levy a heavy fine on the town. But this was wartime and affairs were at loose ends everywhere and especially so in Maine. State troops had been defeated and dispersed in the ill-starred Penobscot campaign; the British were firmly established at Castine and furnishing a safe base for Tory raids in all parts of the county.

Taking advantage of all this confusion, the majority on December 20th laid article V on the table until March, and then on March 3, 1780, voted "to defer action on the school warrant." Finally on April 4, 1780, it was voted "to raise £40 for keeping a school," and that the selectmen were "to regulate the schools in four quarters in said town." This looked like a substantial victory for the supporters of free schools, but in reality it was probably almost meaningless. In the first place, money had depreciated to the point where it was of little value. In the second place, the selectmen had the power "to regulate four schools." What they did with their £40 appropriation of hard cash cannot be known with certainty, but from the practice of a few years later it seems probable that this appropriation, of little value at best, was allocated on a per capita basis to those few families under expense

for the education of their children in existing schools of a semi-private nature.

In the following year, 1781, the warrant for the March meeting contained an article "to see if the town will vote to hier a minister for the ensuing year and a Schoolmaster also." On March 12th the answering vote was "not to raise money for school." The Germans cannot be wholly blamed for such consistent reluctance to expend monies for education. Contributory factors were a war inflation, dire poverty, heavy taxes, and a substantial debt which undoubtedly moved some to vote to hold the purse strings tight who otherwise would have given their support to education. The year 1782 was a repetition of the same story: "Voted not to raise money at this time for schooling." On March 7, 1785, "the vote being called to raise a sum of money for schooling, was passed in the negative," and not until 1789, when the Federal Government had restored confidence by the adoption of measures for the resuscitation of business and credit, did the town pass its second appropriation for education by voting "to raise £30 to be layed out in a school or schools in this town." In the May meeting it was decided that "the town be divided into four parts as to keeping a schoole and each part to draw on town treasurer one fourth the money voted at a town meeting held the fourth of May, 1789." At best the sum was small, and £7 10s. to each quarter would provide little in the way of schooling, hence it is possible that the appropriation was allotted sectionally to those who were paying the tuition of their children in the private schools, as before.

In 1790, £40, and in 1791, £80 were raised for schooling with the proviso that this money was to be paid "by way of orders who have got them schooled." This rather cryptic phrase can only mean that as of yore those who had children in school could draw their proportional share of the appropriation to help in defraying the expense of their schooling. All previous appropriations, we believe, had been dispensed in this way which was decidedly to the advantage of the Germans since it did not change their system, and by reason of their numbers, gave them the lion's share of the appropriation for their own purpose. These early appropriations apparently were paid in goods, in which many in the town were still paying their taxes. This condition of affairs is revealed in the following article in the warrant of December 5, 1791: "To see if the Town will vote to pay the school tax in money in order to keep a town school." From this article it may be inferred that a town school, or free school, had not been held up to this time. As was to be expected, the article was rejected by the majority simply voting that it was "not to be acted upon."



In 1792 the first little break in the dike was made. On May 7th it was voted "to raise £40 to keep a school or schools in this town," and "to raise £20 in addition to the above sum to be layed out in public schooling." The meaning of this double-barrelled appropriation is not clear, but the phrase "to keep a school or schools in this town" does reveal the absence of any set pattern of education existing at this time. It was, however, at about this time that a few school districts were defined in the town. All this time the Puritan element was becoming stronger, both from inner growth and fresh accessions from without. This increased power seems to have been reflected in 1793 in an appropriation of £100 "to be laid out in public schooling," and it was stipulated that "the selectmen divide the £100 in proportion to the several districts." At the same time a census was authorized in "each School District to take an account of the number of Familys and children so as to proportion the money according to there numbers *and circumstances* attending there unto and to make a report of the same." (*Italics mine.*)

This census was a rather simple matter, each family, if it were interested, turning in to the census taker a list of its children's names with their ages. It does show that at this time the town was divided into nine school districts, and the names of the census takers provides a clue for identifying the districts: "The first District on the point, Mr. Jacob Winkepaw," clearly the Dutch Neck; "Second District, Mr. Stephen Simmons," West Waldborough; "Third District, Capt. Ludwig," probably upper west side Winslow Mills area; "Fourth, Mr. Levensaler," general North Waldborough area; "Fifth District, Mr. Damouth," the mid-northern area; "Sixth Distrek, Capt. Samson," the present village area; "Seventh District, Mr. Fitzgerald," the eastern part of the town; "Eigth Distrect, John Studley," the southern east side; "Ninth Distreck, Jacob Benner," Belscop area.

This 1793 appropriation was also possibly weighted in the interest of the Germans. The term "circumstances" was open to interpretation and made it possible to allocate the monies to the poorer families, which would exclude the children of a good many of the English families. Action taken in May 1794 seems to have been pointed against such an abuse, if it existed, for the town voted that "districting shall be the same as last year, *and all persons shall have the right* in their district to a school." (*Italics mine.*) This phraseology would suggest that heretofore all had not had this right, or what is more probable, that in some districts no schools had been held. At any rate, such an arrangement did not seem to commend itself to the majority, for in the April meeting of this year only £60 was raised for schooling. This re-



duction may have been due to German influence, since allotment on a per capita basis, while it would not embarrass the Germans greatly, would leave the English minority in the town scanty support for its program. In the May meeting (planting time in the back-districts) the English seem to have been in the majority, so the vote was reconsidered and "£100 was raised for schooling this year." In the June meeting the proponents of economy assembled — or was it the German-language group? — and the appropriation was the subject of controversy, but it was kept at the £100 level.

In 1795 the Reverend Ritz made his appearance on the scene as pastor of the Lutheran Church. He knew little English and preached only in German, but despite this fact and according to Cyrus Eaton "he had the good sense to advise his parishioners to abandon their German schools and to give their children an English education."<sup>14</sup> This advice was sound inasmuch as it was in line with that which would inevitably take place, and possibly it was heeded by a few of his followers, which in a small way may have reduced the influence and voting strength of the intransigents. From this time on to the end of the century there was no further move to curtail appropriations, the figure being maintained in 1795 at £100; and thereafter, with the adoption of the Federal currency of dollars instead of pounds, \$333.00 was raised each year down to 1800 for the support of schools.

The district unit as the basis of the educational system was already firmly established by the end of the century. In 1797 the first move was made toward district autonomy in school matters by introducing the agent system, an agent being some resident in a given district who was empowered to handle school affairs in his district. In the warrant of May 10, 1797, there was an article "to see if the town will vote that each district of this town shall choose a school committee." On this article the town voted "that the selectmen superintend the schools in this town and that they forthwith order some suitable person in each District to warn the Inhabitants to hold a District Meeting for the purpose of choosing a school committee." Theoretically this committee would be in control in its own district with the agent acting as its executive officer. This move, presaging the shape of things to come in the educational system of the next century, served to transfer the differences between the Teuton and the Puritan from an occasional clash in Town Meeting to a perpetual wrangle in the districts, and since unity of action at this time could not be secured in this way, it was voted, perhaps by a German majority, on May 3, 1798, "not to choose a school committee in each dis-

<sup>14</sup>*Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 287.

trict." Down to the end of the century the practice carried on of each man drawing his school money according to the number of his children, and if a German, using the same for the education of his children, if at all, under a German teacher. So long as the money so drawn was used for educational purposes in the town, no restrictions were laid down governing its specific use. In this manner the Germans throughout the century were able to maintain the predominance of their language as an essential adjunct, in their minds, to their religion.

This exposition of the status of education in Waldoborough down to the year 1800 has been set forth in documented detail. Its minutiae have had the twofold objective of making clear the step by step development leading to the somewhat better-known nineteenth-century educational setup, and secondly to reveal the clash between the quasi-feudal culture of eighteenth-century Germans and the new, highly democratic tradition of the Puritan.

The struggle, however, should not be thought of as engendering bitterness or racial tension. On the contrary, the Teuton and the Puritan got along together extremely well; they were good neighbors who cooperated freely, intermarried, and where language was not a bar enjoyed together a friendly, social life. Friction between them was no greater than would arise in the present day between groups animated by different political or educational philosophies. The Puritan quite naturally wanted to live in a town where his children would have the same religious and educational advantages enjoyed by those in similar American communities; and the old Germans were quietly and resolutely determined that that language should survive which they held vital to the perpetuation of their church, dearest to them of all their traditions and institutions.

There can be no doubt that during the eighteenth century they held their ground well, although in ways they could neither sense nor foresee the Puritan was making headway and his culture slowly and subtly filtering in. It has been observed by Doctor Moses R. Ludwig, himself born at the close of this century, that around 1800

teachers of the English language began to be employed, first in private families, and then in our public schools. Newell W. Weatherbee of Barnstable, Massachusetts, was engaged in the early part of 1800, and may justly be said to be the first teacher who inspired the children with a love for English Literature, instead of their vernacular dialect.<sup>15</sup>

With the advent of Mr. Weatherbee, the second phase in the development of the town's schools began.

<sup>15</sup>*Genealogy of the Ludwig Family* (Augusta, 1866).

## XXIV

### THE LAST OF THE PROPRIETORS

*Be strong my heart, thou hast borne fouler things before.*

HOMER

*Odyssey*, Book xx

AT THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH and Indian War the Plantation of Broad Bay was a string of farms, in general of one hundred acres each, with a twenty-five rod frontage on the water, reaching from the tip end of Dutch Neck north along the river to about a mile above the lower falls, and from there, on the eastern bank, running south along the water and around the bay to the Narrows. Back of this river fringe of cleared land lay the ungranted forest areas of the Waldo Patent. The validity of this Patent's claim to the western bank had proved very costly and illusory indeed to the settlers, but on the eastern shore nothing had ever happened to disturb their confidence in the slightest degree.

Following the last of the Indian wars the expansion of the colony had been a natural one. Some of the settlers, having found lots removed from the river which were attractive, settled on them, and sold their old farms to wealthier members of the settlement or to incoming Puritans. Again, young men coming of age would select land to their liking in the forest area, clear it, build a cabin, and here bring a young bride to found a new home. This squatting took place with the express or implied understanding that the proprietor would grant a title when the usual price per acre had been paid, and in fact, a representative of the Waldo heirs visited the settlement from time to time to receive monies due on newly settled lands and to grant titles to the same. Thus the expansion of the settlement followed a course that was normal in all respects.

In an earlier chapter changes in the ownership of the Waldo Grant were outlined down to the year 1773. At this time, the major part of free lands in the Patent, including all such lands east of the Medomak within the town limits of Waldoborough, were legally vested in Thomas Flucker, son-in-law of General Waldo and Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The



proprietary rights of the Patent were administered by him in an orderly and legal way down to the outbreak of the Revolution, but with the advent of war, confusion set in, and the basis was laid of new land troubles which were to vex the settlers for the next thirty years. It all started with the fact that the Waldos and their in-laws were Tories, among the most conspicuous ones in the entire colony. This marked them all for the vengeance of the patriots, and when Lord Howe evacuated Boston in March 1776 the Waldos, the Winslows and the Fluckers fled with the British Army to Halifax.

Toryism was a red-hot issue in Massachusetts, and there was much talk of the confiscation of all Tory property by the state. All this was common gossip in Waldoborough, and the belief became general that with Mr. Flucker practically an outlaw, the unoccupied lands in the town were now free land. Some legal confirmation was given this view in September 1778, when a law was passed by the General Court under which the estates of three hundred and ten Tories in Massachusetts were confiscated, among which were those of Francis Waldo of Falmouth, and Thomas Flucker of Boston, heirs of the Waldo Patent. All that was not covered by legal title was held by the people as forfeited and on the same footing as other public lands.

The development of these circumstances led in the 70's and 80's to a wild scramble for land that did not end until practically every foot of free land in the town was covered by a claim of some sort or other. Participating were men in the old settled portions of the town, who sold their farms and squat on new claims, improved the land and built homes; young men of the second generation who staked their claims in favored spots and there founded new families; and lastly the local capitalists or land speculators who staked large acreages to hold against the day when land values would rise and net them handsome profits. The procedure followed was in general to stake out a claim and then hire a surveyor to survey its bounds. These latter, very frequently with a diagram of the plot, would be recorded in Wiscasset as the claim of Mr. X. There are literally scores of these on record in the Lincoln County Registry of Deeds, many with maps of the claims and a few even with a crude little sketch of the claimant's cabin. The only value of such recorded claims was that it gave to the original squatter certain priority rights, which would be recognized locally and perhaps also by squatters coming from the westward. This was the start of the populating of the back-districts of the town.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>An indication of the extent to which these back-districts filled up is furnished by the crossroad now known as Weaver Town. Mr. Frank Weaver in his 83rd year (1941) related to me of having been frequently told by his mother that in her younger days there were 100 people living along this road.



Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

THE LAST OF THE MUSCONGUS PROPRIETORS  
Major General Henry Knox  
(1750-1806)



AN OLD WALDOBORO KITCHEN  
(Home of Jasper J. Stahl)



The first phase of this scramble to absorb the "vacant" land in the town had been carried on by the more enterprising of the local people with, of course, mutual moral approval. Following the forfeiture of the Proprietors' rights in 1778 someone had quite justly inserted the following article in the town warrant of March 1, 1779: "To see what the town would do concerning the vacant land in the town." This was certainly a pertinent inquiry, but by this time there were so many who had been both seeing and doing, that the cryptic record of the action taken on March 16: "Clause on vacant land laid on table," is not lacking in a certain element of humor.

Within a couple of years the Revolutionary soldiers were filtering in from the westward with their pockets filled with a currency so worthless that it would buy no land. They began to settle wherever the land seemed good. This was a somewhat different matter, for it was in some cases a question of the squatter being squatted on, and as a consequence, on December 24, 1781, the following article appeared in the warrant: "To see what measures the town will take concerning strangers *defrauding* the town of their vacant land." (*Italics mine.*) Thereon it was voted that "no stranger shall encroach on any man's land or meadow in said town." Obviously it was the intent of the majority that in the main such squatting as was going to be done, would be done by local citizens.

It is obviously impossible to trace in detail this unlawful occupation of the vacant lands of the town, but a sufficient number of specific cases will be cited here to indicate the nature and scope of the scramble by these land-hungry Germans, in order to give the basis for a concrete understanding of its aftermath of consequences. The following surveys are simply a few typical cases of the general movement of land absorption in these years. April 13, 1774: "Then surveyed this lot for Mr. Henry Walk at a place called Back Cove near Goose River, . . . containing 88 acres and 20 poles on the Back side of Broad Cove." Near by Mr. John Varner (Werner) took up a lot "containing 73 acres and 135 poles"; February 29, 1775, Jacob Ludwig and Jacob Winchenbach, "a lot containing 156 acres and 65 poles extending from Broad Cove to Goose River," surveyed by Nath. Meservy; May 10, 1777, Charles Brotmann (Boardman) a tract at Medomak Pond, "containing 364 acres"; July 23, 1776, Philip Schuman, "a lot up in the country," on the east side of the river, "containing 157 acres, 8 poles," surveyed by John Martin; July 10, 1781, Frank Miller, "a lot containing 445 acres on the west side of Triangle Meadow Brook," surveyed by John Martin; December 1, 1781, Charles Benner, "a lot two and one half miles from

Broad Bay in Waldoborough, containing 140 acres," surveyed by Nathaniel Meservy.<sup>2</sup>

These cases of Waldoborough squatters are few but typical of the illegal land absorption during the seventh and eighth decades of this century. Even while this grab was merrily going on, disturbing rumors began to reach Waldoborough around 1784 concerning readjustments in the title to the Waldo Patent. Unfortunately for the usurpers of the vacant lands, there was one member of the Waldo family who had remained loyal to the American cause. This was Lucy Flucker, daughter of Hannah Waldo Flucker and granddaughter of General Samuel Waldo. It was also unfortunate that she was the wife of one of the ablest and most highly respected soldiers of the Revolution, Major General Henry Knox.

In right of her mother Lucy Knox was seized of one-fifth part of the Waldo Patent as well as the two fifths belonging to her father, Thomas Flucker, which had been purchased in 1773 of the widow of Colonel Samuel Waldo. This part of the Patent, having become confiscate under the Act of 1778, remained to be disposed of by an agent or administrator appointed by the Judge of Probate of Suffolk County, "the last residence of said Flucker." Joseph Pierce, the agent first appointed, had confined his doings largely to the settlement of Flucker's property in the present State of Massachusetts, and having then resigned his office, was succeeded by General Knox in accordance with a resolve of the General Court of June 28, 1784. Knox's bond was given to Oliver Wendell, Judge of Probate of Suffolk County, for £20,000, with Benjamin Hitchborn and Henry Jackson, Esq., as sureties, at which time Flucker was styled "an absentee lately deceased."<sup>3</sup>

As agent empowered to liquidate for the state the lands held by the Waldo heirs under the Muscongus Patent, the first act of General Knox was to secure a definition of the bounds of this grant. It has been pointed out in an earlier chapter that the lines of the original Beauchamp-Leverett grant were drawn by gentlemen in England who had never been in America and who had as their only guide a few of the very earliest maps, crude and inaccurate. In consequence their efforts to define the bounds in terms of exact geographic realities were vague. Accordingly in 1785 a committee of the General Court at the request of the new agent, General Knox, began a study to determine the exact limits of the Patent. It, too, found the original document a geographical puzzle and reported as follows: "A description, the true intent and meaning whereof your committee finds it extremely difficult

<sup>2</sup>Recorded under dates given, Lincoln County Registry of Deeds (Wiscasset, Me.).

<sup>3</sup>These papers were in 1865 in the possession of John Bulfinch of Waldoboro.



to determine." It did ascertain, however, that on February 3, 1762, a committee of the General Court reported it "expedient for the Province to release and convey to the heirs of Brig. General Waldo a tract six miles in breadth reaching to the eastward." This was the grant made to compensate the Waldo heirs for relinquishing their claim in that year to the west bank of the Medomak. But even this extension the committee found vaguely defined, and on its recommendation the General Court gave to the Patent its first exact bounds. Briefly, they were the following:

beginning at a point of land east of the mouth of the river Muscongus, then extending up said river according to the general course thereof unto the country; then from said point around the coast to the Penobscot river, then up that river to a point from which a line run from the Penobscot to the Muscongus will complete thirty square miles.

The confirmation of this added territory on the east was made by the General Court *on provision* that the heirs execute a release and quitclaim of all other lands except those contained in this tract, and that any person "who may now be in possession of any lands within the limits of said Patent and who had been in possession of the same from any time before the 19th of April, shall be quieted in such possession, upon such terms as hereafter shall be determined upon by the General Court." It was this last provision, all other means failing, under which the settlers of Waldoborough were ultimately compelled to seek relief. In this clause the term "April 19th," was by a resolve of November 1, 1788, declared to mean the 19th of April, 1775. The Act of July 4th, 1785, legalizing the bounds of the Patent affected the entire grant comprising 600,000 acres, of which at this time the Lincolnshire Company held 100,000 and the Ten Proprietors about 50,000 acres, and the balance was covered by the claims of the Waldo heirs.

In the meantime the people of Waldoborough, stirred by reports involving the possible loss of their lands, began preparing their defense. In the Town Meeting of April 4, 1785, it was voted "to choose a committee to examine and inform themselves into the several Proclamations and other Engagements of all kinds relative to Brigadier Waldo's or others settling of Broad Bay, now Waldoborough, and make a return of their doings thereon to the town as soon as they can conveniently accomplish the same." This committee, made up mainly of original settlers, included Captain Jacob Ludwig, Waterman Thomas, Esq., Mr. George Demuth, Peter Cramer, Joseph Ludwig, Frank Miller, and Captain Matthias Remilly. What this committee reported back to the town will probably never be known, since the loose records of the town were all nonchalantly and stupidly destroyed in 1938.

It is historically fortunate in this clash of the people with



the last of the Proprietors that the records of the Massachusetts Archives provide some of the data that make it possible to piece together and to follow the details of the struggle. These records show that on May 15, 1785, the selectmen of the town, John Martin Schaeffer, Waterman Thomas, Peter Cranmer, Cornelius Turner, and Jacob Ludwig, submitted to the General Court a petition, apparently based on the report of the citizens' committee of April 4th, setting forth the position of the landholders in the town as follows:

In 1751, 1752 and 1753 General Waldo through proclamations in Germany promised 100 acres of land to each head of a family settling at Broad Bay, 200 acres of land for ministerial lots, 200 for school lots, and 200 acres to the first settled minister to 120 families. By reason of these offers 185 heads of families, and others upwards of twenty-one years of age, left their native lands. . . . In fifteen months came the French and Indian war, in which several of the settlers starved to death and several were murdered and scalped by the Indians while trying to provide sustenance. . . . After the war many were compelled to purchase their farms of the Pemaquid Proprietors. Brigadier Waldo has not made us any consideration for the lands promised us in Germany nor returned us the money we paid for our lands. Many of your petitioners have settled here since the French war, which we pray your Honours would confirm upon the lands we are settled upon, as our lots in general contain but 100 acres, which we have defended against the unlawful encroachments of Britain. Therefore we now hope that your Honours will not leave the widows and orphans of such as fell in that glorious contest, to the merciless prey of any set of men or their heirs who attempted to enslave us.

They then prayed that the Waldo claim might not be conferred; that the Court would give heed to the Proclamation of Brigadier General Waldo and a letter of his heirs attached to their petition; and that "so great a priveledge as the lime rock might be free."<sup>4</sup>

It cannot be said that this petition was a model of historical accuracy, nor that it was free from cant, hypocrisy, or avarice, but the settlers, including many of the squatters, did have a case of rather impressive justice. In outline it stood about as follows: the Germans on the west bank of the Medomak River, from the falls to the tip end of Dutch Neck, had been settled there by General Waldo and allotted a hundred acres per family. Actually these lands were not his and in consequence the settlers had been compelled in 1763 to purchase them of the Pemaquid Proprietors; hence it followed that none of these westside settlers had ever received the lands originally promised by Waldo. Consequently the Waldo heirs were legally and morally obligated to assign to such one hundred acres in the settlement or to give warranty deeds to those having such lands already in their possession, having

<sup>4</sup>Submission of Settlers, Waldo Claim (Mass. Archives).

settled on and improved such within the bounds of the Patent, which would mean the recognition of many of the squatter claims on the east side of the river.

Furthermore, among the original settlers on the eastern bank were some holding lands under assignment by Waldo, to whom deeds had never been issued. Such claims would clearly have to be honored by the heirs to the Patent; and lastly, the General had promised certain public lots within his Patent for religious and educational purposes, and here, too, the heirs were ethically bound to redeem such a promise. Those in possession of land not falling in these categories were the numerous squatters without a case except to petition the Court to declare the unoccupied portions of the Patent to be public lands. In fact, there were those who held that Flucker's lands, having reverted to the state under the Act of 1778, had become public property, and that the same terms should be extended to those who were settled on such land without title, as to families settling on wild lands. This case to a degree seems to have swayed the General Court, for even though it recognized and confirmed the bounds of the Patent under its Act of July 4, 1785, it reserved to itself the right to quiet those settled on all lands within the grant prior to April 19, 1775.

Before General Knox had acquired the Waldo rights within the Patent, and while still acting as agent for the state, he had made two efforts to quiet the settlers on rather liberal terms. In 1786 he proposed in writing the naming of three impartial judges, one to be chosen by the Proprietors, one by the settlers, and a third by a vote of the other two. This board was to fix the price on disputed lots, and this price was to be paid in three installments in the second, fourth and sixth years, without interest. This proposal was not accepted. So deeply did the settlers feel the justice of their claims that no settlement save on their own terms would have been to their satisfaction.

Again, in 1788 other terms were offered whereby title would be given to the land on payment of four shillings an acre. This sum could be paid in installments, without interest, either in money or marketable produce. On all early payments an interest of six per cent would be allowed. These terms applied, of course, to settlers anywhere within the Patent, and under this arrangement about three hundred persons settled their disputes with the agent. Since Henry Knox did not secure for himself claim to the Patent until 1791, matters tended to drift in the interim or remained in *statu quo* until the new proprietor, early in the 1790's, assumed active management of his estate.

Henry Knox was known to the people of Lincoln County largely through his reputation as an able and gallant soldier of the Revolution. Of his personal traits and business philosophy, or

of his possible attitude toward the quasi-tenants on his lands there could be only speculation. In fact, the new proprietor was not to appear personally on his estates for a number of years, and since the settlers were not disturbed in their holdings as the weeks and months passed, agitation died down. The reason for Knox's quiescence was his acceptance of the appointment of Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Washington. That he did not look forward to a political career as a thing of permanence, and that his thoughts were on ultimate retirement to his estate, is evidenced by a reference in his letter to Washington accepting the appointment. Under date of March 24, 1785, he wrote: "I have dependence on an unwieldy estate of Mrs. Knox's family, and upon the public certificate given for my services; but neither of these is productive, and require a course of years to render them so."

The people on the Waldo Patent awaited with some misgivings the coming of the new proprietor. Henry Knox was not to the manner born, as were so many of the Virginia gentlemen whom he knew and whose way of life he visualized for himself in the Maine wilderness. He had come up the hard way and had risen and succeeded on personal merit. He was born in Boston, on July 25, 1750, the seventh of ten sons and hence, due to the potency of this magic number, possessed of more than normal power by birthright. His father died in 1762 and Henry, becoming the sole stay of his mother, left school and secured a position in a bookstore in Cornhill. He continued to educate himself in history, the classics, and military strategy, and at the age of twenty-one opened his own bookshop which became a marked success. A frequent customer was Miss Lucy Flucker of Tory circles, daughter of Thomas Flucker, royal secretary of the Commonwealth, and "a high-toned loyalist of great family pretensions." When the storm broke, Knox joined an artillery company in Boston and directed the movement of the heavy guns overland from Ticonderoga which eventually forced the evacuation of Boston. When Lord Howe's army departed by sea in March 1776 all the Fluckers went with it; only Lucy in the face of strenuous family opposition had remained behind, as Mrs. Knox.<sup>5</sup>

Knox rose to the rank of major general and throughout the war was one of Washington's most valued counsellors and friends. The close of the struggle brought him a post in the President's cabinet, but it did not provide monetarily for his future, for the salary was only \$3000.00, and Knox's establishment was always costly. In New York he kept five servants and the average expense

<sup>5</sup>The data on Henry Knox is drawn from Noah Brooks, *Henry Knox, a Soldier of the Revolution* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900).



of his ménage was £1314 16s. per annum, partly by reason of the fact that Mrs. Washington, shrinking from the discharge of large social duties, had Mrs. Knox take the lead. The two ladies had always been the closest friends, and Mrs. Knox was at Mount Vernon with Martha Washington at the time of the surrender at Yorktown. In New York the General and his lady were conspicuous personages, she being very large and of lofty manners, and the General weighing two hundred and eighty pounds and standing a trifle over six feet. An observer of life in the capital city has left the following characterization of the couple:

She and her husband were, perhaps, the largest couple in the city, and both were favorites, he for really brilliant conversation and unfailing good humor, and she as a lively and meddlesome but amiable leader of society, without whose cooperation it was believed by many beside herself that nothing could be properly done in the drawing room or in the ball-room or any other place indeed where fashionable men and women sought enjoyment.<sup>6</sup>

In New York as everywhere else the Knoxes could not dispense with the grand manner of living. His hospitality was renowned for its elegance and generosity. Doctor Manesseh Cutler in his *Diary* notes that he dined at Knox's table with forty-four other gentlemen, and that the entertainment "was in the style of a Prince," Baron von Steuben being present and every one of the guests at the table being of the Order of the Cincinnati.<sup>7</sup>

Amid such a life the General's salary was not even meeting the demands of the present, and he strongly felt the need to provide for his family's future and wished to develop the large landed estate to which he had a certain claim through his wife's family. The death of his beloved friend, General Nathaniel Greene, who left a family scantily provided for at the end of a career of distinguished and unselfish service, had made a deep impression on Knox and, even as he was organizing the defense of the new state, he was working toward the liquidation of the old Waldo estate in "eastern parts," in order to have everything settled and ready against the day of his retirement.

In his capacity as agent of the State of Massachusetts for settling the Flucker estate, he obtained permission of the Supreme Judicial Court in October 1790 to sell all the real estate of Thomas Flucker, and on May 27, 1791, gave bond to account faithfully for the same to the State Treasurer. He had caused advertisements under date of March 21, 1791, to be posted in Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury, and also at Pownalborough, Newcastle, Nobleborough, Waldoborough, Warren, Cushing, Megunticook, Thomas-

<sup>6</sup>Rufus W. Griswold, *The Republican Court*, cited by Brooks, *opus cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>7</sup>Cited by Brooks, p. 220.

ton, Medumcook, Duck Trap, Frankfort, Belfast, Penobscot, Union, and Hope. Following these notices, on July 2, 1791, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in State Street, Boston, he made sale to Oliver Smith of that city, of the two fifths of the Waldo Patent belonging to the Flucker estate. This tract was estimated to include 65,000 or 70,000 acres, excepting the land which had been sold prior to April 19, 1775, and that subject to the conditions of the legislative resolves of 1785 and 1788. This purchase was conveyed by Smith to Henry Jackson of Boston, who on October 1, 1792, transferred it to Henry Knox of Philadelphia in consideration of the sum of \$5200.00. The following year Knox bought in all other titles to the Patent. Thus it was in his own right and that inherited by his wife that General Henry Knox became the sole proprietor of the Waldo estate, excepting of course those portions previously alienated by transfer of title to the settlers.

In the spring of 1793 workmen from Boston reached Thomaston and started work on the new mansion house under the supervision of the architect, Ebenezer Dunton. The new home was named Montpelier by Mrs. Knox. In the autumn of this year General Knox set his attorneys at work asserting his proprietary rights throughout the Patent. Since the quitclaim deeds that Knox had taken from the heirs of Francis Waldo and Lucy Waldo Winslow could legally transfer only such lands as were actually in their possession, and since large portions of them had been pre-empted by those who had squat upon them during and after the Revolution, it was necessary to put the grantee in possession by actual entry on those lots by "livery and seizin made by sod and twig." This ancient legal rite was administered by Ebenezer Vesey, attorney to the said heirs, and John Steele Tyler, attorney to General Knox, in the late autumn of 1793. Throughout the grant possession was taken in this manner of the land of four hundred and fifty-eight illegal possessors, one hundred and one of which were located in the town of Waldoborough. All these cases were those of citizens holding lands on the east side of the river in the easterly part of the town, from its northern to its southern limits. Some were clearly squatters, while others included those to whom Waldo had never given a written title, and those with titles who had pushed their claims farther east than their bounds warranted.

The writ of dispossession in so far as it affected Waldoborough people read as follows:

To All People Who Shall See These Presents be it known that Ebenezer Vesey, Attorney to the legal heirs of the Muscongus or Waldo Patent so called, did at several periods hereafter mentioned deliver possession of certain parts or Lots comprehended in the said Patent, and



that were unlawfully occupied or usurped by sundry persons, to John Steele Tyler Esquire, Attorney to Henry Knox Esquire, who is the purchaser of all the rights of the said heirs in and to the Patent aforesaid, the following are the names of the several persons who so unlawfully occupied or usurped the said parts and Lots with the dates at which possession was taken. . . .

Waldoborough, County of Lincoln, November 21, 1793: Matthias Waltz, Peter Mink, Francis Heisler, John Mink, Jacob Krow [Krau, Krause], John Prior, Michael Andrews, John Hauntel [Handel], Henry Demuth. November 22, Henry Binder [Benner], Jacob Binder, Charles Binder, John Binder, Charles Filer [Feyler], Peter Gross, Jacob ? Burnheimer, widow Wetts [probably Welt], George Schuman, widow Schuman, Christopher Kramer, Peter Kramer, John Oberlock, William Icholar, Christopher Filer, Peter Schwartz, John Martin, Christian Smith, Frederick Mahan, Jacob Ludwig, Adam Levensdows [Levensaler], John Webber [Weber, Weaver], John Schuman, Martin Hoch, Nicholas Orff, Charles Sitensberger, Mathias Rimeley [Remilly], John Ulmer, Charles Raser [Reiser, Razor], George Keun [Kuhn], John Warner [Werner], Seth Paine, George Demuth, Paul Lash, John Walizer, Abraham Chapman, George Nash, Caleb Howard, Isaiah Cole, Ludwig Castner, Michael Isley, — Andrews, Loring Seitz, Thomas Barker, Christopher Newbit, Henry Miller, John Filer, widow Simmons, Joseph Simmons, Mathias Storer, John Trowbridge, Alexander Turner, Andrew Schink, Waterman Thomas, Esquire, William Loud, Charles Sampson, Andrew Storer, John Labe. November 23, heirs of Abijah Waterman, Henry Ewell, Henry Burkett, Joshua Howard, Malihi Ewell, William Farnsworth Jr., John Haupt, John Warner, Nathaniel Pitcher, Peter Woltz, Henry Woltz, Charles Burns, William Briant, Philip Sthall [Stahl], Faulkin Mink [Uncle Faltin], Christopher Hofses, Edward Manning, Paul Mink, John Fitzgerald, Philip Fogler, Francis Oberlock, Abel Cole, Levi Russell, Christian Schainaman, William Fish. . . .

I the subscriber do testify and declare that by virtue of a letter of Attorney dated the 11th of October, 1793, I did at the several periods before mentioned did deliver to John Steele Tyler, Esq., attorney for Henry Knox Esq., in behalf of Samuel Winslow, Isaac Winslow, Elizabeth Winslow, Samuel Waldo and Sarah Tyng, his wife, in her right all and singular their right claims and priveleges in the Case occasioned as above and other rights, Claims and Priveleges claimed by them respectively in the Muscongus or Waldo Patent and to which they derived right by Devise or otherwise from Francis and Lucy being children and heirs to the late Brigadier General Samuel Waldo.

Ebenezer Vesey<sup>8</sup>

In this list of those dispossessed are the names of some newcomers to the town. Krow, more correctly Krau or Krause, John Haendel, and probably William Icholar were Hessian prisoners in Boston from Burgoyne's army who had joined the German settlement here and settled in the eastern part of the town. Frederick Mahan was an Irishman who came from the County of Sligo in Ireland, and John Haupt, the first of this name in Waldoborough, was a German, but not an original settler. He came to

<sup>8</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 33, p. 44.



Waldoborough after the Revolution and settled in the southern part of the town, married Mary Waterman<sup>9</sup> whom he later left, and "died in other parts." Seth Paine, a young man from the westward, married Deborah Smith of Sandwich, Massachusetts, in 1798, and it is not unlikely that he came to these parts from the same region. George Nash, Thomas Barker, William Loud, and William Bryant came to the district after the Revolution and settled in the eastern part of the town.

With the measures here outlined completed and the mansion in Thomaston prepared for occupancy, General Knox made ready to assume personal direction of his estates, and on December 28, 1794, he tendered his resignation as Secretary of War to President Washington. The President's reply, stated in terms of the highest personal regard, affords us an insight into the caliber of this last of the local proprietors. It follows:

Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1794

Sir, — The considerations which you have often suggested to me, and are repeated in your letter of the 28th. inst., as requiring your departure from your present office, are such as to preclude the possibility of my urging your continuance in it.

This being the case, I can only wish that it was otherwise. I cannot suffer you, however, to close your public service without uniting, with the satisfaction which must arise in your own mind from a conscious rectitude, my most perfect persuasion that you have deserved well of your country. My personal knowledge of your exertions, while it authorizes me to hold this language, justifies the sincere friendship which I have ever born for you, and which will accompany you in every situation of life. Being with affectionate regards

Always yours

Geo. Washington

Knox left Philadelphia on June 1, 1795, in a sloop commanded by Captain Andrew Malcolm of Warren, and proceeded by water to Thomaston. Crowds made up of people throughout the area who were secure in their land titles gave their distinguished proprietor a warm and generous welcome. The finished mansion was waiting to receive him. To primitive Maine it was regal. Cyrus Eaton places the original cost at \$50,000, but Knox's private accounts show the cost around \$18,000. (Its building and restoration in 1931 totalled \$150,000, the total cost of which was borne by Cyrus H. K. Curtis of Philadelphia.) Apart from the dwelling itself were numerous outbuildings, stables, cookhouses, and servants' quarters after the grand style of the best Virginia planters.

Knox not only lived on the grand scale, but he did business the same way. He became immediately and indefatigably active in placing his lands on a profit basis. His enterprises included

<sup>9</sup>Waldoborough Town Clerk Records, Vol. I.

lumbering, milling, lime quarrying and burning, brickmaking, the curing and export of fish and other products, merchandising, farming, shipbuilding, and cattle and sheep breeding. The scope and magnitude of these enterprises may be inferred from the list of workmen employed on his estates. His laborers, quarrymen, brickmakers, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, farmers, and millwrights totalled one hundred and three men. To maintain these involved, in the year 1798, the killing of fifteen thousand pounds of beef, the consumption of nine hundred pounds of tallow, and the tanning of two thousand five hundred hides, to mention but a few of the essentials.

Hospitality at Montpelier was on a similar scale. There were hordes of guests. Twenty saddle horses and a corresponding number of carriages were kept for their pleasure. One hundred beds were made daily on the estate. At the housewarming on Independence Day, 1795, five hundred guests came in response to invitations. The entire tribe of Penobscot Indians would be Knox's guests for days and weeks at a time, and when they had consumed all available supplies of food the General would say: "Now we have had a good visit and you had better go home."

There were also distinguished guests, old friends who came from afar, the Count of Beaumetz, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Tallyrand, and Lord Ashburton. In October 1795 Louis Phillipe of France came through Waldoborough on horseback on his way to Montpelier with General Knox and his negro servant. The General was as generous in his charities as he was in his hospitality, and his correspondents during these years included the leading spirits of the Revolution in this country and Europe. His letters from Washington show that the intimacy and affection existing between the two men in the war years carried on to the end of their days. There is a short paragraph in a letter from the President as he was laying aside forever the cares of state, which reveals the basic ideal of life common to both men as that of simple country squires. It follows:

Philadelphia, March 2, 1797

. . . although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the great world or to partake of its politics, yet, I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love, — among these be assured you are one.

Mrs. Knox in this life in the wilderness upheld the tradition of the Waldo descendants, that of a haughty and spoiled child of fortune and indulgence. She was a veritable parcel of contradictions. The frivolous side of the lady is revealed in a remark she made at Mt. Vernon after the surrender of Cornwallis: "We have been posting about all over the country til we have just got

settled down here in comfortable quarters, and now this plaguey peace has come to set us all going again." At Montpelier she lived aloof from the local folk, regarding them as belonging to the lower classes, making no visits nor exchanging civilities with them. Her whimsical, self-willed, and lofty manners did not disturb, but rather amused and impressed, local society. Her few public appearances intrigued them, for on all occasions where she consented to appear, she invariably lent a quality of regal showmanship that has remained to this day a legend throughout the countryside. The other side of the lady's character is revealed in a remark of La Rochefoucauld's: "Seeing her at Philadelphia you think of her as a fortunate player of whist. At her home in the country, you discover her to possess wit, intelligence, a good heart, an excellent understanding."<sup>10</sup>

General Knox's assertion of his land rights in the autumn of 1793 had aroused consternation and alarm throughout the district. Especially grieved were those who knew full well that their claims would carry no weight in the eyes of the law. To these their land was their all and it was their life. Money they did not possess; it was only the land which gave them a living. Many of those who had been cited under the writs of 1793 knew that they were secure in their titles. Others were Revolutionary veterans who had located their claims under bounty land-warrants upon the Waldo Patent, ignorant of their trespass.

Most of these Knox secured in their holdings without undue damage to himself. His frankness, good humor, mental agility, and brilliance, along with his basic kindness of heart, made him a popular proprietor. La Rochefoucauld noted: "I have already said he is one of the worthiest men I have ever known; cheerful, agreeable, valuable equally as an excellent friend and an engaging companion." But where Knox was clearly within his rights he knew how to stand fast.

With the lawless squatters he had his difficulties and they equally with him. The battle once begun, his surveyors were shot at and the General himself vilified, and printed bills were circulated which sought to arouse the general populace against him. To this attempt at open warfare the growing love and respect of the people served as a counterbalance. In Waldoborough the heroic qualities of the man were understood and appreciated by a majority of the citizens, and the inclination was strong not to tolerate abuse and defamation, but to seek a settlement of differences through the channels of the law, despite the more outraged feelings and demands of the minority most seriously affected.

<sup>10</sup>La Rochefoucauld, *Travels in America* (London ed., 1799), I, 491.



In 1791 and again in 1792 the Massachusetts House of Representatives had made sincere efforts to quiet the settlers in their claims, but such moves had always been stalled in the Senate. The last move had been to send a committee to Waldoborough to investigate claims on the spot. This solution hung fire until February 22, 1796, when the Senate, being a more conservative body and bound by traditions of class to the proprietor, voted "not to commit the paper."<sup>11</sup>

Concern and excitement were now rife on the lands from the Medomak to the Penobscot. The situation had become acute, and petitions to the General Court now followed one another fast and furiously. In February 1795 the Waldoborough representative to the General Court, Squire Thomas, presented the following frank and pointed document, which in substance set forth the premises upon which the Waldoborough landholders based their case against General Knox:

The Petition of Waterman Thomas in behalf of the settlers of the town of Waldoborough humbly sheweth, That the settlers of said town were brought from Germany in the years 1753 and '54 by Brigadier Waldo and settled at Broad Bay on Muscongus river, on lots fronting on said Bay or river, twenty-five rods running east and west two miles from said Bay and river, with the right of 600 acres of land for public uses. One hundred and fifty families or upwards were settled on said land. The Government in settling the line of the Waldo Patent have excluded the greatest part of said inhabitants from the Patent and leave them in Drown's and Brown's Patent.<sup>12</sup> The Government thereby have taken from us forty years of our hard earnest labor by obliging us to buy our farms and giving our rights of land to the heirs of Brigadier Waldo. Your petitioner prays that this Honorable Court will make the said settlers and the Inhabitants of the Town of Waldoborough, who are grieved by the said Act, restitution by assigning them so much land from the Waldo Patent as was promised them in Germany, and taken from them by their Government and granted and confirmed to the heirs of Brigadier Waldo. Your Petitioner is sorry to remind the Honorable Court that his constituents have for ten years past been praying this Court for relief, and their petitions have been referred from session to session, and year to year, and can obtain no relief. Consider their situation two hundred miles distant from the seat of Government. Ignorant Germans they say they are, unacquainted with the laws of this country, and no friend in the General Court. They say that the heirs of Brigadier Waldo can always be heard and attended to on the first day of the Court Meeting, or last, can get their request granted without notifying the settlers on this Patent, notwithstanding it takes from them their property and privileges, Wherefore your Petitioner prays their case may be taken up and equal justice done them. Also your Petitioner prays that this Hon<sup>ble</sup> Court will order what price the Settlers shall pay for their land settled on, laying [within]<sup>13</sup> the Waldo Patent with

<sup>11</sup>Submission of Settlers, Waldo Claim, Mss. (Mass. Archives).

<sup>12</sup>By making the Medomak River the west bound of the Patent.

<sup>13</sup>Ms. illegible at this point.

whom the heirs of Brigadier Waldo have not and cannot settle, agreeable to a Resolve passed by the Legislature, July 4, 1785, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Waterman Thomas<sup>14</sup>

This petition, inaccurate in some of its historical and geographical details, sets forth in some detail the claims on which Waldoborough folk sought relief for their unhappy predicament. It did not seem, however, to gain its ends, for in December 1795 no relief was in sight, and in a small Town Meeting held on December 16th a motion was made "to see whether the town will send a petition to the Legislature of the Commonwealth setting forth the true circumstances of the Public Lands in this town." This motion failed of passage by a single vote. The reason for its failure is not clear, unless it were that concerted action was already being planned by all settlers affected within the bounds of the Patent and that it was deemed wiser to wait the launching of this move.

Under the direction of Waterman Thomas and Jacob Ludwig and other leading men in Waldoborough as well as in all towns throughout the Patent, the next move on behalf of the settlers' claims came in May 1796 in the form of a "Petition and Memorial of Settlers to the General Court." This document was detailed and lengthy and to it was affixed the signatures of two hundred and forty-six settlers from all districts within the Patent, thirty-four of whom were from Waldoborough.

In the Memorial the signatories emphasized and elaborated:

1. On the sacrifices undergone, affirming that "some crossed the Atlantic; some were born of parents who on their passage lost their lives and suffered everything but Death to gain the sweets of life and freedom in this uninhabited wilderness, surrounded with Savages, by means of whom many of our dear friends lost their lives."

2. The Act of 1785 confirming the Waldo heirs in possession of their grant had only one helpful proviso, viz., placing under the disposal of the General Court all lands in the Patent occupied by the settlers prior to April 19, 1775, and this was in a measure nullified in October 1789 by an Act of the Court to the effect that "no person should be considered as priveleged" under the proviso "excepting those who had been in possession ten years or more before said Grant was made, which excludes  $15\frac{1}{16}$  of the inhabitants and leaves them almost in despair of any relief."

3. All applications for redress have been fruitless which "has caused a number to compromise with the Gentlemen . . . at a very distressing rate for our circumstances."

<sup>14</sup>Submission of Settlers, Waldo Claim (Mass. Archives).

4. The action "might create ill blood."

5. No Council or Court have any right to convey a Tract of Thirty square miles . . . unless for the public good."

6. "The Honorable Gentleman who represents the Claim is possessed of so much honor and delicacy as not to afflict the afflicted, yet he has tools to try the humours of your petitioners by. . . . We think your Honours have it in your power to say, not that he may not, but that he shall not ever annihilate the rights of Individuals which have solemnly been promised and repeatedly guaranteed to them."<sup>15</sup>

This Memorial was not without effect and it clearly disposed the Court to some line of positive action. Undoubtedly apprised of this trend, and to offset the effect in part, General Knox submitted a detailed reply on February 7, 1797, in which he offered to submit documents bearing on every point in the controversy. In his elaboration on the justice and reasonableness of the position he had assumed, he divided the two hundred and sixty-four signers of the Memorial into the following classes:

1. Those on properties over which the heirs of Waldo had no control, eighty signers;

2. those who had entered into written agreements with him, but had not yet paid for their lands, sixty signers;

3. those who during and since the Revolution had settled on lands without legal authority, about sixty signers.

4. The remaining forty-six fell into those who had settled on lands in the grant before the war without any legal authority and in opposition to the proprietors and those descendants of Germans who were said to have been promised lands but were seated on lands afterward found to be outside the limits of the Patent.

In his analysis of the existing situation Mr. Knox based his case on the Act of July 4, 1785, which had defined the limits of the Patent, and on the third proviso of the Act, to wit, that the state would intervene only "to quiet" those settlers who were in possession of their land prior to April 19, 1775. Knox then conceded that any contract binding on the heirs of Brigadier Waldo ought to be fulfilled, but he added that "such claimants should prove their titles and allow the debts justly due from themselves or their predecessors to the Waldo estate" — debts which arose from costs of transportation from the interior of Germany to America, and subsistence for different periods after their arrival, "on which account," he averred, "considerable sums are still due." Ethically this was the weakest aspect of the General's case and his position on this question of "debts" could have sprung only

<sup>15</sup>Ms. in Mass. Archives.



from ignorance of the contractual obligations which Waldo had assumed, and of the degree to which they had been fulfilled in the transportation and the settling of the Germans on his lands.

On other phases of his case Knox revealed his customary generosity and fairness. Concerning those "men who have by error placed themselves in a delicate situation by usurping the property of others," he said liberal terms had been repeatedly offered. On these terms agreements were made with nearly three hundred persons, and he added: "the proprietors are still willing to place their case in the hands of three impartial commissioners." General Knox, in closing his case, testified to the good will and cooperation of the settlers, but he also pointed out that

at the same time it would be concealing the truth were it not held forth that in that country as in most other countries men are to be found not only destitute of the above mentioned qualities, but artfully wicked, scattering seeds of discontent and holding forth doctrines utterly subversive of the peace, order and happiness of society. These men are few but they have some influence by their misrepresentations among honest and uninformed people.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the fact that General Knox had many friends in the General Court, especially in the Upper House, the spectacle of a whole area petitioning for relief was an act that could not be ignored. Hence the Court took immediate cognizance of the solution proposed by the General and on March 9, 1797, appointed Nathan Dane, John Sprague, and Enoch Titcomb as commissioners "to settle and declare the Terms on which any settler . . . shall be quieted in the possession of 100 acres of land that may best include his improvements."<sup>17</sup> In so doing the commissioners were instructed to divide the settlers into the following classes: 1. those who were settled on their lots before April 19, 1775; 2. those who had settled on their lots during the war with Great Britain, and were now in possession of them, or their claimants; 3. those who had settled on land within the Patent since the war and now occupied it, or their claimants. The commissioners were advised to employ "the mutual consent method" in effecting its solutions, since it was recommended by both General Knox and Mr. Samuel Brown, agent for the petitioners. The commissioners were also instructed "to repair to said Patent by Sept. 10," and the method of submission of claims was recommended to the settlers.

From the standpoint of the Waldoborough folk the authorized setup had one fatal flaw. This was to be found in the fact that the commissioners were empowered to deal only with those

<sup>16</sup>Ms. document in Mass. Archives.

<sup>17</sup>Laws and Resolves of Mass. (1796-97), pp. 318-319.

submitting claims within the Patent as defined by the Act of July 4, 1785. This limitation would, of course, exclude all those citizens in Waldoborough who had settled originally on the west side of the Medomak, had been compelled to purchase their lots from Drowne when their area was declared outside the bounds of the Patent, and subsequently had staked out for themselves claims on the east side, to which they now held they had a just claim based on the original promise of Waldo to assign lands to them within the Patent. Despite this limitation of the agenda, the town resolved to cooperate in the effort to secure a solution and in a meeting of July 26, 1797, it was agreed "to consult on matters respecting our land and on the request of the state committee to meet them at Thomaston in order to settle the dispute between the settlers and Proprietors." Thereupon it was voted

that a committee of three be chosen and invested with full power in behalf of the Inhabitants of this town to meet the State Committee and Henry Knox Esq., who represents the heirs of the late Brigadier General Waldo, and Inform said committee, viz., that the Resolve of the General Court appointing said committee to Settle Disputes between the Settlers on the Waldo Patent and the heirs of said Waldo doth not embrace the repeated applications of the Inhabitants of this town to the Legislature, neither extends to General Knox's repeated promises to fulfill Brigadier Waldo's proclamations to the Germans who came from Germany to settle our lands within his Patent, who are by an Act of Legislature of 1784<sup>18</sup> excluded from said Patent.

It was then further voted "that Waterman Thomas, Jacob Ludwig Esq., and Mr. George Demuth be a committee for the above purpose . . . with full power to make a settlement in behalf of this town with Henry Knox Esq., on as Liberal and Amicable Terms as proposed by him in said resolve."

The demands of the settlers and the Legislative resolve being what they were, an impasse had been created before ever the conferees gathered around the table. The commissioners were not empowered to deal with the claims of those who had settled on the west bank of the river, since they were not within the Patent, and the town was loath to negotiate on any other basis. With negotiations thus deadlocked from the start the committee on August 28, 1797, reported back to the town as follows:

By virtue of the vote of the town of Waldoborough on July 26, 1797 the subscribers were appointed a committee to meet the Committee of the Legislature and General Knox in behalf of the Inhabitants of the said town of Waldoborough for the land promised the German settlers . . . by Brigadier General Waldo and also to treat in behalf of all settlers: Beg leave to Report that agreeable to said appointment your Committee met the Committee aforesaid and General Knox, and found

<sup>18</sup>An error, correct date 1785.

that said Committee were not invested with power to hear the old settlers' Demand but only to hear the Complaint of all Settlers who had petitioned the Legislature. Your committee found that there were few inhabitants that had signed said petition. General Knox proposed to submit any demand that the Inhabitants of the town of Waldoborough had against Brigadier General Waldo's heirs, and also old settlers' demands to the determination of three men to be mutually chosen by him and the Inhabitants. Judge Rice was proposed by him and agreed to by your committee, if agreeable to said Inhabitants. Sundry other persons were proposed but not agreed to.

Waterman Thomas  
Jacob Ludwig  
George Demuth

Waldoborough, Aug., 28, 1797

The town was loath to abandon negotiations. Consequently at the same meeting it voted:

. . . that a Committee of three be appointed to agree mutually with General Knox on three men living in the Province of Maine to settle all demands the Town of Waldoborough have against the heirs of Brig<sup>dr</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Waldo for Public Lots. Also that the Committee appointed by the General Court be directed to attend at Waldoborough to Hear and Settle all Claims of Settlers settled by said Waldo in Waldoborough on the promise of one hundred acres of land and who have not received the same.

Also that said Committee be empowered to fix the price that the settlers in the Town of Waldoborough settled on land belonging to Waldo's Patent, shall pay per acre for land they may have in possession receiving a warrantee Deed from the Representative of the said Waldo. Voted that Waterman Thomas, Jacob Ludwig, and Thomas McGuyer be a Committee for the above purpose.

The records are silent on the results of this committee's work. That it came to naught can be justly inferred from a report of a special committee of the General Court accepted February 25, 1803, from which the following paragraph is excerpted:

The inhabitants of the said Town of Waldoborough within the Patent refused to submit their claims on the pretext that certain persons *without* the Patent were not comprehended and who possess titles to their lands under other proprietors than those of said Patent, a case over which the said commissioners had no power or control.<sup>19</sup>

This was the issue on which Waldoborough remained obdurate and the rock on which negotiations foundered. The settlers were not "quieted" and the controversy dragged along into the new century.

In this showdown with Henry Knox the settlers had not scored on a single point in their case and the status quo was resumed. This was more embarrassing to them than to General

<sup>19</sup>Ms. filed with Laws and Resolves, 1802-03 (Mass. Archives). [Italics mine.]



Knox, for there was the continuous realization that they were occupying lands that they did not possess. They could do little more than till and improve these lots, yet improvement had little point as they were merely adding to the value of someone else's land. Furthermore they could not legally divide such lands among their children, bequeath them to their own kin, or sell them. More and more they realized that they were only voluntary tenants. This condition in the long run was intolerable, and since the General Court would not intervene on their terms, they were compelled to ask the Court to intervene on its own terms. Accordingly, on February 23, 1803, Waterman Thomas and others offered a Petition to the General Court outlining the situation and stating that "your petitioners conceive that they come within the Resolve of the Legislature of July 1785, as Reference being had to said Resolve will appear. They therefore pray your Honours to quiet them in the possession of their lands agreeable to said Resolve and as in duty bound will ever pray."<sup>20</sup>

This was capitulation. The document had fifty-five signers and it represented a marked recession of the settlers from their original demands. The signatories were all eastsiders, which meant that the westsiders were compelled to abandon their claims, since, as the Court had consistently ruled, such were outside the limits of the Patent. On the same date a committee of the Legislature reported as follows:

Whereas it appears that a certain class of settlers on that part of the Township of Waldoborough within the patent to Beauchamp and Leverett granted by the Council of Plymouth in the year 1629, and which Patent was defined and confirmed on the 4th of July 1785 — declined to avail themselves of the provision made by the Legislature in February 1797 for the purpose of quieting them on certain conditions. But as the Legislature have ever been desirous of quieting all disputes respecting settlers in the District of Maine, so far as they have a constitutional right so to do, Therefore Be it

Resolved that such of the Inhabitants within the Town of Waldoborough within the Patent of Beauchamp and Leverett as adjusted on the 4th of July 1785, together with the Proprietor or proprietors of the Lands in the said Patent, cause a list of the said Inhabitants of Waldoborough who were seated down as settlers on lots, and improved the same prior to the 19th of April 1775, or their legal successors on such lots, shall be made out and transmitted to his Excellency the Governor on or before the first day of June next, and if it shall appear that said description of settlers amount to the number of fifty — then his Excellency is hereby requested to cause the Commissioners appointed for the purpose of quieting the settlers on the lands of the Plymouth Company to repair to said Town of Waldoborough and hear the aforesaid descriptions of settlers and to decide upon their claims respectively. Provided, however, that the said Settlers, at the time of transmitting the

<sup>20</sup>Ms. filed with Laws and Resolves, 1802-03 (Mass. Archives).

aforesaid list, authenticate their desire of submitting their Claims to the aforesaid Commissioners.<sup>21</sup>

As provided in this resolve the eastsiders forwarded a petition promptly to the Governor requesting him to cause the terms of the resolve to be carried into effect. The petition carried sixty-one signatures. On August 30, 1803, Elijah Brigham, Dwight Foster, and Kilborne Whitman were appointed as the Commissioners and ordered to Waldoborough "to conduct hearings and to decide upon the claims of the class of settlers in Waldoborough who declined to avail themselves of the provision made by the Legislature in February 1797." The Commissioners came to town on October 19th, and about thirty settlers appeared and submitted their claims. Henry Knox and the settlers promptly agreed to submit the cases to the Commissioners to settle and declare the terms.

The decisions rendered by the Commission could have been foreseen. Its members were men of prominence and of property, drawn from a class with a natural bias in favor of General Knox. Hence in their minds a valid property claim was about the sole decisive factor, and such a claim Knox unquestionably possessed. The squatters paid little, by modern standards, ample, by the standards of their day. The decisions rendered by the Commission were as follows:

Plan No. 26, Abel Cole, 72 acres, to pay Henry Knox \$54.00 with interest to April 1, 1804; No. 29, John Seidensberger, 100 acres, to pay \$135.00 with interest to April 1, 1804; No. 17, Joseph Ludwig, 103 acres, \$92.00 with interest; No. 18, William Kaler, 100 acres, \$135.00 with interest; No. 3, John Fitzgerald, 100 acres, \$105.00 with interest; John B. Shuman, 99 acres, \$86.00 with interest; Henry Benner, 99¾ acres, \$59.00 with interest; No. 4, Paul Mink, 100 acres, \$67.00 with interest; No. 24, Charles Feyler, 100 acres, \$105.00 with interest; No. 27, Jacob Winchenbach, 100 acres, \$75.00 with interest; No. 9, Philip Mink, 100 acres + ¼ mill rights on Goose River, \$72.00 with interest; No. 8, Christian Hoffses, 83 acres, \$50.00 with interest; No. 12, John Wallis, Jr., 100 acres [Back Cove], \$60.00 with interest; No. 19, Christopher Feyler, 100 acres, \$141.00 with interest; No. 16, Peter Cranmer, 100 acres, \$150.00 with interest; No. 22, Jacob Benner, 100 acres, \$150.00 with interest; No. 25, Levi Russell, 93 acres, \$77.00 with interest; No. 10, Charles Kaler, 100 acres, \$59.00 with interest; No. 11, Henry Wallis, 100 acres, \$60.00 with interest; No. 2, Nathaniel Pitcher, 99 acres, 20 rods, \$80.00 with interest; No. 1, Jacob Ludwig, 100 acres, \$102.00 with interest; No. 6, Samuel Sweetland, 100 acres, \$81.00 with interest; No. 15, George Kuhn, 100 acres, \$90.00 with interest; No. 5, Edward Manning, 56 acres, 76 rods, \$34.00 with interest; No. 7, John Winchenbach, 99½ acres [Back Cove], \$90.00 with interest; No. 23, Jacob Benner and Peter Levensaler, 50 acres, \$90.00 with interest; Nos. 13 and 14, Sidonia Welt, 100 acres

<sup>21</sup>Submission of Settlers, Waldo Claim (Mass. Archives), Vol. III.

[east bank of Medomak River, north], \$88.00 with interest; on another lot containing 100 acres, \$88.00; No. 28, John Fogler, 100 acres, \$135.00 with interest.

These lots were surveyed by Ephraim Ruling and John Harkness. When the amounts adjudged due to the proprietor were paid the ruling was "that the said Knox, or his heirs shall make or cause to be made to the said — —, his heirs or assigns, a deed of the premises," in question, "whereby he and they may hold the same in fee simple forever."

In 1793 there had been one hundred and one settlers declared by Knox's agents, in the formal process of taking possession of his estate, as being in unlawful possession of their land. In the intervening decade down to 1803 some had settled with the General as individuals, others had established the legality of their claims to his satisfaction, especially those whose lots bordered the east bank of the river, and still others, including all the settlers on the west side, had been obliged to abandon entirely their claims to lands within the Patent, as had the town in the case of any school or ministerial lots on the east side. The last thirty to make their adjustments were largely settlers in the northeastern, eastern, and southeastern sections of the town and represented clear cases of land usurpation. The whole controversy stretched out for more than a decade, and ended in the vindication of Knox on nearly all points at issue.

Taken as a whole, his treatment of squatters throughout his estate had been fair and even generous. The Waldoborough Germans had held out against him nearly to the end of his days and their pertinacity seems to have brought out the old fighter's mettle. His refusal to deal with the westside Germans was undoubtedly legally correct in all ways; ethically it seems to have perpetuated an injustice, if injustice it were for Henry Knox to remain the beneficiary of wrongs committed by others over a half century before.

The last of the proprietors survived the final adjustment in his estate but by a few years. Death came to Knox on October 25, 1806. Inadvertently the General had swallowed a small fragment of chicken bone which lodged in the intestinal tract and caused an infection ending in his death. General Knox's passing was genuinely regretted and mourned. Down to his day no individual had made a contribution so vitally affecting the progress and well-being of the county. On October 28th the last of the proprietors of the Waldo Patent was buried on his estate "beneath the favorite oak where he, in his contemplative moods, loved to linger while living."



## THE LAST DECADE OF THE CENTURY

*A town-history ought to be just and truthful. The bad as well as the good should be told.*

JOHN L. SIBLEY  
(Onetime Librarian, Harvard University)

**S**O MANY TOWNS were incorporated "to the eastward" in the 1780's that Lincoln County, because of its great land mass, became unmanageable as an administrative unit. Accordingly by an Act of June 25, 1789, the General Court set off the two new counties of Hancock and Washington. This act gave to Lincoln its eastern bound on Penobscot Bay at the northeast corner of Camden, while the western bound still remained the New Meadows River.

The year 1790 brought the first nationwide Federal census. This was supervised throughout the states by United States marshals. In this particular area of Maine the count was made by John Polereczky, a Polish gentleman who had seen service in the American Revolution in the French force under Count Rochambeau, and after the war had settled in Dresden, where for fifteen years he was clerk of that town. Polish was his native tongue and English his adopted language. This linguistic background complicated his task in Waldoborough, where he was compelled to struggle with German names, spelled variously for him by the holders, in an alphabet that was unintelligible to him. The result was a horrible mangling of names, some of which as listed are undecipherable.

This was the first reliable counting of noses ever affected in the Waldoborough area. The one earlier census, in 1764, had been made on order of the Lords of Trade primarily for taxing purposes. On its instruction the General Court had directed the selectmen of towns to canvass their respective bailiwicks and make returns to the Secretary's office. Nowhere were orders issued covering plantations, consequently there were no returns for Broad Bay. It, together with Georgekeag, Thomaston, Warren, and Medumcook, was lumped at a grossly underestimated two hundred inhabitants. The census of 1790, in contrast, was a real enumera-

tion. Its returns showed Lincoln to be the largest county in the District, with a count of 29,723. The largest town in the county was Pownalborough, with a population of 2,043, and Waldoborough was second in the list of towns, with a total of 1717.<sup>1</sup>

The data contained in this census were very limited, but broken up into the questions asked by the enumerator we have the following statistical picture of Waldoborough: number of families, 269; free white males of sixteen years and upwards, including heads of families, 429; free white males under sixteen years, 454; free white females including heads of families, 821; all other free persons, 13; total, 1717; colored: Port Royal family, 2, and one colored person in the home of Captain Stephen Andrews, doubtless a house servant brought back by the Captain from a West "Indy" trip.

By this time the families of the original Germans were small. The fledglings had left the old nests and were raising sizable broods of their own. In these days, as in later times, the Winchenbachs, Eugleys, Kalers, and Minks were among the most prolific breeders. The largest families in the town at this time were the following: Jacob Winchenbach, twelve members; Peter Gross, ten members; Joshua Lincoln, eleven members; Bernhard Eugley, twelve members; Michael Ried, twelve members; William Kaler, thirteen members; Philip Mink, eleven members; Joshua Howard, fourteen members; Cornelius Seider, eleven members; Cornelius Turner, eleven members; Joseph Ludwig, ten members; John Ulmer, Jr., twelve members; George Demuth, twelve members; Caleb Howard, thirteen members; Ludwig Castner, ten members; Peter Walch, fourteen members; Jacob Wade, twelve members; Charles Samson, ten members; Waterman Thomas, seventeen members; Matthias Storer, twelve members. At the other extreme are Matthias Remilly, three members; Colonel William Farnsworth, three members; Michael Eiseley, three members; Georg Leissner, three members, and Captain Stephen Andrews, three members. The largest household was the grand establishment of Squire Thomas with its seventeen members. This census makes it clear that in size and development Waldoborough had made remarkable strides.

From the beginning, material welfare and development had been the objective of the "thrifty Dutch," and in this decade the program of economic improvement was vigorously pushed. Then as now, roads were something everybody wanted and they were really essential in order to open up newly built and improved areas, and to provide them with an outlet to local and outside markets for their exportable surpluses. The rapid expansion of

<sup>1</sup>The population count given by Miller, *History of Waldoboro* (1910), of 1206 is quite inexplicable. The figures given above are derived from the Government Publication, *Census of 1790* (Washington, 1908).

the road building of the preceding decade was continued apace. In the spring of 1790, £150 was appropriated "to be worked out on the highways," and men were credited with three shillings per day for such labor, with the same allowance "for oxen and carts, plows and sleds as last year." In 1791 this amount was raised to £200, and it was voted that the selectmen should "lay out the road from Charles Feller's [Feyler] to the upper settlement which is Peter Lear's [Lehr] and others."

Charles Feyler's farm was at Feyler's Corner, near, or probably the present Roy Dyer farm, and Peter Lehr was at North Waldoborough. Hence it may be assumed that this road opened up the northeastern section of the town and connected it with a route to the sea. At the April meeting of 1792 the selectmen were voted a committee "to lay out a road from Talham's [Dahlheim] to George Eicorn's." Achorn's two hundred acres lay on the west side opposite the old Christian Walter and Daniel Sidelinger lots, a little less than two miles from the northern boundary of the town.

In the May meeting of 1792 it was decided to survey all roads "not already surveyed and to lay the several roads forty feet wide," exception being made in the case of the Dutch Neck Road. In 1795 the road from "the Thomas Hill to East Waldoborough was further extended from Matthias Waltze's barn to Peter Minks in a direction to meet the road running south into East Waldoborough from the Warren road." With its many roads, crude and rough, the town was frequently subject to complaint and even to court action especially with reference to the condition of its trunk line running east and west, for in August 1797, to forestall action by "the next Court of General Sessions," extensive improvements had to be made on the road to Warren.

The next year the two converging roads in East Waldoborough were connected and this area organized into a single road district "from Fische's Corner to Peter Mink's." In addition, one thousand dollars were voted for roads, and this enabled the town to lay out the road running east from North Waldoborough to connect "at Will Mink's Store" with the County Road leading to Union. On the west side of the upper Medomak the road was laid out to the Balltown (Jefferson) line. In 1799 the Warren road was again improved and for labor men were allowed one dollar; for carts, thirty-four cents; ploughs, thirty-three cents, and oxen, fifty cents per day. By the end of the century the major lines of the town's highways had been laid out. Henceforth there remained in the years ahead the strenuous chore of improvement and the construction of crossroads and spur lines.

During this decade new families with insufficient means became an increasingly difficult problem for the town. In order to



protect itself against indigent people taking up residence, it allowed no new families to settle without the approval of the selectmen. This was a power often unjustly exercised and not infrequently revoked in case "the transient" in question could prove a good case. The procedure followed is illustrated by the case of Peter Bickel against whom, on April 1, 1790, the constable was instructed to serve notice, as follows:

You are in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts directed to warn and give notice unto Peter Bickel, a transient person who has lately come unto this town with the purpose of abiding there without obtaining the town's consent, therefore that he depart the Liment [limits] of said town with his wife and children and others under his ceare within fifteen days, and of the precept and your doings thereon you are to make a return into the office of the Clerk within twenty days next coming, that further proceedings may be had in the premise as the law directs.

In July of the same year a similar notice was served on "Ester Hunt of Duxborough in the County of Plymouth, single woman." Three years later such a notice was served on Samuel Packard, who seems, however, to have convinced the selectmen of his worthiness and of his ability to take care of his family. A kinsman, possibly a son, for years afterward constructed flax wheels. All the old Waldborough wheels are of very fine workmanship and bear the initials, deeply cut in, M. P. or M. S. Martin Packard constructed most of those in use in the southern part of the town and in Bremen; while M. S., Martin Storer, who resided on the old Simon Storer Homestead in the woods west of the Peter Hildebrand farm, did those in the northern part of the town and adjacent regions. Apparently not all newcomers were as desirable as the Packards, for in June 1793 a purge was held in which notices were served on eight families, and only one escaped the order of eviction. The town records show no further expulsions during this decade.

As the turn of the century neared, some of the traditions of the older Germans began showing the earmarks of dissolution. One of these was the tender solicitude formerly accorded to aged and needy relatives. So long as the town was a strictly German community the pauper problem was hardly existent, and overseers of the poor were not in the category of town officers. In the 1790's pauperism became more marked and the question was raised of choosing overseers of the poor, which the town definitely refused to do in 1792. It was then that the practice grew up of boarding out those unable to work. This solution was first applied in May 1794, when Ezekiel Vinal took such for 2s. 10d., a week. At the same time the Legislature was petitioned for the maintenance of paupers by the state.

The same year half of the monies collected from fish fines was diverted to the support of the poor. The following year a new method was devised, when one of the paupers at Mr. Vinal's was removed by vote of the town to Mr. George Schmouse's and the selectmen instructed to bind out this child until of age. This was done under a legal writ known as an indenture whereby the pauper gave labor in return for care and maintenance until of age, at which time the patron was obligated to equip the bound servant with the wherewithal to begin an independent career. The town bill for paupers in 1795 totalled £7 7s. 4d., paid to Mr. Ezekiel Vinal "for keeping them for one year."

Another form of assistance to poor people was the abatement of taxes. In 1797 the following abatements were made: Joshua Lincoln, whose family numbered eleven members in 1790; Michael Sides, Leonard Wade, John Davis, Henry Morse, Christian J. Lehr, Henry Vogler, William Hunter, and Caleb Howard, Jr. The same year Henry Lehr's request for aid was denied. On the whole, pauperism was a problem for which neither "Dutch" nor Puritan had taste. A pauper had to be penniless to secure aid, and all cases were thoroughly investigated, such as that of "the widow Tibbits" in 1798, when the selectmen were instructed by the town to see if she had "any property where with to support herself, and if she has, not to make provision for her support at the expense of the town." If any avenue was open as a possible dodge of their responsibility it was eagerly explored. The state was, of course, always a possible escape route and was invariably tried, as in 1799 when it was voted "that if the town send a representative this year [to the General Court] he shall use his endeavors that George Vogler be made a state pauper."

During this decade it was only when moved by some problem of self-interest, as in the Vogler case, that the town sent a representative to the General Court. Such representation cost money and the short-sighted folk would not spend unless they could see some immediate return. Hence representation was sporadic. In 1790 Squire Thomas, and in 1791, Jacob Ludwig had sat in the Court, but in 1792 and 1793 the town was not represented. In 1794, ironically enough, the representative went apparently to secure the abatement of the fine imposed by the Court on the town for not having sent a delegate the previous years. In 1795 the land controversy with Henry Knox was becoming acute, and Jacob Ludwig was sent to use his good offices in behalf of himself and of his angry and anxious constituents. There was no further representation in this century, with the possible exception of 1799, when the town authorized action in a specific matter "if a representative is sent to the General Court" this year.

The weather was freaky and troublesome during the decade. On October 29, 1793, a foot of snow fell. Corn and potatoes had only been partially harvested. The storm was followed by weather so cold as to freeze brooks and ponds, and there was good sleighing for several weeks. Warmer weather enabled people to complete their harvest, but ponds did not break up until spring.<sup>2</sup> The year 1794 was unusual by reason of an extensive and severe frost as late as June 17th, with the rime so copious that it might be gathered up in snowballs. Corn and all small fruits were destroyed, and the hay crop was so small in consequence of cold and dry weather that the following spring people had great difficulty in securing fodder for their stock.<sup>3</sup> The season of 1795 was also a cold one. Between January and the autumn the mercury did not rise above seventy-two degrees fahrenheit.

Repeated freshets inundated crop lands and raised hob with the new bridge across the Medomak. In fact, in the spring of 1791 high water carried away all the dams and the bridge. The town authorized the selectmen "to set sum men to work and make a passage so as foot people may pass over the river where the bome [boom] is now," but further in new construction they were reluctant to go at this time. The back-district folk had little use for a bridge and more use for their little money. Consequently in their July meeting at the house of Captain Andrews they voted "not to raise any money for rebuilding the Bridg. . . . att present." The selectmen went ahead, however, and laid down the following specifications for the structure:

The aforesaid Bridg is to be built in the manner following: to be in the form of the old won [one], the old timber belonging to the Bridg belongs to the builder of the new Bridg, the builders to find and put on two Iron straps on the two celes [sills] and to build two pears [piers] above the Bridg and to lay two Boombs [booms] above the pears, the town to find chains to fasten said Boombs, the Builders to fasten ye Boombs and to fit on Rails on the Bridg — the whole to be performed in the manner of the old Bridg.

In the May meeting of 1792 (planting time in the back-districts) enough votes were gotten out centrally to finance the plan, £34 were raised for building the bridge and its construction was "bid off to Charles Kaler, Jr., for £34." A bridge so low and close to the water level was an easy target for the freshets and the ice, yet at this time the public would support nothing more than a makeshift structure. In 1797 the problem of a damaged bridge was again an issue, and an article appeared in the warrant "to see what measures the town will take for repairing Medomak

<sup>2</sup>Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, 2nd ed. (Hallowell, 1877), p. 257.

<sup>3</sup>*Idem*, *History of Thomaston, etc.*, p. 200.



Bridge, as said bridge is dangerous for passengers to cross." As the use of teams and vehicles increased it was only a question of time before public needs would demand a lasting structure.

The old problem of rams at large was a perennial one. Each year the fathers fumed and legislated, and each year the rams would violate the ordinances of man and abide by those of nature, and each year confusion reigned in the spring lambing season. The following are characteristic acts of the fathers as they wrestled with this problem: 1793, "to see if the town will make a law for Rams not to run at large until a particular season"; 1794, "rams not to run at large before the fifteenth day of November on penalty of 30s."; 1797, "rams shall not run at large after a certain season." Finally in 1798 in a burst of desperation the ordinance was given some teeth by voting that "the law governing the movement of rams to be executed in full force by the Surveyors of Highways." Thus the battle with the indomitable ram ran through another decade.

In 1792 the town had its first recorded epidemic of smallpox. This was the most dreaded disease of early days. It was an evil visitation which no one understood, and which tortured, disfigured, and frequently killed its victims. Everywhere its advent was the signal for panic. On Wednesday, the 21st day of November, 1792, Constable John Godfrey Bornemann went from house to house warning the freeholders "to meet tomorrow being Thursday at the Court House on the western side of the river to see what the town will do to prevent the spreading smallpox." The disease had broken out on the Winslow's Mill Road apparently in the homes of two neighbors, Captain Joseph Ludwig and Asamus Lash, who lived in a nearly direct line across the river from the old stone quarry. The real flavor of this episode, the confusion, excitement, pathos, humor, and the crude modes of fighting this unseen foe cannot be viewed better than in the language used by the Town Clerk, Jabez Cole, in his entries in the official records. They follow:

Nov. 22, 1792. Voted that if any person should by any means offer to spread the smallpox in this town, he shall immediately be taken care of and prosecuted by the Selectmen of the town for said offence. Voted that Capt. Joseph Ludwig and Asamus Lash's Houses be appointed as Hospitals and to be improved as such by Removing such as there be good Reason to suspect have the smallpox. Voted that the road be fenced across and stopt from Mr. Talham [Dahlheim] to John Achorn's opposite to his house.<sup>4</sup> Voted that if any person shall presume to goe within ye bounds without Leave from the Selectmen, he shall pay a fine of £30 for said offence, the fine so arising to be appropriated according

<sup>4</sup>John Achorn's was the house first south of Capt. Ludwig's, and 'Mr. Dahlheim's the second house north of Mr. Lash.

to law. Voted four men be Chosen to attend att the houses of Capt. Ludwig and Mr. Orasmus Lash, — two of them to be Capt. Ludwig and Mr. Orasmus Lash, and the other two to be appointed by the town or Selectmen — to prevent people from going to the above houses and from travelling within ye bounds. Voted the last two men to be under pay att 4s. pr. day, to find themselves and be under oath for the true performance of their duty to prevent the spreading of the smallpox. The last two men mentioned to build a Smoak House and if any Doctor or any other person coming out of the above Houses shall be obliged by the tenders to goe in and be weel smoaked and cleansed by Smoak before he comes abroad.

In all difficult situations there is an unfailing urge in the human animal to locate the active agent responsible for his trouble, and in the absence of evidence the imagination usually stands ready to furnish the requisite aid. At this meeting a possible answer to the mystery of the epidemic was at hand and it was voted "that Mr. John Hopt [Haupt] is suspected of spreading the smallpox in town, the Selectmen goe to him and take all proper methods as they think proper with him from spreding the same in this town." The same day Christian Smith and John Martin appeared as the two additional men for duty and "were sworn to be true and faithful to the trust." John "Hopt" apparently was surprised to learn in his South Waldborough home that he was a smallpox carrier and was not disposed to be handled as such, which may be inferred from the fact that at a later meeting the town voted "to allow Esquire Thomas his account of four shillings for Ishuing out a warrant on Mr. John Hopt."

The disease continued to spread through the early winter, and in January new plans were made to check its advance. Accordingly at the Town Meeting of January 4, 1793, three men were chosen "to prevent the spreding of smallpox, they being assistants to the Selectmen for that purpose." These were Stephen Simmons, Geo. Demouth and Peter Gross. It was also voted "to choose a committee of five men to egree on some mode for ye town to act upon." Their solution of the existing condition is not known, but it is known that at a meeting held January 23, 1793, a motion to establish a Hospital "for Inoculating with the smallpox and removing them that are already infected therewith in this town to the same," failed of passage, as did also a motion "to see if this town would hire Mr. Peter Gross House to remove persons infected with smallpox into the same." It was voted, however, "to choose a Committee to bury Pigge Sidenspire, Mr. Smouse, Mr. John Shuman, Mr. John Benner, and John Varner to be the Committee with Leave for Charles and John (Sidenspire) to attend" the burial.

The meeting of February 11th convened "att the meeting house on the eastern side of the river" which being unheated "led

them to adjorin to Church Nashes House."<sup>5</sup> Here it was "voted to choose a Committee of two men to see the Houses clensed that may be in Danger of having the Infection of the Smallpox in them." Stephen Simmons and Christopher "Newbot" were the men selected for this purpose and it was voted that they

proceed to Mr. Sidenspire's and view the House and things therein and if they should find that the house can't be clensed so but there will be Grate Danger of persons takeing the smallpox from the same, . . . then if they can egree on Reasonable terms with ye Mr. Sidenspire, to Destroy ye House and such things as they think can't be clensed.

The willingness to burn a house down and indemnify the owner makes all too clear the horror felt toward this scourge. At this meeting it was also voted that Esquire Ludwig and Capt. Ulmer be a committee to goe to "Mr. Smous and see if they can egree with him to let his House for an Hospital." The Committee returned and reported

Mr. Smous will let his House for 12 dollars pr. month. Voted to reserve ye House and to improve the same for an Hospital if there should be ocasion for the same, and to remove all persons who in plain Demonstration have the Infection on them to ye House. Voted to choose a committee of seven men to prosecute any person that shall come to their Knowledge who violate the law by any means spreding the smallpox. Committee: Mr. George Damouth, Capt. Samson, Charles Kealor, Mr. McGuyer, Mr. Peter Cremar, Mr. Peter Gross, and Esquire Ludwig. Voted the committee to goe to the town treasurer and Draw on him Matereils to Cleanse Houses and things infected with smallpox.

During the late winter the plague died down and disappeared, probably from causes other than those improvised by fiat. Be it recorded that the voters held out to the end against the only effective check at their disposal, to wit, the new practice of inoculation.

In the year 1794 the General Court passed an act requiring all towns to furnish a survey of their territory for a state map. This task was bid off at the meeting to Captain Cornelius Turner who secured the services of Nathaniel Meservey for the survey. The result is a colorful old map in the Massachusetts Archives with cleared land indicated by blank spaces; the water is blue and the forest spaces are shown in myriads of little green trees. On the west side the cleared land extends from about a mile above Winslow's Mills southward, widening considerably from the mills down to and including the whole of the Dutch Neck.

On the east side a similar strip, narrower in breadth, runs south to about the present site of the Ledge School. In the Back Cove section Jones Neck was completely cleared. On the Slaigo

<sup>5</sup>The site of the present Merle Castner Homestead.



brook, Squire Thomas' grist and sawmill are shown just below the present bridge and farther up along the stream are two more sawmills.<sup>6</sup> On the Medomak at the lower falls east side are a gristmill and a sawmill; at the second falls is a gristmill and at the Great Falls a sawmill. At the present-day Winslow's Mills is a sawmill and farther up the river in the wooded country another sawmill. The only road shown is the trunk road east and west, which crosses the river by the bridge below the First Falls and running into West Waldoborough strikes a right-angle turn and runs northwest over the Old County Road to Nobleborough. The Lutheran Church occupies its present site westerly from the Bristol Road. This map is primarily an outline document, and unfortunately reveals little more of the town's development at this time.

During this decade Waldoborough was becoming politically more alert. This tendency had been strengthened somewhat by locating the Court of General Sessions in the town during the preceding decade, and by holding sessions of the Probate Court in the town. In September 1790 the Court sat at the house of Cornelius Turner, and during the following year Court was again held at Turner's and at the house of Captain Charles Samson. State and national elections were not yet matters to excite the electorate, and the vote was small. Such elections, however, were not ignored as at an earlier date, and if they coincided with the spring Town Meetings the vote was considerably larger than at the meetings convened at any other time of year for such purposes. In April 1790 a total poll of sixty-four votes was cast in the state election. Of this number Squire Thomas received thirty-eight for the office of senator, while in October of the same year only twenty-five votes were cast for a congressman.

The question of the separation of the District of Maine from Massachusetts was recurrent in this decade. In May 1792 twenty-one votes were cast for separation and fifty-four against it, while in September 1797 eighteen voted for and thirty-three against separation, showing that under the constant agitation of the *Falmouth Gazette* separatist sentiment was to some degree on the increase. In November 1792 the town cast its first vote for presidential electors, a total of forty-six votes being polled. Thereafter it participated regularly in every quadrennial election.

In 1793 new qualifications were laid down for voters as follows: "Inhabitants to be 21 years of age, in residence in the town for one year and having a freehold in estate in said town with an annual income of three pounds, or any other estate to the value

<sup>6</sup>This map does not show a third sawmill on the brook at the back end of Isaiah Cole's farm (my residence). See Jabez Cole deed to Andrew Schenck, Feb. 14, 1794, Lincoln County Registry of Deeds, Bk. 31, p. 250.

of sixty pounds." This stipulation unquestionably reduced the number of the polls and left the conduct of town affairs in the hands of the more conservative and responsible interests in the community. It is of interest to note that the revision of the Massachusetts Constitution in 1794-95 was a most popular undertaking, and in Waldoborough fifty-five votes were cast in its favor and none against it. The county likewise supported the restricting of its own geographical limits, and at a Convention held in Hallowell on the fourth Tuesday of October, in which Waldoborough was represented by Thomas McGuyer and Jacob Ludwig, the whole northwestern part of the county was lopped off and the new County of Kennebec was formed from it.

In this decade the thought and activity of the town was to an increasing degree becoming concentrated on the sea. This fact was reflected in the unanimous endorsement given to Jay's Treaty. At a meeting on May 9, 1796, it was voted unanimously "that the earnest wish of this Meeting be that the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation Lately Concluded between the United States and Great Britain be carried into effect." This vote in the form of a memorial was sent to the Congress, and it clearly shows how vital it was to the interests of the people at this time to level all barriers involving restraints in trade. The endorsement also reveals the strong Federalist leanings of the town, for the Treaty was essentially a Federalist baby, the Democrats condemning it as a monopoly conceded to a nation whose politics should always be viewed with suspicion.

This same year, in consequence of a state law passed in 1795, the Federal currency of dollars and cents came into use, although pounds remained something of a vogue in the town records for some time following. The United States mint had been established in 1793 and its coins to some degree were already in circulation in this area. Other coins still in use were the Massachusetts cent, the English half-penny, English and French guineas at 28s., English and French crowns at 6s. 8d., the Spanish dollar at 6s., along with halves and quarters at the same rate, and piasters at twenty cents each. Paper bills, too, entered circulation at this time.

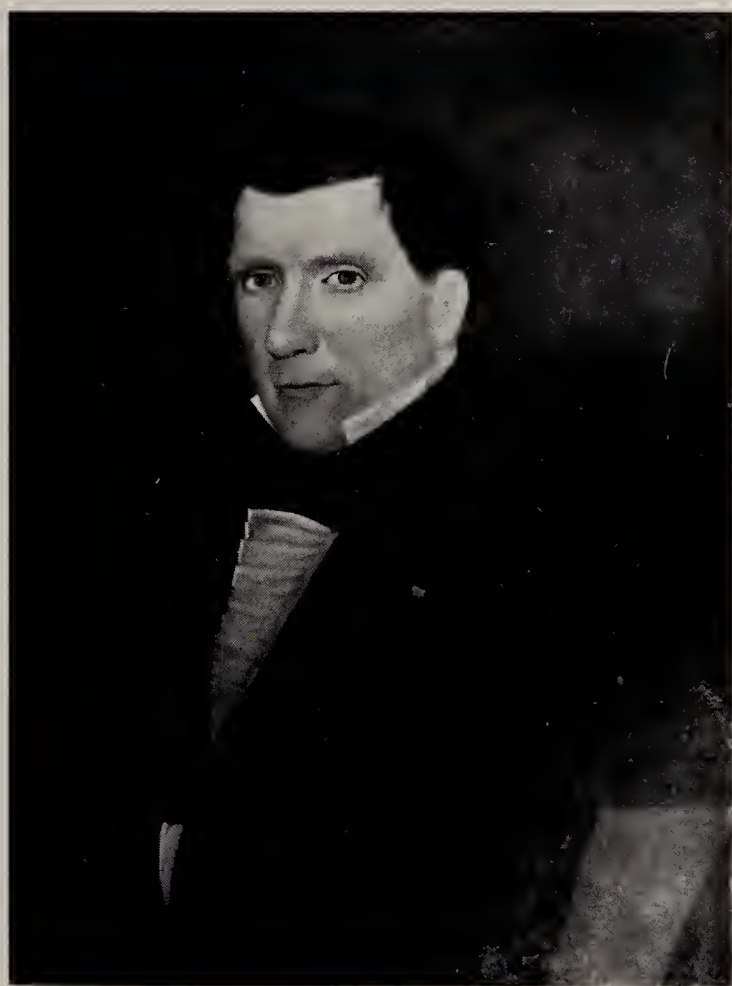
There are a number of miscellaneous items connected with the history of this decade which have no large significance, but which do reveal attitudes and developments of interest to the local and social historian. They follow here as a list of unrelated facts:

In 1792 the town provided itself with a standard of weights and measures at a cost of six pounds.

In 1793 the practice was begun of "putting up the collectorship of taxes at vandue [vendue]. Captain Ludwig takes the Collecting on the western side for 11d. 3 far. on ye pound, and Jacob Winchenback on the eastern side for 16d. on ye pound."



THE REV. JOHN W. STARMAN



SQUIRE JOHN J. BULFINCH  
(1791-1884)





THE REED MANSION (1816)

In April 1793 an article was inserted in the warrant "to see if the town will make a law to prevent firing on New Year's nite." From this we may infer that Waldoborough at one time ushered in the New Year with loud and boisterous rites which apparently did not appeal to the conservative faction, since it was "voted not to fire no guns on New Year's nite on penalty of six shillings on each gun so fired."

Among those published as intending to marry in the period from April 1796 to April 1797, occur the names of John Shepard (anglicized from Schaeffer) and Barbara Hahn, Rev. Augustus Ritz and Margaret Hahn (May 20, 1796), Charles Ewell and Polly Borkart (Burkett), Christian Stahl and Jane Lash, John Orph and Polly Snowdeal, Charles Weber (Weaver) and Polly Kinsel.

In 1798 the name of William Sproul appears for the first time in the town records and as a fence viewer. This year the problem of hog vagrancy called for the election of ten reeves, reflecting in part the number of men recently wed or newcomers in the town.

In the year 1797 the taxes levied were as follows: East side, state tax \$192.15; county tax \$69.74; west side, state tax \$114.66, county tax \$57.33; town, school and ministerial tax, east side, \$596.99; west side, \$323.23. These totals gave the town a budget of \$1309.77, which in 1798 rose to \$1545.88.

Apart from taxes a minor plague of the yeomanry in these years seems to have been thistles and wolves. They were important enough to require legislation, and so it was voted on April 3, 1797,

that each and every person owning, holding or improving land in this town shall cut or cause to be cut all the thistles growing on sd. land once before the last day of June next, and once again before the last day of August next under the penalty of the sum of ten dollars to be paid by each person neglecting to do the same to the use of this town. Voted that a Committee made up of the surveyors of highways [thirteen in number] to see that the above be carried out and to prosecute the persons so neglecting.

As for the second plague it was voted "that a bounty of 10 dollars be paid by this town for every Wolf's head and five dollars for every Wolf's Whelp's head that is killed in this town the present year."

In early days the fish in the Medomak had carried settlers through dire days and at times had been their main source of sustenance. In later and more prosperous days the plenitude of fish had led to abuse and waste. Diminishing supplies had alarmed the inhabitants and led them in the preceding decade to take conservation measures. The war between the millmen and the in-



habitants continued into this decade, and the coming of the fish in the sawing season made the problem a vexing one. Each year the town required the dams to be opened and it set the date. In 1790 they were opened for the passage of fish on May 12th. The following year all dams had been carried away by the freshets and in consequence the fish could run in fullest freedom. In 1794, however, the town was again compelled to curb the spirit of lawless waste ever characteristic of Americans in reference to their natural resources. On June 2nd it voted

that Friday, Saturday, or any part of said nites, Sunday and Monday are forbidden to ketch or take any fish at or near Medomak fall or falls in said town of Waldoborough, and no sean, nets, pots, or macheans shall be used or set on said days or nites under the forfeiture of twenty shillings to be recovered by complaint made to a Justice of the Peace of said County of Lincoln, one half to the Complainer, and the other half to the poor of said town.

The principle of the complainer receiving one half the fine seemed to give teeth to the ordinance, and so far as the records show no further difficulties were experienced in this decade.

The memories of the Indian wars and of the long struggle for independence were still fresh in the minds of all those of the first and second generation in the settlement. This served to maintain a company of militia in the town and to foster interest in drills and musters. In fact, both the local and county musters, maneuvers and parades, were gala days in the communities, and everyone turned out for the social aspects of such occasions as well as for the spectacle of marching men and gay uniforms. The Indians, of course, had long since ceased to be a menace and only an occasional wanderer came to the settlement, although in the autumn of 1790 a considerable band of them appeared and went into encampment at Broad Cove just south of the Waldoborough line. Their distressing condition through the winter has been recorded by an eyewitness in the following words:

Last month I happened to be at Broad Cove in the town of Bristol [now Bremen] and there saw the most distressing sight that it is possible to describe. I there met with about thirty Indians who came there last fall just at the time winter set in, which immediately deprived them of fish and clams, their usual food when upon the seacoast. The rivers and coast being frozen for many miles which prevented their returning home. They have been obliged to feed upon horse flesh and cattle which have died through the intense coldness of the winter. . . . All the people here did what they could for them. They complain that the white people hunt on their lands and that the government has taken from them part of these lands which prevents their getting a living from them. . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Letter from Wiscasset dated 17th, ult., *Mass. Centinel*, Nov. 2, 1791.



These savages molested nobody and caused no distrust among the whites. Trouble, however, did seem to be rising in the French quarter owing to the hostility of that government and its consistent seizure of American ships as prizes, especially those engaged in the West Indian trade. Waldoborough's growing interest in commerce was extremely sensitive to these outrages committed on ships hailing from this coast. The people were ready for a fight, and when on October 7, 1797, the town met at the west meetinghouse "to see what measures the Town will take for Getting twenty-five men out of the training band to be held as minuit men," there was no hesitation. It was "moved and there upon voted that the Captain and officers of the Militia in this town draw up their Company and Beat up for volunteers" then, and there the officers "reported to the meeting that a sufficient number of men had turned out as volunteers for to be held as Minute men." This quick response reflected the temper of the occasion and the pitch of feeling.

Waldoborough had not been without its militia since 1744, and in the 1790's the company was a popular organization in which membership was valued and promotion eagerly sought. The muster roll as of May 2, 1797, showed the following leadership: Captain, Joseph Ludwig; lieutenants, Gottfried Bornheimer and John Kintzel; sergeants, Charles Walch, Charles Hiebner, and Charles Kaler; musicians, Conrad Gross and Spooner Sprague. In addition to these, the rank and the file was made up of fifty-six men, which represented at least one out of every eight fencible men in the town.<sup>8</sup>

In early times the dispatch of mail was a private matter. It was in the main entrusted to the captains of coasters, taken by them to Boston and there mailed. In 1791 the nearest post office was at Wiscasset. The postage collected in this year was \$63.40 and the compensation for service was \$41.00. Wiscasset was connected with Portland by a postrider. In 1790 this contract was awarded to Richard Kimball for \$150.00 per annum. He travelled these fifty-nine miles once a fortnight. Wiscasset thus became a distributing center for points farther east. In 1793 a person by the name of George Russell was hired by private individuals to go from Castine to Wiscasset to carry letters and on return to deliver letters and newspapers along the route. He made the trip once a fortnight on foot and at first carried his mail in a yellow silk kerchief, later in saddlebags. The next year, 1794, in consequence of petitions, postmasters were appointed and the mail was sent by the Government. It was then carried on horseback once a week to the end of the century. The first postmaster in

<sup>8</sup>*Sprague's Journal*, XII, 22.

Waldoborough was John Head who received his appointment January 1, 1795. This same year Head had bought of Jacob Achorn, who had recently removed to Thomaston, the one-hundred acre lot bounded on the east by the lower falls, on the south by the County Road, and on the west by House Place (Kaler) Pond in Nobleborough, old Lot No. 2 under the Waldo grants. At the top of the hill on the site of the old town house the Head brothers, John and Joshua, had their store, and this store was the first post office in the town.

In 1799 the Court of Common Pleas, through the influence of Samuel S. Wilde, a competent attorney of Warren, was moved to that town. Wilde had practiced law a short time in Waldoborough and had moved to Warren in 1794. Though the town had lost the court, it acquired a customhouse by an Act of Congress approved March 31, 1789. The first inspector of revenue was Waterman Thomas, whose commission was dated June 13, 1795. The customhouse was a small wooden building located on the east side of the Slaigo brook at the foot of Thomas' Hill. At this time this general location was one of the two points competing to be the ultimate business center of the town. In later years, long after Squire Thomas' incumbency of the office, the building was moved to East Waldoborough by a member of the Wade family and made into a house.<sup>9</sup>

The decade of the 1790's was filled with fiscal troubles for the town. It was an era of house cleaning. The practice, mentioned in an earlier chapter, of a town officer using public funds for personal purposes had come to Waldoborough with the Puritans, and the Germans had adopted the practice from them in good faith. It was in general use for many years without causing any great amount of questioning. In the 1790's the town awoke to the fact that it was undergoing losses and that their cumulative effect was considerable. As the whole question was brought into the open it became clear that there was hardly a tax collector or a town treasurer that was not involved. So it came to pass that the town officers set about putting an end to the practice and cleaning up the mess, and in so doing, going back many years, calling all the ancient offenders to an accounting, and collecting monies long due the town.

Action was begun in 1792 against Caleb Howard and on May 7th of that year it was voted "to accept ten dollars and two shillings of Caleb Howard in the rone [place] of the paper money he sent and sold att Boston which he tooke for taxes committed to him to collect in this town." At the same Town Meeting the committee of the selectmen made up of Jacob Ludwig and Cap-

<sup>9</sup>Oral narrative of Mr. Sheldon Simmons.

tain Stephen Andrew for "settling with the Collectors" submitted its report as follows:

Having given notice to Capt. Charles Samson and Waterman Thomas, Esq., to meet at Mr. Samson's house we proceeded to business and we find there is due to Mr. Samson from the town the sum of £9 12s. 3d., but Esquire Thomas could not settle having no receipt from Mr. Whiting for his ministerial tax. . . . Having given due notice to Capt. Cornelius Turner, Mr. Hibner [Heavener] and to Mr. John Fitzgerald to meet at Mr. George Clouse's house, we proceeded to business and we find due to the town from Capt. Cornelius Turner the sum total of his bills, viz., State tax, £57 12s., School tax, £30 0s. 10d., with addition of two pools [polls], 4s. 10d. We find by a former settlement that there is due to the town of Mr. Habner [Heavener] the sum of £7 8s. 9d. We find there is due the town from Mr. John Fitzgerald 12s. We find due from Capt. John Ulmer to ye town £4 12s. 9d. By a former settlement there is due to the town from Mr. Ludwig Kastner the sum of 10s., and the State tax which was committed in the year 1778, £19 8s. 11d. May the fifth, Mr. Caleb Howard appeared and but he says he could not find his bills, for he sayeth Esquire Thomas had them to assess the arrearage [acreage] and cannot find them now, but he sayeth he sold the paper money he had Belonging to the town for the sum of £3 2s., which he is ready to pay the town if they will accept the same. We find Mr. Burnham's [Bornemann?] state tax number 8 for the year 1790 the sum of £19 due to the town, on the surplus of said taxes £2 11s. 11½d., exclusive of his fees due to the town, also on a surplus on a State tax No. 9, and County tax No. 4, for the year, viz., the sum of £4 3s. 8d. We find there is Mr. Capt. Vinel's of money belonging to the town the sum of £19 12s. 2d., which Dr. Sheppard [Schaeffer] carried to Boston to pay the treasurer with, but did not doe itt, but brought the money back and paid itt to Capt. Vinel and there it remains yet.

Waldoborough, March ye 31, 1792

This day settled with Capt. David Vinel from the year 1783 to this day and find a Ballence due ye town from ye Vinel Collection the sum of 62 pounds, five shillings and one penney Lawful money.

Jacob Ludwig }  
Stephen Andrew } Comm. of Selectmen

Considering the size of the town budget in these years these conventional peculations really totalled an impressive amount. This fact doubtless led the voters to persist in demanding a complete settlement. Hence on April 15, 1793, the following article appeared in the warrant: "To see what measures the town will take concerning a sum of money which is due from several collectors and from Dr. Sheffer receiving money from our treasurer to be paid to the treasurer of this Commonwealth and never performed." At the next meeting it was voted "to choose a committee of three men to search into the affair concerning Mr. Ludwig Castner's affair about his taxes and his Receipte, what he has paid and to whom, etc. Committee Esquire Ludwig, Capt. Turner and Dr. Brown." May 5, 1794 "Voted . . . to file a Petition . . . Praying for a Resolve to order Ludwig Casner to pay in the Town Treasury £19 18s. 11d., which money has been paid to said Castner, 1778."



As these matters dragged along toward a settlement a climax was reached unexpectedly in this conventional fiscal laxity on the part of town officers in positions of financial responsibility. In March 1795 John Christopher Wallizer "bid off the taxes for sixpence on the pound," and in 1796 he was authorized to collect the taxes of the whole town at 4*d.* and a half-penny per pound, and continued as collector until the autumn of 1797. At this time his apparent peculations caught up with him, and in the warrant of November 20, 1797, an article was listed

to see what measures the town will take respecting one of their collectors who be diffiant in payment of the several sums Committed to him to collect to a considerable amount. To see if they will chuse a Collector in the stead of John Christopher Wallizer who says he cannot Produce sufficient bonds for his Collection, and in consequence of which he has returned his tax bills.

The selectmen rendered a detailed report on the collections of Mr. Wallizer for the year 1795 and found a balance of collected money in his hands of \$149.03. In 1796 it was worse, and the town officers reported for the past two years the whole sum due from him to the town was \$685.99. The treasurer was ordered "to issue his execution against John Christopher Wallizer, collector for the years 1795 and 1796, for all sums due to the town from him on the several assessments committed to him to collect."

A committee made up of Robert Turner, Thomas McGuyer, Cornelius Turner, and John Fitzgerald was appointed to make a thorough investigation and to secure redress. It reported on December 23, 1797, that the amount missing, including town, county, and state taxes, was \$756.80 and 9 mills. Counsel was sought of an attorney in Wiscasset and on his advice an attachment was placed on Wallizer's real estate. A petition was submitted to the county and state for a stay of execution against the town for the amount of tax due these units. The town then voted power to the selectmen and treasurer "to attend on the sale of John C. Wallizer's land and let the same be bid off to any purchaser . . . or do any other matter or thing that to them may appear prudent in the premises."

This was a serious matter for Mr. Wallizer, for land was a man's most precious asset and, in this period, the main source of his wealth, in fact his living. To save Wallizer his land William Kaler and Friedrich Hahn went his bonds for payment of the amount due. This solution was little better than a gesture, for on June 9, 1800, it was voted "that execution be taken out as soon as may be against John Christop Wallizer and his bondsmen, and that the selectmen call a meeting before said execution is levied. Voted that Thomas McGuyer be agent for the town to prosecute

the action against John C. Wallizer and others now pending at the Supreme Judicial Court." Again the voters relented and voted at a November meeting "that a time of four years be allowed Christop Wallizer, William Kaler and Friedrich Hahn to pay the debt they owe this town, to be paid in four payments to be made annually, they to give separate confessions before a Justice of the Peace with sufficient bondsmen."

In the meantime the town raised each year a sum to amortize its debt hereby incurred to county and state. By 1803 Kaler and Hahn had in part at least met their obligation to the town as Wallizer's bondsmen, but in 1805 Hahn was still somewhat in arrears in his payments and the town voted "that execution against Frederik Hahn be levied." This episode of Wallizer's default involved such substantial sums and met with such uninterrupted publicity, that it practically put an end to the conventional mode of handling public funds by public officials which had arisen in an older day, and closed such episodes in the town's fiscal history.

The influx of the Puritans into the Waldoborough area — a continuous stream since 1769 — had without question given the town an educational and cultural lift in line with the Massachusetts pattern of life. This was slowly making itself felt in school affairs, and was inducing slow cultural changes among some of the Germans. As a part of this trend, something akin to a rotating library was established in the town in 1793. It was known as the Friendly Society,<sup>10</sup> an organization of citizens of this and adjacent towns to foster the circulation of books, which would be owned and used by the subscribers in common. Among the local men contributing funds for this purpose were Joshua Head, John Head, Zebedee Simmons, David Vinal, Philip M. Ulmer, Peter Creamer, and Benjamin Brown, £1 8s., each; Waterman Thomas, £6; George Ulmer, £1 12s.; Charles Samson, £2; and John Paine, £2.

The subscribers held their first meeting at the house of Captain Stephen Andrews on May 6th, and Waterman Thomas was chosen librarian. The Society flourished and meetings were held regularly here and in neighboring towns. New members were added and public address fostered. In a few years the Society broke up into town units and continued its work. In Waldoborough it became known as "The Library Company of the Town of Waldoborough" and functioned actively for more than two decades. In the second decade of the new century one share each, costing \$5.00, was taken by Gorham Parks, Avery Rawson, Joshua Head, Benjamin Brown, W. R. Webb, O. D. Richardson, James Groton, Thomas P. Sproul, Henry J. Manning, Payn Elwell, Betsey Farley, Isaac G. Reed, John Hale, Philip Keizer, David W.

<sup>10</sup>Eaton, *Annals of Warren*, p. 247.



Mitchell, Samuel Morse, George Clouse, Jr., and J. L. Stevens.<sup>11</sup> The almost complete absence of German names from this list is significant as it certainly reflects a decline in their cultural influence. The lists themselves are significant as affording a clue to the extent of a reading public in the town in the 1790's and showing those in whose lives books were a need strong enough to induce an outlay of cash.

The 1790's was clearly a period of change in outward practice and in inner viewpoint and feelings. In the more densely populated sections along the river, the Germans were in many ways becoming Americans, while in the back-districts the old feudal modes persisted strongly due to the lack of contacts between river and back-district folk. German was still spoken in both areas, but the river Germans had become bilingual. The changes in this period were manifest in all ways. The town was taking its first steps toward industrialization; agriculture was advancing and carts and ploughs were coming into more general use. People were travelling and carrying light burdens on horse-back. This method served to get a bag of wheat or corn quickly to the gristmill, or a keg of rum or molasses home. "Riding double," the man in the saddle and the "missus" on the pillion behind him, was the prevailing way of getting to church or to a frolic. Sleighs and pungs were just coming into use for winter travel, and footstoves were used on such journeys, as well as at church.

This decade was also the period of frame houses. In the river section they were rising everywhere, while the log cabin still remained the typical domicile of the back-districts. Carpets, rugs, and sofas were not yet widely used, but nice furniture was finding its way into nice houses, while crude handmade pieces were the general order in simpler abodes. The whitest and widest boards were used for the floors, which were smoothed and scoured with white sand and swept with brooms made from the trunks of yellow birch or the twigs of hemlock and spruce. The kitchens were places of many dressers, shelves, and cupboards which were adorned with such pewter as the housewife possessed. Cooking dishes were of iron and all meals were prepared at the open hearth, and the baking done once or twice a week in the brick ovens. Crockery was replacing the wooden dishes of the Revolution, and was of crude, heavy ware made of clay in local potteries. The tallow candle, too, in spots was on the way out and spermaceti, oil, and lamps made of tin, brass, or other metal were by way of taking their place. The gentlemen still wore

<sup>11</sup>Subscription papers at one time in possession of Carroll T. Cooney, Jr., Waldo-boro, Me.



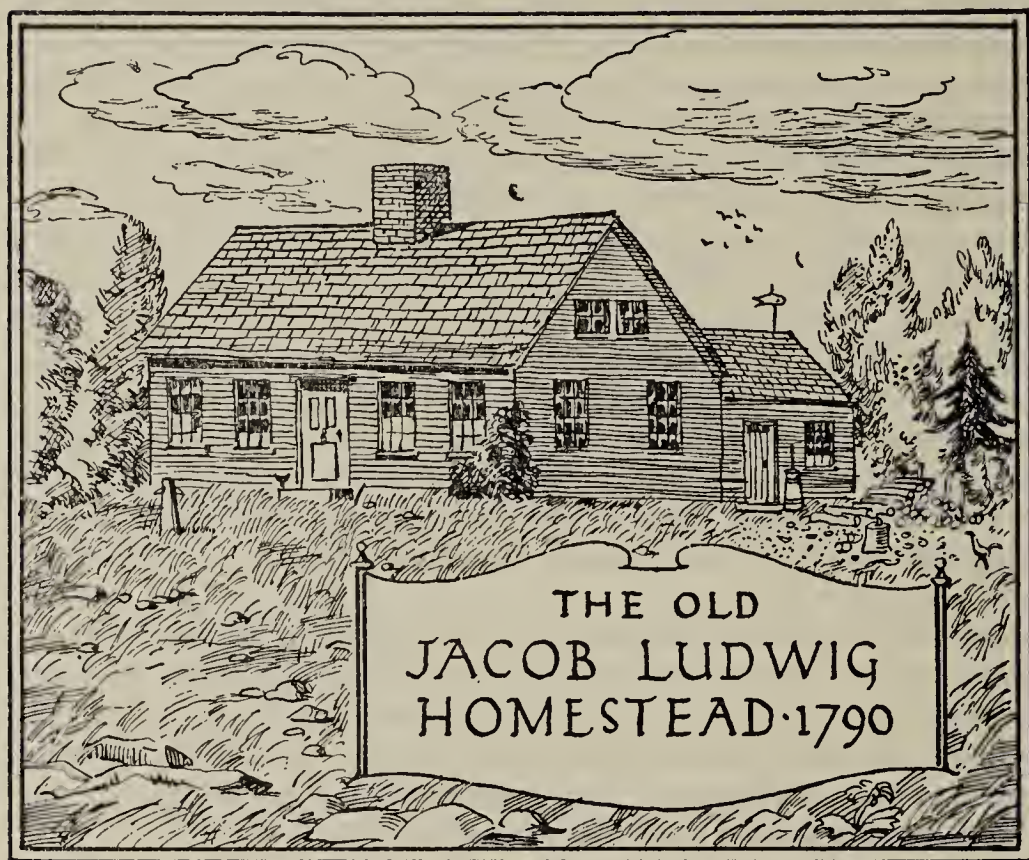
their hair in clubs or queues; the newer petticoat trousers and leather breeches were being introduced by the better dressed to replace the older French pantaloons, but the attire of an older day was still commonly worn by the older and more conservative folk.

With the development of industrial centers in the communities and the influx of so many new people, social practice and moral codes underwent a change. Mutual aid was giving way to paid services. The practices of sharing on butchering days or when a kill was made in the forest, and of borrowing and lending with no thought of balancing accounts was no longer as common as of yore, and neighbors began to pay for the use of oxen, horses, carts, and ploughs. Tea and coffee were in regular use by all whose wealth made such luxuries accessible, and even the older moderation in drinking was no longer the virtue it once was. The numerous taverns in the town were becoming social centers where the leisured and the poor would gather of an evening over their cups or a game of cards. Any enterprise that wound up in a social gathering was still highly popular. Spinning-bees, wool-breakings, corn huskings, barn raisings, wood-haulings, chopping-bees, launchings, and militia musters usually ended with men joining women, or vice versa, for a frolic or a dance in the evening, and friends would come from far and near. In the earlier days nearly everyone had lived on the uniform level of poverty, and the first inequalities of fortune gave rise to no invidious social distinctions. There were at first no upper and lower classes in the local society, but by now the first faint lines of social cleavage were forming, and the power of money, dress, and social connections was beginning to produce envy and emulation and to exercise in general a divisive influence, a trend which was destined to become more and more apparent in the next century.

In these days the leading German figure in the community was Jacob Ludwig. He was a shrewd, thrifty, intelligent, and ambitious man, entirely self-educated. From the first he had realized that Waldoborough would become an English community, and in consequence had set himself to a mastery of the language, law, practices, and ways of English life. This knowledge made him a leader among his people and in the 1790's he was the community factotum. The record of his activities he kept most carefully in a diminutive script in a famous little book generally known as "Jacob Ludwig's Note Book."<sup>12</sup> This book is largely a record of his business proceedings and can be easily read with the aid of a reading glass. His busy and important life was rooted in the fact

<sup>12</sup>Jacob Ludwig, *Accounts and Memoranda*, mss. (Maine Historical Society, Portland, Me.).

that his fellow Germans were still to a large degree an alien population, limited in education and too unfamiliar with English institutions to handle their own business and legal affairs. Furthermore, there was no lawyer permanently in residence in the town, and if there had been one he would have had to be bilingual in order to handle the legal business of a German constituency. As it was, Jacob Ludwig met such requirements and commanded the confidence of the German population which no English attorney



in these years could possibly have acquired. Hence he had all their business, and there was much of it. As justice of the peace Ludwig wrote wills, bonds, deeds; drew up notes; collected monies; made trips to other towns to transact business for his clients; wrote letters; ran sights on land; traded in local and imported produce; took depositions; issued warrants and summonses; computed interest; administered oaths; performed marriages; computed taxes; settled estates; drew up mortgages; executed writs, and appraised property. For each little service there was a little charge and the total was impressive.

The entries in this notebook possess considerable cultural interest as an index to the life of the period. There was literally



something doing every day, but only a few phases of this activity can be mentioned here. They follow:

June 3, 1790, John Trowbridge, for examining witnesses and taking testimony fee.

July 10, 1790, Susaman Abrahams,<sup>13</sup> fine for breaking the Sabbath, 5s. Christopher Newbit complains against Susaman Abrahams for breaking the Sabeth last winter by writing [wanting to write] a letter and senting for said Newbit to have the letter wrote.

Lorenz Sides, 1 quart of rum, 1s. 6d., 1 bu. wheat, 6s., 1 bu. barley, 3s. To one day going to Goose River, 6s.

Nov. 26, 1793, Conrad Heyer complaining of himself for breaking the peace with Georg Weber, 5s.

In these days the air was charged with litigation. Action and counteraction on the part of nearly everybody was constant. The following entries are typical of this condition:

July 18, 1796, George Clouse, — to writ vs Oberlock, 6s; to writ vs Orff, 4s. 6d.; to writ vs Stahl, 4s. 6d.

Sept. 1796, to Caleb Howard. To John Creamer's writ vs your son, 6s.; To a writ vs Brown, 4s. 6d.; to settling accounts between you and Raser, 3s.; March 5, 1798, To a fine, Lincoln complaint, 6s.

Frederick Hahn to Jacob Ludwig, Dr., to breaking my plough, damages, 6s.

From this notebook can be gleaned much genealogical data, especially in reference to the more inconspicuous figures seldom mentioned in other records, for example, a reference to Isaac Sargus (Sarges) showing he was still living in 1809. Also in the matter of computations there are interesting data on tax rates and tax totals. Among Ludwig's clients most of these are in the lower brackets, and range from many around the \$2.00 figure in the taxes up to Charles Samson, the most affluent of Ludwig's patrons, whose taxes in the 1790's were computed as follows: state and county tax, \$6.49, ministerial tax \$9.79, school and town tax, \$17.29. Total \$33.52. Captain Samson, it should be noted, was one of the large property holders of the town.

When Isaac G. Reed located at Waldoboro in 1808, he apparently spotted Ludwig as the most useful single adjunct to his law practice because of the latter's range of contacts and the confidence he inspired among the Germans. The cooperation between the two men increased over the years. Ludwig drew many Germans to Reed's office and handled much of his minor work where the fee ranged from a few cents to a few dollars. Reed, for his part, was in a position to acquaint Ludwig with those small details of the law which the latter needed to know in his minor legal work. Under Reed's influence Jacob's writing became no less

<sup>13</sup>The town's only Jew.



diminutive, but more legible and beautiful, for Reed was a master penman. This tacit partnership continued down through 1817, nine years before Jacob Ludwig's death.

In the course of this decade there were many land transfers and many new settlers, and some of these conveyances indicate the original holdings of some of the earliest settlers. For example, on April 17, 1790, Jacob Ludwig sold his early home on Dutch Neck, and for £100 purchased of Peter Crammer one hundred and thirty acres on the east side of the Medomak River "three quarter miles from Medomak Falls" where he built and occupied to the end of his days (1826) the house which in recent years was the residence of Walter Clark. Philip Schuman, who at this time was the owner of one half of this farm, sold his "rights and interests" to Ludwig. Jacob's neighbor on the north of his new home was Friedrich Hahn and on the south John Adam Levensaler.<sup>14</sup> The following year George Woltzgruber purchased of Christopher Neuhaus for £27 the whole of what is now known as "Woltzgruber's Island" in Goose River Bay.<sup>15</sup>

On June 2, 1792, the last representatives in the town of the Siechrist family, Philip and his mother, "Barberry," sold to Charles Heavener for £15 their farm of sixty-three acres "on the east side of Broad Bay near the Upper Narrows."<sup>16</sup>

August 22, 1793, Charles Overlock sold to Edward Manning his farm of one hundred and fifty-seven acres in East Waldoborough, which is the third lot below Ivan Scott's farm, still known as "the old Manning place."<sup>17</sup>

A newcomer of this decade was the Paine family. In 1793 Joshua Paine of Bath, mariner, purchased for £135 the old one-hundred acre lot, No. 18, east side, in earliest times the farm of Captain Matthias Remilly. This was the present Mandahl place, reaching back from the river until one hundred acres were completed. The largest and most important real-estate transfer came on April 7, 1794, when Captain John Ulmer sold his huge holdings in the center of present-day Waldoboro Village. This lot was sixty-eight poles in width and fronted on the river from the little cove just north of Alfred Storer's lumberyard to a point thirty rods above the First Falls. From these two bounds the lot ran eastward six hundred and fifty-eight rods and contained in all two hundred and sixty-four acres and fifty-six poles, one gristmill and one sawmill. Excepted from the sale was one half-acre of land on the river just below the present bridge on the site of Clark's shipyard, which Captain Ulmer at an earlier date had given to the town for a public landing.

<sup>14</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 26, p. 189.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 27, p. 214.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 29, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 30, p. 254.

This property was sold for £600 to a newcomer, David Doane of Eastham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts.<sup>18</sup> A gentleman who could pay such a price would make an immediate impression locally, and on March 23, 1795, he was elected first selectman of the town and served one term in this capacity. A daughter, Sarah, married Major Mathews of Warren who moved to Waldoborough and remained here until his death in 1848. Hence Doane had descendants living in the town down to the present day. In the meantime the Ulmer family, including old Captain John, having disposed of its land interest in the town, settled in the Georges Valley and Penobscot Bay area.

William Doane held this central area for only a brief period and on October 31, 1796, sold to William Sproul, 4th, of Bristol for \$1800.00

one undivided half of this property . . . with the whole of the mansion house now inhabited by said Doane, two thirds of the barn, two third parts of the grist mill and one third part of the sawmill on the falls, . . . and one half of all the woodways, waters, improvements and appurtenances, except one half acre granted by John Ulmer to the town for a landing.

On December 9th of the same year Doane sold to Ezekiel Barnard, shipwright, "one undivided third part of this estate including barn, gristmill and sawmill," and one the next day sold to Barnard "the remaining sixth part, with one sixth of the appurtenances and one third of a sawmill." In this manner the whole estate came into possession of Sproul and Barnard, but it was a peculiar procedure to sell first a half, then a third, and immediately thereafter a sixth. The discrepancy in the prices of the fractional parts is likewise peculiar. For his half William Sproul paid \$1800.00; for his third part Barnard paid \$33.33 and for his sixth part the sum of \$445.00.<sup>19</sup> By this deal two newcomers leaped into prominence in the life of the town, by securing control of the center of the town's economic life, and during their lifetimes played a major part in the growth of a village center. Doane left the town and moved to Brookfield, Massachusetts, County of Worcester.

Ezekiel Barnard was born in England in 1766 and came to Waldoborough *circa* 1795. He was a shipwright with some capital, and in partnership with William Sproul, operated the mills at the lower falls during his lifetime. He became prominent in town affairs, rising from the hog reeve status to constable, and discharging all obligations with dignity and effectiveness. He was probably the keeper of the first tavern in the village proper. This was in all likelihood the "mansion house" that Captain John

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 38, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 39, p. 19, and Bk. 38, p. 55.



Ulmer had built for himself in his later years, which stood on or near the site of the present village parking lot.

For many years Barnard's Tavern was a famous hostelry, the scene of many special Town Meetings, of business deals, and of social life, and a center of news circulation. Ezekiel Barnard died in 1816 at the age of fifty and his wife, Mary, continued to administer his business and to run the tavern for many years. Possibly she was the first business woman of the town. She died in 1852 at the age of eighty-two. Both husband and wife lie buried in the Main Street Cemetery. There were two Barnard sons, William Henry and Enoch, and several daughters. Enoch moved to Rockland, but William Henry remained in Waldoborough, married, built, and resided in the house now owned by Ralph Irving. Among well-known local descendants of this family were Mrs. Helena Smith and the Reverend Oscar G. Barnard who held the longest pastorate in the history of the local Methodist Church.

The Sproul family was of Scotch-Irish descent. James came from the North of Ireland to Bristol around 1740. His son, William, 4th, married Jane Johnston of Bristol, and the couple moved to this town *circa* 1796. He apparently started his local career with little capital, for in payment of the property acquired he gave a mortgage to David Doane providing for payment in three installments, \$600.00 on May 1, 1797; \$600.00 on November 1, 1797, and \$600.00 on May 1, 1798. The business acquired was basic and remunerative and he apparently was able to meet these payments. William Sproul was a man of vigor, resourcefulness, and intelligence. He prospered greatly and attained great prominence in the town. He filled all positions of public trust from hog reeve through poundkeeper to Town Treasurer and selectman (1811-1812). His home, located on the northern corner of the present Sproul Block, was moved off the lot in 1854 when the present block was constructed. Apart from other interests, Sproul engaged in shipbuilding in both Bristol and Waldoborough. He died April 18, 1840, and is buried in the Main Street Cemetery in the Sproul tomb, which he had built in 1810. A son, George, born April 23, 1800, continued the fine tradition of the father, holding many town offices and serving five terms in the State Legislature. There are blood kin of the family still living in the district, but with the present generation the name has become extinct in the town.

In 1795 Charles Razor whose home stood on the top of the hill back of Leavitt Storer's house, and who owned a large tract of land next south of the Barnard and Sproul tract, extending as far south as the southern line of Clifton Meservey, sold for £42 "Razor's Point." This lot consisted of a hundred and eighty-two



rod strip along the river front embracing the present lumberyard of Alfred Storer. It was sold to William H. Thompson, a merchant who was engaged in trade here at that time.<sup>20</sup> In the same year the Bickmore family of Medumcook in the person of Samuel acquired one hundred acres of land in the Back Cove-Goose River district.<sup>21</sup> The next year, 1796, the original John Adam Löwen Zöllner farm, covering one hundred acres north of Harold Rider's farm, was sold for \$675.00 to Barnabas Freeman.<sup>22</sup>

The rise of shipbuilding in this decade was drawing ship carpenters to the town, and in 1797 came the first of the Willett family, Thomas, "a mastmaker." For £200 he bought of "Matthias Remilly of Thomaston, gent.," the second homestead lot occupied by Remilly prior to his moving to Thomaston. This was a hundred-acre farm located on the east side between the lower and middle falls. Here Willett lived in a log cabin by the river until he resettled and built a home on the crest of Willett's Hill (Cole's) on the south of the road.<sup>23</sup> This house was burned around 1860 while the family was at a prayer meeting. There were two sons, John and Thomas. The former was the ancestor of all the later Willetts in the town, while the latter was much given to military matters and as an ardent greenbacker stumped the state in this cause.

In 1797 Philip Stahl acquired one hundred and ten picturesque acres in Warren on the top of the hill that has borne his name since that year. In 1799 Peter Lahr sold his one hundred and sixty-acre farm in North Waldoborough to John Head and moved on into the town of Washington. From him were descended the Leighers who are still living in this area in the present day. It was in the latter part of this decade that the Currier family came to town.

John Currier was the first of this name, a shipwright, and he acquired the Jabez Cole farm in 1801.<sup>24</sup> His intentions to marry "Caty Lash" were published between April 1798 and 1799. There were two sons born to this union, Thomas and John. Thomas married Angelica H. Brackett, June 18, 1832. He was a jeweler and later a telegraph operator and had his store in the Clark Building and later in the former barber shop of Hudson Nash. He built and lived in the present Baptist parsonage. The brother, John, was a nurseryman and lived on the David Potter place, now the home of Lawrence Weston. His sons went away and he was the last of the family in the town, the brother Thomas having died in 1850. John had extensive orchards and his formula for protecting them from thieving boys was to keep two baskets of apples by the sidewalk with a notice inviting all boys to help themselves.

<sup>20</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 33, p. 195.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 36, p. 221.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>23</sup>Lincoln Co. Deeds, Bk. 39, p. 204.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Bk. 50, p. 28.

The Harriman family also appeared in Waldoborough in this decade. Jonathan, born 1776, came from Haverhill, Massachusetts, and married Elizabeth Pitcher of Waldoborough. His second wife was Elizabeth Heyer and the couple resided on Dutch Neck. There were thirteen children in this family, most of whom moved to Warren with the father, but James married Susan Demuth, resided and died in this town. The later Harrimans, at one time prominent in the town, stemmed from this son.

One of the most distinguished and influential families in Waldoboro in the nineteenth century was the Kennedys. Thomas Kennedy came from Bridgewater, Massachusetts, to Newcastle as a boy, married Elizabeth Winslow and moved to Jefferson about 1781. He and Mr. Flanders took up a large tract of land extending eastward from the lake to the upper Medomak River. A son, Nathaniel, who married Mary Bond of Jefferson, on May 10, 1796, settled on the eastern end of the Kennedy tract in the very northwestern tip of Waldoborough. Here were born eight children, one of whom, Henry, married Rachel Lincoln.

This General or Deacon Henry, as he was known, was the most distinguished of Nathaniel's children. He was born on the Kennedy Homestead, September 3, 1797. His younger years were spent on the farm until at the age of twenty-seven he came to Waldoboro Village and entered business as a trader with his cousin, Joseph Clark. Leaving trade he went into shipbuilding which he followed with marked success for fifty years. General Henry built the large house on Main Street, later occupied by his son, Almore, and now owned by William Crowell. He served as hog reeve, town clerk, selectman, collector of customs, and senator from Lincoln County. In 1837 he joined the Baptist Church and was chosen Deacon in 1844. He was a devoted and austere churchman, always a man of generous charities and a friend of the sick and the poor. Through his interest and activity in military affairs he rose in rank, and at the time of the Aroostook War became brigadier general of militia. He died at Waldoboro, October 13, 1875, and lies buried in the Main Street Cemetery. There were three sons, Henry A.; Almore, who graduated from Colby College in 1866; and Lincoln, the last surviving brother, who can be remembered by many now living.

This chapter of annals concludes with brief glimpses of Waldoborough in this decade as recorded by two men who actually saw it. In 1796 the Reverend Paul Coffin passed through the town on a missionary tour and recorded what he saw in the following entry in his Journal:

Set off this morning<sup>25</sup> for Bristol ordination in company with Rev. Huse and his delegate, Col. Starrett, a pleasing and honest gentleman. Rode eight miles to Waldoborough, which is a large town. Augustus Reets,<sup>26</sup> the Dutch Minister, told us this place contained three hundred Dutch families. Below the bridge it runs about eight miles to the sea. On both sides of the river below the bridge it is much settled and miles above it. Here is cord wood, shipbuilding, mills, etc., which make a good appearance. Below the bridge a mile or two the river widens and becomes Broad Bay.<sup>27</sup>

Another visitor to record his impression was one of the major figures in Western history, Talleyrand, (1754-1838) a Frenchman, President of the National Assembly of the Revolution, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Directorate, then of the Consulate, then of the Empire. In 1794 he was in Maine looking into possible land purchases. Here he was more impressed than had been the case with New York lands. In September he travelled from Machias to the New Hampshire border on horseback and spent a night at Montpelier as the guest of General Knox. In a letter written in Boston on September 24th there is the following reference to this town:

"Almost in the center of General Knox's property is the municipality of Waldoborough, which is growing to be a pretty town, where the courts of justice are held."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup>From Warren, on August 17, 1796.

<sup>26</sup>The Rev. Augustus R. B. Ritz.

<sup>27</sup>Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D., *Missionary Town in 1796*, Colls. Me. Hist. Soc., IV, 326.

<sup>28</sup>*Annual Report*, Am. Hist. Soc., 1941, "Unpublished Letters and Memoirs" (U. S. Gov. Print. Office, 1942), II, 78.





## APPENDIX

List of Waldoborough men serving in the Continental Army and  
in the Massachusetts militia in the American Revolution





## CONTINENTAL ARMY

ACORN, (Achorn) George Michael.

Private in Capt. Smith's Co., Col. Bond's Regt., 1775, Massachusetts Line in the Continental Establishment.

Service: 1 year.

Seaman, on list of prisoners sent to Boston in the Cartel Snow, *Swift* from Halifax, September 30th, 1778.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on the Penobscot Expedition.

BECKLER, Daniel.

Enlisted by Lieut. Ulmer at Waldoborough.

Private in Capt. Francis Greene's Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: March 18th, 1777, or the same date in 1779.

Enlistment for 3 years.

Discharged: December 31st, 1780.

Born in Germany, 1749 or 1751.

Age: 28.

Stature: 5 ft. 6 in.

Complexion: Light.

Hair: Sandy.

Occupation: Shoemaker.

BENNER, John.

Listed as mustered in Plymouth County, July 26th, 1777, Capt. Cole's Co., Col. Robinson's Regt.

Reenlisted May 1st, 1779.

Private in 5th Company, Col. John Bailey's Regt.

Served with the Continental Army from May 3rd, 1779 to December 31st, 1779.

Further, with Capt. Seth Drew's Co., Col. Bailey's Regt., January 1st, 1780 to December 31st, 1780.

Also, Capt. Seth Drew's Co., 2nd Regt., Jan. 27th, 1781.

Residence: Abington.

Stature: 5 ft. 8 in.

Complexion: Sallow.

Hair: Light Brown.

Occupation: Potter.

COLE, Isaiah.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Brown's Co., Lieut. Col. William Bond's 37th Regt., Cambridge, 1775.

Boston and Prospect Hill, 1775.

Private in Light Infantry Co., Col. Henry Jackson's Regt., Continental Army.

Served from June 22nd, 1777, to December 31st, 1779.

Also, Capt. Nathaniel Jarvis' Co., Col. Jackson's Regt., February, 1778.

Also, same Company and Regiment for June, July and August, 1778, in Providence.

Enlistment: 3 years.

Service terminated June 2nd, 1780.

## DELANO, Alpheus.

Sergeant in the Continental Army.

Served with Lieut. Thomas Lamb's Co., Col. Henry Jackson's Regt., February, 1778.

## FARNSWORTH, John.

Private in Capt. Bartholomew York's Co., Col. Edmund Phinney's Regt.

Enlisted: February 13th, 1776. (Also given as February 1st.)

Also, Private in Capt. Winthrop Boston's Co.

Service: 2 months during the Siege of Boston, 1776.

Also, enrolled in the Continental Army in Garrison at Fort George.

Reported discharged: October 2nd, 1776.

## FITZGERALD, John.

Private in Capt. Smith's Co., Col. Bond's Regt., 1775 to 1776. Massachusetts Line of the Continental Establishment.

## HAVENER, Charles.

Private in Capt. Jordan Hunt's Light Infantry Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Served from 1777 to 1780.

Also, Seaman on *Lincoln Galley*, commanded by Capt. John Curtis, May 5th, 1781, to July 23rd, 1781.

## HELMERHAUSEN, Henry Frederick.

Private in Col. Sheldon's 2nd Regiment of Light Dragoons, Continental Army.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1778, for the duration of the war.

## HEYER, Conrad.

Private in Capt. Smith's Co., Col. Randall's Regt., in the Massachusetts Line of the Continental Establishment, 1775-1776.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days.

Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Guards at Broad Bay.

Discharged: September 15th, 1778.

According to his own declaration, he was at one time one of General George Washington's bodyguards.

## HOFSES, (Hoffses) Christian.

Private in Capt. Smith's Co., Col. Bond's Regt., Massachusetts Line of the Continental Establishment, 1775-1776.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for service as Guards at Broad Bay.

## LEHER, (Lehr) Peter.

Private in Capt. Abraham Hunt's Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: May 17th, 1777, for 3 years.

Served at Valley Forge.

## LESNER, (Leissner) George.

Private in Maj. Ball's Co., Col. William Shepard's Regt., Continental Army.

Service: January 1st, 1777, to December 31st, 1779.

Promoted to Corporal, October 1st, 1778.

LIGHT, Peter.

Enlisted at Waldoborough in 1777 for the Campaign against Burgoyne.

MINCK, (Mink) Valentine (Uncle Faltin).

Private in Capt. Nathan Fuller's Co., Col. Bond's Regt., in the Massachusetts Line of the Continental Establishment, 1775 to 1776.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in Company raised for the defense of Machias.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

Also, in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days in the Penobscot Expedition.

Also, enlisted September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

McINTOSH, John.

Private in Capt. Hunt's Co., Col. Henry Jackson's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: June 2nd, 1777.

Discharged: June 12th, 1780.

Also served with Thomas Cartwright's Co., Col. Henry Jackson's Regt.

Residence: Bristol. In service for the town of Waldoborough.

NASH, Church.

Private in Col. John Bailey's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: December 10th, 1775.

Also with Capt. William Turner's Co.

Also with Capt. Nathaniel Winslow's Co., Col. Simeon Carey's Regt.

REISER, Philip.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regiment of Militia, from August to December 31st, 1775.

In Service at the Siege of Boston, Capt. Fuller's Co., Col. Bond's Regt.

Died in Camp at Prospect Hill.

SEIDINBERGER, Jacob.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Browne's Co., Col. William Bond's 37th Regt.

At Camp Prospect Hill, October 7th, 1775.

SIMMONS, Stephen.

Private in Capt. William Scott's Light Infantry Co., Col. Henry Jackson's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: June 2nd, 1777, at Waldoborough.

Term: 3 years.



STAHL, (Stall, Staul) Henry.

Detached from Boston Regiment, June 9th, 1779, to serve in the Continental Army, for the term of 9 months.

Discharged: April 10th, 1780.

Age: 44 years.

Stature: 5 ft. 10 in.

Complexion: Dark.

Hair: Dark and short.

Eyes: Blue.

STAHL, (Stall, Staul) John.

Private in Capt. Winthrop Boston's (Boston) Co.

Enlisted: January 29th, 1776.

Service: 2 months in a Company raised in Lincoln and Cumberland counties for Service during the Siege of Boston.

STILKE, John George.

Private in Capt. Abraham Hunt's Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: January 21st, 1777, for 3 years.

Also, promoted to Corporal, same Company, same Regiment, November 17th, 1778. Served at Valley Forge.

Reported reduced in grade: April 1st, 1779.

STORER, Henry.

Private in Capt. Abraham Hunt's Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: May 17th, 1777, for 3 years.

Discharged: May 18th, 1780.

On Muster Rolls at Camps near Valley Forge and Providence.

Also served with Capt. Greene's Co., Col. Vose's Regt.

ULMER, George.

Private in 1st Essex County Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: January 18th, 1777, for 3 years.

Discharged: January 18th, 1780.

Served with Capt. Hunt's Co., Col. Patterson's Regt.

Promoted to Sergeant.

Service: 13 months, 13 days as Private and 22 months as Sergeant.

At Valley Forge and White Plains. Later, became General of Militia.

ULMER, George, Jr.

Private in Capt. Abraham Hunt's Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt., Continental Army.

Enlisted: May 17th, 1777, for 3 years.

Discharged: April, 1779.

Service: approximately 1 year, 11 months. In Camp at Valley Forge.

ULMER, Phillip.

Sergeant in the 25th Regiment of the Continental Army.

Continuous service on land and at sea from 1775 until the end of the war.

Captain in Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Engaged: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days on the Penobscot Expedition.

Promoted: 2nd Major, in Lieut. Joseph Prime's Regiment to command a regiment detached from Militia of York, Cumberland and Lincoln Counties, for Service under Brig. Gen. Peleg Wardsworth, in defense of Eastern Massachusetts.

Also, a Major with Col. Prime's Regt.

Engaged: March 25th, 1780.

Discharged: November 27th, 1780.

Service: 8 months at Camden.

WALCH, (Walk) Charles.

Private in Capt. Jordan Hunt's Light Infantry Co., Col. Joseph Vose's Regt.

Service from 1777 to 1780 in the Continental Army.

WERNER, (Vannah) John.

Private in Capt. Nathan Fuller's Co., Col. Bond's and Col. Alden's Regt.

Service: 1 year in the Massachusetts Line of the Continental Establishment.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days in defense of Machias.

Also, Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days with Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Guards at Broad Bay.

## MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA

ACORN, (Achorn) Jacob.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days on Penobscot Expedition.

ACORN, (Achorn) John.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

BENNER, John.

Private in Capt. John Ames' Co.

Enlisted: June 26th, 1778.

Discharged: July 20th, 1778.

Service: 24 days.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

BORNHAMER, (Bornheimer) Jacob.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 16th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 4 months, 14 days, at a place called Cox's Head, at the mouth of the Kennebec River.

BORNHIMER, (Bornheimer) Godfrey.

Sergeant in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company. Company raised for the defense of Machias.

Engaged: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days.

Also, engaged with Capt. Ludwig's Co., Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt., September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in a Company detached for Service as Guards at Broad Bay, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing.

BROWMAN, (Boardman?) Martin.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

CASTNER, Michael.

Private in Capt. Adam Wheeler's 2nd Co., Col. Thomas Nixon's 4th Regt.

Service from September to December, 1776.

COLE, Abel.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Seacoast Company.

Stationed at St. George's.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: September 6th, 1776.

Service: 6 months.

CRAMER, (Creamer) John.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: May 13th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 6 months, 17 days, "at the Eastward."

DEAB, (Dieb) George.

Recorded as a Pensioner of the American Revolution at the age of 89, living in Waldoborough, Lincoln County.

DEMUTH, George.

1st Lieutenant in Andrew Schenk's Co., Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Service limited to local expeditions.

EWELL, Henry.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's Detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

FARNSWORTH, James.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regt.

FARNSWORTH, Isaac.

Fifer with Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regt.

Engaged: October 28th, 1775.

Discharged: December 31st, 1775.

Service: 2 months, 8½ days, in a Company raised in St. George's and Waldoborough and Camden, for defense of the seacoast and these towns.

Fifer with Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Co.

Engaged: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Service: 9 months, 5 days, again stationed at St. George's for defense of the seacoast.



## FARNSWORTH, Robert.

Private in Capt. John Blunt's Co., Maj. William Lithgow's Detachment of Militia.

Enlisted: September 27th, 1779.

Discharged: November 10th, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 15 days, on the Penobscot Expedition.

Also, under Brig. Gen. Wadsworth.

March 6th, 1780 to September 6th, 1780.

Service: 3 months, 6 days, in defense of Eastern Massachusetts.

## FARNSWORTH, William, Sr.

Veteran of the French and Indian War.

Held commission as Lieutenant Colonel or Colonel in Militia for defense of this area.

He may be the Colonel William Farnsworth who was Benedict Arnold's Liaison Officer on the Kennebec in the march overland to Quebec.

## FARNSWORTH, William, Jr.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regt.

Enlisted: August 25th, 1775.

Discharged: December 31st, 1775.

Service: 4 months, 17 days in defense of the seacoast with Company stationed at Waldoborough and Camden.

Promoted to Sergeant in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Co.

Engaged: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Stationed at St. Georges for defense of the seacoast.

Promoted to 1st Lieutenant in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Engaged: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in defense of Machias.

## FILER, (Feyler) Charles.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's Co., Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

## FILER, (Feyler) John.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regt.

Enlisted: August 25th, 1775.

Discharged: December 31st, 1775.

Service: 4 months, 17 days in defense of seacoast, stationed at St. George's and Waldoborough.

## FREEMAN, Barnabas.

Sergeant in Capt. Archibald McAllister's Co., Col. Prime's Regt.

Engaged: April 21st, 1780.

Discharged: December 19th, 1780.

Service: 7 months, 29 days, under Brig. Gen. Wadsworth, "at the Eastward."

## GENTNER, (Genthner) Andrew.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: May 12th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 6 months, 18 days, "at the Eastward."

## GENTNER, (Genthner) Jacob.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on the Penobscot Expedition.

GREGG, Samuel.

Active in local Militia Companies from 1775 to 1778.

Pilot of State brig *Hazard*, commanded by Capt. John Foster Williams.

Engaged: July 3rd, 1778.

Discharged: October 16th, 1778.

Service: 3 months, 13 days.

Pilot of frigate *Boston*, commanded by Capt. Samuel Tucker.

Engaged: December 4th, 1778.

Also, served on the frigate *Hague*, commanded by Capt. John Manley.

GROSS, John.

Private in Capt. Joseph Smith's Company.

Enlisted: July 19th, 1775.

Discharged: December 3rd, 1775.

Service: 5 months, 25 days, in defense of the seacoast.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Lemont's Co., Col. John Allen's Regt.

Enlisted: October 3rd, 1777.

Discharged: December 31st, 1777.

Service: 3 months, 9 days, in defense of Machias.

GROSS, Joseph.

Private in Capt. William Reed's Company.

Enlisted: August 19th, 1777.

Discharged: September 28th, 1777.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, in defense of Machias.

Private in Capt. George Ulmer's Co., Col. James Hunter's Regt.

Enlisted: June 8th, 1782.

Discharged: November 20th, 1782.

Service: 5 months, 12 days, in Eastern Department.

GROSS, Reuben.

Private in Lieut. John Bohannon's detachment from Col. Foster's Lincoln County Regt.

Enlisted: December 19th, 1778.

Discharged: December 24th, 1778.

Service: 6 days. A detachment was called out by Lieut. Col. Campbell to defend State Stores on board the *Merry Sheet* from Boston and bound for the garrison at Machias.

HARVEST, John Adams.

Enlisted at Waldoborough.

Died in Waldoborough, June 17, 1835.

No record available.

HAVENER, (Heavener) Matthew.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: June 19th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 5 months, 11 days, "at the Eastward."

HELMOTT, John H.

Private in Capt. Eliphalet Thorpe's Regt., Lieut. Col. J. Brook's 7th Regiment, as of February 20th, 1782.

Record of enlistment: December 23rd, 1780.

Birthplace: Germany.

Age: 53.

Stature: 5 ft. 6 in.

Complexion: Dark.

Hair: Dark.

Occupation: Laborer.

Residence given as Broad Bay, Waldoborough, but name is not identifiable.

HEYER, Cornelius.

Listed as a Revolutionary Pensioner, but no service records available.

HILLOV, (Hilor, Heiler) Jacob.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days, at Camden.

HILT, John.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Lemont's Co., Col. John Allen's Regt.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 31st, 1777.

Service: 3 months, 5 days, in defense of Machias.

HILT, Peter.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: September 6th, 1776.

Service: 6 months, in Company stationed at St. George's for the defense of the seacoast.

Also, enlisted: July 22nd, 1777.

Discharged: September 4th, 1777.

Service: 1 month, 15 days, with Capt. Nicholas Crosby's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Service: 1 month, 15 days, in Company raised for Expedition against St. Johns River, Nova Scotia.

Promoted to Corporal and engaged: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in defense of Machias, serving in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

HISELER, (Heisler) Martin.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for service as Guards at Broad Bay.

HOCH, George.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779, to September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, Penobscot Expedition.

HOCH, Martin.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, in the Penobscot Expedition.

HOFSES, (Hoffses) George.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.



Service: 2 months, 16 days on the Penobscot Expedition.

Also, with Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in Company detached from Col. Mason

Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for

Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

Also, Seaman on *Lincoln Galley*, commanded by Capt. John Curtis.

Engaged: May 5th, 1781.

Discharged: July 23rd, 1781.

Service: 2 months, 18 days.

HOFSES, (Hoffses) Godfrey.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in defense of Machias.

HOWARD, Caleb.

Sergeant in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Engaged: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in defense of Machias.

HOWARD, Joshua.

Sergeant in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regiment.

Engaged: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days on Penobscot Expedition.

Also, 2nd Lieutenant in Capt. George Ulmer's Co., Col. James Hunter's Regiment.

Engaged: March 20th, 1782.

Discharged: November 20th, 1782.

Service: 8 months, 7 days, in Company raised for defense of Eastern Massachusetts.

HUNT, John.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regiment.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

KALER, Charles.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Guards at Broad Bay.

LORING, Levi.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

LUDWIG, Jacob.

Captain of 8th Company, Col. Mason Wheaton's 4th Lincoln County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia.

Also, Captain of a Company in Col. John Allan's Regiment.

Engaged: October 6th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 27 days, in defense of Machias.

Also, Captain of a Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

Engaged: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 11 days.

LUDWIG, Joseph.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in a Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

MILLER, Frank.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Service: 6 months.

MILLER, Henry.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

Also, with Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company, detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days.

MILLER, John.

Private in Capt. Caleb Turner's Company.

Enlisted: September 10th, 1776.

Discharged: December 7th, 1776.

Service: 2 months, 27 days, with Company stationed at Boothbay.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days in Penobscot Expedition.

MILLER, William.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, for defense of Machias.

MINCK, (Mink) John.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: May 12th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 6 months, 18 days, "at the Eastward."

Also with Capt. George Ulmer's Co., Col. James Hunter's Regt.

Enlisted: June 8th, 1782.

Discharged: November 20th, 1782.

Service: 5 months, 12 days, in Company defending Eastern Massachusetts.

MINCK, (Mink) Paul.

(Also listed as Paul Mink, Jr., possibly a case of father and son.)

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days with Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

MINCK, (Mink) Philip.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Cushing for Service as Guards at Broad Bay.

NEWBERT, John.

Private in Col. Wheaton's 4th Lincoln County Regt., raised August 20th, 1778, for service in the campaign at Providence.

NEWBIT, (Newbert) Christopher.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regiment.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

Reported wounded on July 27th, 1779.

ORF, (Orff) Frederick.

Private in Lieut. Alexander Kellock's Company.

Served one month, at which time the Company was detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's and Col. Jones' Regiments, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, to protect Eastern part of Lincoln County.

Stationed at Camden and St. George's from November 13th, 1779 to February 13th, 1780.

ORF, (Orff) Peter.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt., in the campaign at Castine.

OVERLOCK, Charles.

Private in Capt. George Ulmer's Co., Col. James Hunter's Regt.

Enlisted: September 1st, 1782.

Discharged: November 20th, 1782.

Service: 2 months, 19 days, in defense of Eastern Massachusetts.



OVERLOCK, Henry.

Private in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

PITCHER, Ezra.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Service: 9 months, stationed at St. George's in defense of the sea-coast.

PITCHER, Nathaniel.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Service: 9 months, stationed at St. George's for defense of the seacoast.

RINNER, John S.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regt., of Militia, from August to December 31st, 1775.

ROADS, (Roth) George.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: July 6th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 18 days at Penobscot. Company detached from Col. William Jones' Regiment for Service under Col. Samuel McCobb's Expedition to Castine.

RUSSEL, Levi.

Private in Capt. Caleb Turner's Company.

Enlisted: July 13th, 1775.

Discharged: December 31st, 1775.

Service: 6 months, 3 days in defense of the seacoast.

Private with Capt. Nathan Walkins' Co., Col. Edmond Phinney's Regiment. Garrison at Fort George, December 8th, 1776.

Enlisted: January 1st, 1776.

Private with Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Enlisted: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 2nd, 1779.

Service: 5 days at Camden.

SARGUS, Isaac.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

SCHWARTZ, Friedrich.

Soldier in the Revolution.

No record available.

SEIDENSBERGER, Charles.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regiment of Militia, from August to December 31st, 1775.

SEIDENSBERGER, (Seidensparker) John.

Private in Lieut. Alexander Kellock's Company.

Service: 1 month. Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's and Col. Jones' Regiments, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing.

to protect the Eastern part of Lincoln County, and so, was stationed at Camden and St. George's from November 13th, 1779, to February 13th, 1780.

SHANKS, (Schenck) Andrew.

Captain of 3rd Company, Col. Mason Wheaton's 4th Lincoln County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia. Commissioned, July 3rd, 1776.

SHANKS, (Schenck) George.

Sergeant in Capt. Thomas Starret's detachment from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment.

Engaged: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

SHEWMAN, (Shuman) Adam.

Enlisted in Capt. Fuller's Co., Col. William Bond's Regt.

Subsequent to January 1st, 1776, listed as deserted.

Age: 20 years.

Stature: 5 ft. 5 in.

Complexion: Light.

Residence: Waldoborough.

SIMMONS, Joseph.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

SIMMONS, Zebedee.

2nd Lieutenant in Capt. Andrew Shank's 3rd Co., Col. Wheaton's 4th Lincoln County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia.

Commissioned, July 3rd, 1776.

Engaged: June 28th, 1779.

Discharged: July 5th, 1779.

Service: 8 days at Camden.

Also, with Capt. Thomas Starret's Co., Col. Mason Wheaton's Regt.

Service: 2 months.

SIMONS, (Simmons) Nathaniel.

Private in Capt. Thomas Turner's Co., Col. Thomas Marshall's Regt.

Enlisted: May 31st, 1776.

Discharged: November 1st, 1776.

Service: 5 months, 5 days.

Also, Corporal in Capt. Thomas Barnes' 5th Company, Lieut. Thomas Nixon's 4th Regiment, November 9th, 1776.

SMITH, (Schmidt) Christian.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Guards at Broad Bay.

STAHL, (Stall) Jacob.

Private in Capt. Jordan Parker's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 16th, 1781.

Discharged: December 1st, 1781.

Service: 4 months, 14 days, "at the Eastward."

STAHL, (Stall) Philip.

Marine on *Lincoln Galley*, commanded by Capt. John Curtis.

Engaged: May 19th, 1781.

Discharged: June 22nd, 1781.

Service: 1 month, 3 days.

STILCKE, Balthasar, "Baltus."

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

STORER, Andrew.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Peabody's Co., Col. Jacob Gerrish's 1st Regiment.

Enlisted: October 14th, 1779.

Discharged: November 22nd, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 19 days.

STORER, Jonathan, (Jotham).

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Co.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Guards at Broad Bay.

SWEETLAND, James.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: March 5th, 1776.

Discharged: September 6th, 1776.

Service: local.

SWEETLAND, Samuel.

Private in Capt. Samuel Gregg's Co., Col. James Cargill's Regiment of Militia, from August to December 31st, 1775.

THOMAS, Waterman.

Colonel in the Massachusetts Militia in charge of supplying Castine Expedition and Militia doing later service at Camden.

Quartermaster and Commissary for Eastern Department. Appointed February 1780. In May, 1780, Province of Massachusetts was owing Col. Thomas the sum of 32,459 pounds.

TURNER, Caleb.

Private in Capt. Stephen Smith's Company.

Enlisted: September 15th, 1775.

Discharged: December 31st, 1775.

Service: 3 months, 3 weeks and 2 days, in defense of the seacoast.

Promoted to Drummer: October 25th, 1775, while Company was stationed at Machias.

Promoted to Captain of a Company to be stationed at Pemaquid, Lincoln County. Appointment concurred in by Council, February 7th, 1776.

As Captain, Turner was engaged: February 6th, 1776.

Discharged: September 10th, 1776.

Service: 7 months, 4 days, in defense of the seacoast.

Engaged: September 10th, 1776.

Discharged: December 7th, 1776.

Service: 2 months, 27 days, stationed at Boothbay.

ULMER, George.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: September 5th, 1776.



Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Service: 2 months, 20 days, in Company stationed at St. George's for defense of the seacoast.

ULMER, John, 3rd.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

VINAL, Francis.

Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days, on Penobscot Expedition.

Also, Enlisted: April 21st, 1780.

Discharged: December 21st, 1780.

Service: 8 months, 1 day, with Capt. Archibald McAllister's Co., Lieut. Col. Prime's Regt., in defense of the Eastward.

WALCH, (Walk) Christopher.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days in a Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Guards at Broad Bay.

WALCH, (Walk) Henry.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, with Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Guards at Broad Bay.

WALCH, (Walk) Peter.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days with Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing, for Guards at Broad Bay.

WATERMAN, Abijah.

Elected Adjutant of Col. Mason Wheaton's 4th Lincoln County Regiment, July 12th, 1776.

WELLS, Andrew.

Private in Capt. Benjamin Plummer's Company.

Enlisted: September 5th, 1776.

Discharged: December 10th, 1776.

Service: 3 months, 5 days in Company stationed at St. George's for defense of the seacoast.

Also, Private in Capt. Nicholas Crosby's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt.

Enlisted: July 22nd, 1777.

Discharged: September 4th, 1777.

Service in Company raised for Expedition against St. Johns River, Nova Scotia, and was in readiness to enter on said Service until date of discharge.

Also, Private in Capt. Phillip M. Ulmer's Co., Col. McCobb's Regiment.

Enlisted: July 8th, 1779.

Discharged: September 24th, 1779.

Service: 2 months, 16 days on Penobscot Expedition.

WELT, John.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt. Campaign at Castine.

WINCHENBACH, Jacob.

2nd Lieutenant in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Engaged: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, for defense of Machias.

Commissioned 1st Lieutenant, July 3rd, 1776.

Engaged: September 21st, 1779.

Discharged: November 1st, 1779.

Service: 1 month, 10 days, in Company detached from Col. Mason Wheaton's Regiment, by order of Brig. Gen. Cushing for Guards at Broad Bay.

WINCHENBACH, John.

Private in Capt. Jacob Ludwig's Company.

Enlisted: October 7th, 1777.

Discharged: December 22nd, 1777.

Service: 2 months, 26 days, in defense of Machias.

WINCHENBACH, Peter.

Private in Capt. Phillip Ulmer's Co., Col. Samuel McCobb's Regt. Campaign at Castine.

WINSLOW, Ezekiel.

Revolutionary Pensioner residing at Waldoborough at the age of 76.

Died June 13, 1835.













